A Zimbabwean Past

D.N. Beach

Companion volume to
THE SHONA AND
ZIMBABWE
900-1850

Inset: the *semukadzi* Mushunje of Bocha and his companions, 1973. *(Photo: author)*

Background: a letter from the Mutapa to the Portuguese Viceroy of India, 22 June 1678. In fact, it was probably dictated by the Portuguese captain of the garrison at the Mutapa's capital to a clerk. It is not certain whether this Mutapa knew of its contents or, indeed, whether he was the true Mutapa. It reads:

> *Copy of a letter of the Emperor of Manamotapa to the Lord Viceroy and Captain-General of India.*
>
> *My Captain-Major who now aids me has delivered into my own hands a letter from Your Excellency, which I appreciate very much. Even if for two years in this place I have had little support, at present with the security which Your Excellency guarantees me, I do not fail to follow what my father and brothers, kings before me, always did, and keep peace and alliance with the Portuguese, and open the roads, and agreements of this my kingdom, allowing that some have often given me cause [to do otherwise]; but to all I forgive their defects, because I am the son of King Mavura and son of the Portuguese, and these were those who gave this kingdom to my father, and died, and spilt their blood for him to give it to him; and if I should have any bad intention towards them, the Lord our God would punish me for love of them if I should not recognise such a great benefit.*
>
> *I do not wish to trouble Your Excellency with much writing in telling you what has gone on; because I consider Your Excellency to be so occupied in the affairs of the service of the Prince of Portugal my brother in arms, that it can be left until the Lord our God should bring Your Excellency to the Rivers; because I intend to deliver all presents to you through my ambassadors. There is no need for more. God keep the illustrious person of Your Excellency and conserve your life for many years. Written in my court of Zimbaoé on 22 June 1678.*
>
> *King Manamotapa.*

(Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Collecção Pombalina, 525 fol. 36)

A ZIMBABWEAN PAST

EX LIBRIS
MARIEKE CLARKE

ZAMBEZIANA: Vol XXI

A SERIES ON CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN ZIMBABWE

A ZIMBABWEAN PAST

Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions

D.N. BEACH

MAMBO PRESS

Gweru

ZIMBABWE

MAMBO PRESS
P.O. Box 779, Gweru, Zimbabwe
Tel: 263-54-4016
Fax: 263-54-51991

A ZIMBABWEAN PAST

First published 1994

Copyright © 1994 D.N. Beach

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior permission from the publishers.

ISBN ~~0 6922 52~~ 6

Printed and published in Zimbabwe
by Mambo Press, Senga Road, Gweru
1994

To Albert Bruno Plangger

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements xi
Terminology xiii
Introduction xv

Section 1 Background 1

Chapter 1 *Research in central and southern Shona history in the 1970s*
- i Introduction 1
- ii The development of a research project 2
- iii The environment of a research project 8
- iv The kingdom of Baker Avenue 11
- v Field work 17
- vi After field work 23

Section 2 Shona dynastic histories: the central and southern Shona

Chapter 2 *The central shava belt*
- i Introduction 28
- ii The Marange dynasty of Bocha 30
- iii The Mbiru-Nyashanu dynasty of Buhera 36
- iv The Masarirambi-Mutekedza dynasty of West Buhera 43
- v The Munyaradze dynasty of South Buhera and the Karivara cult 48
- vi The *shava* dynasties west of the watershed 51
  - a Ngezi *mupamombe* of Rimuka 53
  - b Chivero of Chisvipi 55
  - c Rwizi of Chitungwiza 59
  - d Mushava and Nherera 61
  - e Neuso of Chwaya 63
- vii The central *shava* belt: a 'nuclear area'? 65
- viii More recent immigrants into the central *shava* belt 67
  - a Devera and Gora *gwai* *67*
  - b Mashayamombe and Maromo *mhara* *68*
  - c The Njanja confederacy 72

Chapter 3 *The north-central plateau*

- i Introduction 82
- ii The early inhabitants of the north-central plateau 84

- iii The central plateau Rozvi and their associates

  - a The Gwangwava, Sango, Murambwa, Nyika and Benhura dynasties 86
  - b Nyandoro of Tsunga 90
  - c Samuriwo of Mani 92
  - d Nyamweda of Nharira 95

- iv Movements from the south

  - a Seke of Harava 96
  - b Chinamhora of North Shawasha 98

- v Movements from the north

  - a Musana of Satwa 102
  - b Chikwaka 104
  - c Masembura of Matukutu 106
  - d Rusike of Mpatwe 107
  - e Mangwende of Nhowe 111
  - f Svosve of Mbire III 114
  - g Mudzimuirema of Chirimuka 118

- vi Movements from the east and north-east

  - a Chihota 119
  - b Nenguwo of Maringari 121
- vii Movements from the south: the northern Hera 121
- viii Flight from the south: the Changamire refugees 124
  - a Chingombe muRozvi 127
  - b Rozani or Mbavha 128
  - c Chiduku 130

Chapter 4 *The southern plateau*

- i Introduction 133
- ii The early inhabitants 134
  - a NeManwa and the Pako 135
  - b The southern Shawasha 136
  - c Chingoma *dziva* 137
- iii The southern Rozvi 138
  - a Bankwe 139

b Chizungu and Murove 140
c Nebwine 141
d Nyamhondo, Negari and Negove 141
e Mtubayedzi 143
iv The fore-runners 143
v The Rufura of Gutu and Ndanga 146
vi The *dziva* migrations: the Hiya and the Ngowa 150
vii The *shiri*-totem Bonda 156
viii The Mhari 159
ix The Manyika-Govera and the *ngara*-Govera 167
x Hera, Rufura and Mbire-Zumba settlers in the south 175
xi Settlers from the south: Pfumbi, Twamamba and Lemba 179
xii The Dumbuseya 184

Section 3 The traditions of the Shona states 188

Chapter 5 *The Rozvi in search of their past*

i Introduction 191
ii Rozvi traditions before 1929 192
iii The 1929-30 Rozvi revival and the Rukara history 197
iv Mujuru Chiminya and Noah Washaya 200
v Conclusion 207

Chapter 6 *The changing traditions of the Mutapa dynasty*

i Documents on Mutapa rulers, 1506-1763 211
ii The traditions of 1763 213
iii The traditions of 1862 215
iv Developments in research, 1862-1958 220
v The guardians of tradition, 1904-1981 222
vi The contribution of Donald Abraham, 1958-1963 227
a The 1959 article 227
b The 1960 paper 234
c The 1961-1963 articles 236
vii Rebuilding the structure: the Mutapa dynasty reconsidered 238

Section 4 Towards an analysis of Shona oral traditions 244

Chapter 7 *Shona oral traditions*

- i Introduction 247
- ii Oral traditions: another attempt at definition 250
- iii From memory to listener 252
- iv The content of traditions
  - a Environmental oral traditions 257
  - b Economic oral traditions 261
  - c Religious oral traditions 262
  - d Family oral traditions 266
  - e Political oral traditions 267
  - f Artistic oral traditions 270
- v Traditions, society and the historian 270

Appendix I *Generational dating for Shona dynasties* 275

Appendix II *Genealogies: Figs 1-96* 279

Notes 283

Select list of sources 337

Index 349

Illustrations: 25, 81, 132, 209, 210, 246

Maps 368

Acknowledgements

This book draws on research carried out over twenty-four years, and it is not easy to single out all those whose aid led towards the completion of the work.

Although it is mainly about the past as revealed by oral traditions, the book relies mostly upon documents, and my thanks go to the guardians of these sources:

Mrs. Angeline Kamba, her staff and their predecessors in the National Archives, Harare, gave unfailing support throughout the entire period of research.

To the staff of the Ministry of Local Government and their predecessors of the Ministry of Internal Affairs I owe a special debt. They trusted me to work on current files that reach, in some cases, into the 1980s. I sincerely hope not only that I have not abused that trust but that this book may make their task of handling the vigorous politics of modern Chieftaincy a little easier.

My thanks also go to the staff of the other archives mentioned at the end of the book.

Many co-researchers, named in the first chapter, made the book possible by their example, but I am particularly grateful to those who permitted me to see documents and traditional material that I would not otherwise have found: Ngwabi Bhebe, Hoyini Bhila, David Chanaiwa, Dzingai Chigiga, Aeneas Chigwedere, F.B. Makore, Ngoni Maruta, Francis Mashasha, Richard Mtetwa, Stan Mudenge, David Musa, Tom Tsodzo and Philip Warhurst were especially generous.

I can hardly mention everyone with whom I discussed the work over such a long period, but Joseph Miller and Jan Vansina gave vital support in 1975 and 1984 when I needed it most. I owe a great debt to hundreds of my students upon whom I tried out my ideas, and especially to Dolf Berle, Paul Carbery, Innocent Pikirayi, Aviton Ruwitah and the rest of the 1986 MA course in Oral Tradition, who taught me as much as I taught them.

Roger Howman, Jim Latham, John White and Bob Woollacott were exceptionally helpful in allowing me to see and use their collections of sources and unpublished works, before and after Independence.

S.C. Mumbengegwi, A.P. Zimuto, M.S. Mupezeni, B.R. Kavuru, Tom Tsodzo, H. de Noronha, Maria Ferreira and Mary-Louise Peires all aided in the translation of material from Shona, Portuguese and German into

English but my greatest debt is to Nolian Sithole for her patience and care in the transcription of tapes.

The University of Zimbabwe (and its predecessors) has been a steady source of support since I joined it in 1968.

To my wife, Gill, I am particularly thankful, for her continual help and encouragement.

Finally, by way of thanking all the people in the countryside among whom I worked for so short a time, I would like to mention my guide-interpreters and the communities that gave me encouragement and hospitality:

Jere Leonard Makuvire and the people of Chivi; Prosper Bhachi and the people of Holy Cross, Chirumhanzu; Webster Bepura, David Mungoshi and the people of Christ the King, Daramombe; Christopher Chifamba and the people of Mhondoro; the Revd Caleb Mukasa and the people of Chipfatsura School; Binoja Rasara and the people of Nyashanu Mission; the Revd Kelly Matanga and the people of Soti Church, Gutu; Richman Kufazvinei and the people of Sanyati Mission; Gershom Khiyaza and the people of Epworth Mission; Kingston Chisadza and the people of Waddilove Mission; K. Ndhlovu, N.J. Maruta, N. Chiduku and the people of St. Anne's, Goto, and literally hundreds of others.

Terminology

In a way, an historian of 1990 has more trouble with terminology than one of 1980. We now have both old and new names for places, but even the new maps and names are not always consistent. Wedza District is now Hwedza, but the old name survives for the nearby mountain. The old Hunyani river is now Manyame at its source and Mhanyame farther downstream. Even the names of rivers on maps differ according to the different scale series. Historians have to use both old and new according to context, and I trust that the Index makes things clear to the uninitiated.

The spelling of personal names, and even those of whole dynasties, is even more difficult to keep consistent. Most of the names in this book come from documents, but whereas one might expect the older ones to be affected by ignorance, old-fashioned orthography and regional variations, it is surprising how often even Shona-speaking officials after 1980 differed on the proper spelling of local names. I have done my best to be consistent and to convert older versions to modern Shona, but often I have not felt competent to 'correct' an older version without consulting the family concerned, which in view of the time available and the area to be covered was impossible. If I have mis-spelt an ancestor's name, I apologise to his descendants.

A more serious issue is the meaning of some of the terms I use. On the grounds that Shona history has quite sufficient Shona names already, I have translated most common terms into English. As most Shona speakers will appreciate, the exact translation of such terms depends a lot on the context in which they are used. Thus *nyika* can mean ' country' as in ' the country of Zimbabwe' or 'territory' as in 'the country of Chikwaka'. *Imba* has exactly the ambiguity of English 'house', a dwelling or a group of people (within a wider lineage) descended from a male (or sometimes a female) individual. What I call a 'dynasty' is meant to translate *dzinza* or *rudzi,* but once again the precise meaning depends on the context. In one sense the Mhari dynasty or dynasties might mean only those men who held such hereditary titles as Chivi or Nhema; in another, it might mean not only those rulers but all their close relatives; in a third meaning, it would include everybody, regardless of actual descent, subject to Mhari rulers. If the Pako say that the Mhari captured Chirogwe hill, they do not mean to imply that everybody involved was descended from Chivi Tavengerweyi, any more than we mean that a 'Hapsburg army' was composed entirely of Hapsburgs. 'Dynasty' as used here, however, implies the control of a territory more or less independently of anybody else except perhaps a remote Rozvi *mambo.* A lineage might or might not be so independent.

'Chief' and 'Headman' here refer to appointments or creations of the Rhodesian or Zimbabwean governments. As should be made clear in this book, a 'Chief' might have been demoted to 'Headman' or *vice versa* without much reference to the real status of either before the coming of colonial rule. Some 'Chiefdoms' were created out of very junior groups, other genuinely independent groups received no official title at all. For the pre-colonial period I use 'ruler' to mean *ishe* or *mambo,* the recognised senior of a 'dynasty', though — as readers will note — the extent of recognition varied at times. Most modern Shona territories have been divided into wards (*dunhu*, plural *matunhu*), but this was not always true in the past, and sometimes there was no formal sub-division of this kind and two or more men of equal importance might occupy a single hill. I use 'house-head' or 'sub-ruler' or 'tributary ruler' or even 'leader' to reflect the very real ambiguities of the past, rather than *sadunhu* or 'keeper of a ward'.

In *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850* (328-329) I outlined the meanings and use of the totem (*mutupo*, plural *mitupo*) and praise-name (*chidawo,* plural *zvidawo*) of the Shona. Essentially, there are about twenty common totems that, among other functions, indicate descent in the male line. Marriage between two people of the same totem is usually forbidden, though if they have the same totem but different praise-names it might be permitted. They are given here with a separating stroke /, thus: totem/praise-name. Sometimes either or both might change over time, and such changes are indicated by a hyphen, thus: old totem-new totem/ old praise-name-new praise-name. Most totems are named after parts of the body or animals, while the origin of many praise-names is obscure. Whereas the spelling of many of them is well known, in some cases I have had to use older sources and am not certain of their accuracy. Once again, it has not been possible to visit every area to be certain of getting the correct version, and if I have perpetuated errors I apologise in advance.

Introduction

The Shona-speaking peoples form the biggest single cultural and linguistic group between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers of southern Africa. Inside modern Zimbabwe they outnumber everybody else by about six to one, while in addition they are in considerable numbers in central Moçambique and even extend into Botswana and Zambia. For a long time, what little that was known of their history was largely about the two most recent Shona states of historical times, Mutapa and Changamire. Even these had come to an end well before the coming of colonial rule. The Shona political units which existed in 1890 comprised several hundred independent dynasties, ruling territories that might be anything from sixty kilometres across to one or two hills and valleys. Perhaps because they were so numerous, these independent dynasties attracted little attention from amateur or professional historians. By 1960, the existing work on Shona history was very uneven, with some territories and their ruling dynasties boasting two or even three articles of varying quality but with far more remaining almost entirely unknown outside their localities.

It is sometimes forgotten just how much modern historians rely upon earlier political histories, which themselves are based on earlier chronicles that almost always sought to justify the position of the rulers of the day, in the same fashion as the oral traditions that preceded them before literacy appeared. In Asia, Europe and north-east Africa recorded myths merged into long and often faked genealogies, which in turn led to local histories. These local histories, of provinces, districts, counties, baronies and parishes, were what went to make up later histories of whole countries, and if they were originally mainly political in content it proved possible to deduce economic and social factors from them.

In Africa south of the equator the coming of literacy also led to the writing of local histories. Colonial officials, missionaries and the African people themselves committed oral traditions to writing, typically starting with myth and continuing into the realm of real history, ending up with the political situation of the day. In the case of the Shona-speaking peoples, however, relatively little work was done, as can be seen from a survey carried out as recently as 1970.[1] A complicating factor was the concentration by historians on the great Shona states, an important but by no means the only element in the Shona past. Historical maps produced before and even after 1980 reflect this concentration, with a deceptively simple picture of the great states and a selection of the smaller territories.[2]

Even the work that was carried out suffered from a very confused historiography which needed to be sorted out before fresh work could be done.[3] As we will see in the first chapter of this book, the 1970s saw a great increase in the amount of professional and good amateur Shona history being written, and it was in conjunction with this work that I was able to publish in 1980 the first major attempt to provide a framework for Shona political history.[4]

The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850 broke new ground in several directions, one of them being the introduction to readers of hundreds of names that were more or less unknown to historians or to those who did not come from the localities where such names were remembered. The argument of the book was that these names — of territories, ruling dynasties and individuals — reflected the reality of Shona history more accurately than any concentration on the great states, in that for most of their history most of the Shona had lived in relatively small and usually independent units. Of course, it did not claim to be a totally accurate reflection. It was based on the oral traditions that had become available so far, and, as I pointed out, these tended to concentrate on the menfolk of the ruling dynasty, with almost everybody else being forgotten.[5] Nevertheless, it can be argued that such traditions are slightly less misleading when they related to a population of a few hundred or a few thousand people rather than to tens or hundreds of thousands, as in the great states of Africa.

This book is a companion volume to *Shona and Zimbabwe,* and it came about in the following way. When writing the first book, I was trying as far as possible to give each region of the Shona world a fair share of the limelight. However, I had carried out my own field work in the central and southern Shona country, and I had far more knowledge of the history of those regions than of anywhere else. Consequently, when I was covering the centre and south in the eighth chapter of the book, I first wrote regional draft chapters temporarily entitled 'Shona Dynastic Histories' and summarized them for the main book. I promised the readers that in due course I would publish them, and the second, third and fourth chapters of this book fulfil that promise.

However, I have added more to this work. *Shona and Zimbabwe* was a long and crowded book, and it was for that reason that I could not write more than I did about my field work and the conditions of research in the early 1970s. As more than half of today's population of Zimbabwe had not even been born then, I attempt in the first chapter to give an impression

— a personal impression — of research at that time. It is *not* an attempt to reconstruct the history of the country of that period.

Mention of the youth of Zimbabwe raises another question. Many books about African history are written by researchers from outside the continent and may never be read by the people whose history was being studied. This book is being written for publication in Zimbabwe, and is thus for two readerships: one is the professional world and the other is the general public. Many of the general public in Zimbabwe come from the regions covered in the second to fourth chapters of this book, and thus they will be reading about their own ancestors and their own home areas. Whether they will be doing so out of a simple interest in history, or because they hope that the book will give their family ammunition to use in the next Chieftainship or land dispute, they will often find that traditions and claims that they have known from childhood are being questioned here. This is because oral traditions do *not* record the past as accurately as some people think. Early collections of traditions change over time. There are many examples of this in these chapters, but I also offer two case studies that show in detail how changes have occurred.

In the fifth chapter, it is shown how, in only fifty or sixty years, the amateur oral historians of the Changamire Rozvi 'rewrote' their history so much that the final product is barely recognizable as being the same subject as that recorded in the 1900s. This chapter is a re-publication of an article first produced for a conference in 1982.[6] In the sixth, an article first published in 1976 has been completely reworked.[7] It shows how, over two hundred years, the oral traditions of the famous Mutapa dynasty changed, and how very bad work by previous historians has led to a situation where much of that part of Mutapa history that relies upon oral traditions has to be regarded as completely unreliable.

Finally, an attempt is made to analyse Shona oral traditions themselves. While *Shona and Zimbabwe* was being written, a major re-think about the nature of oral traditions was beginning.[8] The seventh and final chapter of this book tries to follow the example set by this new historiography of oral tradition and to look at Shona oral traditions as a subject in itself rather than as a means to an end.

All this justifies a change from the original title of the work, though the subtitle remains to warn readers not to expect too much. *A Zimbabwean Past* is, as the indefinite article indicates, only one of many possible interpretations of the past. It covers only part of the country, it covers only some of the people within that area, and like *Shona and Zimbabwe* it is mainly concerned with political history as revealed by oral traditions, before about 1900. (After 1900 it becomes less and less appropriate to refer to 'Shona' history, because the Shona, Ndebele and smaller groups were all included in the same larger unit.)

To conclude, I have been living with the original text of this book for some fifteen years, which is far too long. To me, most of its content is old and familiar, though it is always possible to find new angles to anything if it is re-examined. To my two readerships, nearly everything in it is new. I can predict very easily what some of the reactions to it will be.

If *Shona and Zimbabwe* was complicated for academic and foreign readers, *A Zimbabwean Past* will be even more complex. On the other hand, the general public from the districts being covered will complain that I have over-simplified, leaving out many important issues and personalities. Both criticisms are justified.

My only answer is that a book of this kind is essential if there is to be any kind of bridge between the world of the academic and the world of the people of the central and southern Shona regions. It is also essential if there is to be any kind of bridge between the past and the future. Eventually, the twentieth century will cease to be a favourite field of study for historians, and then perhaps the earlier centuries of Zimbabwean history will begin to be studied again. When that day comes, I hope that this book will be of use. In the meantime, if both my readerships can get from *A Zimbabwean Past* a sense of the richness and drama of the history that has fascinated me for the last quarter of a century, we will all have been rewarded.

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

Research on Central and Southern Shona History in the 1970s

i Introduction

It is tempting to see the year 1960 as that in which pre-colonial history became a discipline in its own right, not only in Africa as a whole but also in Zimbabwe.[1] In that year *The Journal of African History* commenced publication, Jan Vansina completed his influential *De la Tradition Orale, Essai de Methode Historique,*[2] the first history conference in this country was held at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and at that conference Donald Abraham presented a locally influential paper that made extensive use of oral traditions of the Shona-speaking people.[3] It is tempting, but it is misleading. Much work had been done on African history before 1960 and published, especially in local colonial journals; many collections of oral traditions had been made, even if few reached the standards set by Vansina.

In this country the promise of 1960 was slow in being realized, not least because the staff of the Department of History of the University College, tiny by today's standards, was continually being reduced by resignations and deportations. In much of the 1960s what academic oral historical work that was being carried on was largely the work of a few students. By the early 1970s, as I shall show below, the number of historical researchers in the country had increased dramatically and a high proportion of them were making at least some use of oral traditions. The promise of 1960 was finally being fulfilled.

The enthusiasm for research was tremendous but unfortunately, although in most cases the ways in which interviews were conducted were, I think, meeting the criteria set by Vansina and others, in some ways they were not. Researchers would take a vehicle and a tape-recorder into the field, conduct their interviews, write up their findings into books, articles and dissertations — citing the interviews where necessary — and their tapes and transcripts would then vanish into limbo. In addition, it was rare for a researcher to give the reader much of an idea of why some areas and informants were chosen and not others, what the conditions of research were like at that time, or what preconceived ideas the researcher started with and the extent to which they affected research.

I was aware of these problems when I wrote *Shona and Zimbabwe,* and I did refer to them very briefly,[4] but there was neither the time nor the space to include detailed information in what was already a long, complex and expensive book. Here I attempt to remedy this fault. If at times I explain points that are obvious to those who lived in the early 1970s, please remember that students who had not even been born then will be using this book.

ii The development of a research project

History and historians are subject to changes of fashion. In the late 1980s pre-colonial political history was in itself unfashionable, and much of what work is going on in this field is concerned with economic, social, environmental and ideological and other forms of history or indeed with historical method itself. It wasn't quite like that in the early 1970s. True, many researchers were aware of such factors, but in those days many of the questions now being asked were only just being formulated. In this country in the early 1970s, interest in African economic history was just emerging from the 'trade and politics' stage in which researchers were busy tracing the production and trade of iron and salt and showing how rulers manipulated the trade in gold and ivory. The Marxists were only just arriving on the scene[5]. At that time, political history was still regarded as respectable, and it was not seen as 'tribalist' to investigate the political history of people who happened to speak the same language or dialect.[6] After all, it was often argued, had not the Europeans done exactly the same thing with their history in the past? Personally, I do not regret that approach at the time: identifying dynasties and rulers was a necessary stage of historical development, but as a stage only, not as an end in itself.

In the early 1970s, in terms of published research, the pre-colonial history of the Shona-speaking peoples was one of the largest blanks on the historical map of Africa. With Shona-speakers living all the way from the Moçambican coast to Zambia and north-east Botswana, a researcher could travel 750 kilometres in quite heavily-populated country without leaving the Shona-speaking area. Clearly, the task of assembling even a simple political history was immense.[7]

What resources existed? Those of archaeology looked impressive until one realized that practically all excavations of sites post-dating about 1250 had been related to the stone buildings of the Great Zimbabwe Kame culture, which could be dated up to about 1700, and that for those people who did not build and occupy such sites there was practically no archaeology at all.[8] If such a building could be proven to relate to a certain dynasty, well and good — but how many such links could be made? Academic anthropology was especially strong on religion, but I think it is fair to state that not many anthropologists had done a great deal to check the assertions of their informants about the pre-colonial past, with a few honourable exceptions.[9] Historical linguistics hardly existed.[10] In short, most of the work would have to be done by using historical resources, documents and traditions.

By the 1970s, great inroads were being made on the documents of the Portuguese archives by researchers. These, while mostly concerned with the day to day running of Portuguese East Africa, contained valuable information on the people of the Zimbabwean plateau from the late fifteenth century to the early twentieth. Documents in English, Dutch, German and French began to refer to the region from the 1850s onwards. With the coming of colonial rule, regular administrative documents were produced that often referred to pre-colonial history, and their post-1980 successors continue to do so. Arabic documents of the period before 1500 say virtually nothing about the interior that is of any use. Even when the Shona became literate, they tended to write their histories in English, and there is simply no equivalent of the collections of texts in such languages as Malagasy or Luganda which are to be found in East Africa.

Traditions of the Shona occurred in all the kinds of document mentioned above, but concerted efforts to collect them were rare. In 1903-6 the Native Department ordered its officials to record histories, with very varying but nevertheless useful results, and in 1923 it started its own journal, *NADA*.[11] For a few years, traditional histories were published quite frequently, but then the ideological climate hardened and it was not until the 1950s that more interest was taken in African history; of course, this was not academic work. However, every time a Chief died, the officials had to appoint his successor, and this involved the use of at least a genealogy and sometimes supporting traditions. These, which were often contradictory, were kept in the PER/5 files of the Chiefs, both in the districts and at the capital.[12] Finally, from 1963 to 1965, the Ministry of Internal Affairs carried out a major exercise to further its Community Development policy.[13] This involved enumerating all the Chiefdoms, Headmanships and village tax-paying units in the country, working out the boundaries of the lands they held inside the Tribal Trust Lands (formerly Reserves, now Communal Areas) and researching the histories and genealogies of the Chiefdoms and major Headmanships. This was a herculean task carried out by only three or four officials, using PER/5 files and carrying out interviews, and it is not surprising that, as in 1903-6, the quality of their work varied a good deal. It did add very considerably to the amount of raw data that would eventually become available to researchers.[14]

When I began work upon what was to become *Shona and Zimbabwe* in early 1972, I was exceptionally fortunate: never before had so many academic and good amateur researchers been at work on projects that either fell within or bordered the field of Shona pre-colonial history.

In the next few years more were to begin work, though not all had completed their projects by the time I finished my book in 1977.

In the far south, Richard Gray and Nkhumelene Ralushai had begun to question the previous assumptions of Venda historiography;[15] Richard Mtetwa was to begin his study of the Duma confederacy a few months later;[16] over the Save, Keith Rennie had nearly finished his doctoral thesis on the Ndau,[17] while Gerhard Liesegang was continuing to work on the entire region that had been under the Gaza Nguni.[18]

In Manyika, Hoyini Bhila had presented his thesis and was beginning extra fieldwork before publication.[19] In Nhowe, David Chanaiwa had completed his dissertation some time before.[20] In Maungwe, Donald Abraham's article of 1951 gave a history that was at least as detailed as any that had appeared before for other districts.[21] As recently as 1971 he had returned to the country to collect more traditions towards a history, that would undoubtedly include the Mutapa state, but might and probably would go much farther afield.[22] We were not to know then that fifteen years later his history would not yet have appeared.

In Moçambique, Andrew Mtetwa, Terry Elkiss and Khoisile Dhliwayo were to begin research on Teve and Sofala in the next few years,[23] but Allen Isaacman, Malyn Newitt and Fr. W.F. Rea had published, nearly published or advanced far upon their respective works on the *prazos* of the Zambezi.[24] Stan Mudenge was about to finish his thesis on the Rozvi and the *feira* of Zumbo in the north-west[25], with Tim Matthews and Chet Lancaster a little farther up river.[26]

John White had provided a long article on Hurungwe[27], and was far advanced on a very detailed history of the area around modern Zvishavane[28], while Per Zachrisson was to start another with a more modern focus on modern Mberengwa a few years later.[29]

Add to these the historians of the Ndebele Ngwabi Bhebe, Julian Cobbing and Kent Rasmussen[30] — and Dawson Munjeri's preliminary work on the Kalanga of the south-west[31] and it can be seen that the central and southern Shona country was virtually surrounded by historians in the early 1970s, though the thematic researches of John Mackenzie and Avital Livneh cut right across it.[32]

In short, there were at least twenty-five pre-colonial historians operating in and around the Shona-speaking lands in the early 1970s, and this does not count basically twentieth-century historians like Ian Phimister and Barry Kosmin who slipped across the frontier of time at 1900 to do work on aspects of the pre-colonial economy.[33] Indeed, at times the field got quite congested, so that the Chihota region in 1973 apparently saw Avital Livneh, John Mackenzie and myself within the space of a few months, all carrying out interviews on the aspects of history that interested us most. I have often wondered what the people of Chihota made of all this activity.

Without all these research projects of the early 1970s, it would probably have been impossible to have contemplated writing a general political history of the Shona. As it was, the problem of research was cut down to proportions that lay within the ability of a single historian, for the histories of large and complex regions were simultaneously being tackled by others. Moreover, the locations of all these other projects helped to point out the areas where I could work with least duplication of effort — in other words, the central and southern Shona regions.

There were, however, other reasons why these regions were chosen. Firstly, I had already done some research into oral traditions in connection with my work on the First Chimurenga risings of 1896-7, from late 1968 to early 1970. The Districts in which I had worked — Chibi, Chilimanzi, Charter and Hartley — had been chosen because of the different political stances that their peoples took during the 1890s, but, as will be shown in Section 2, the traditions of the different dynasties began much earlier than the 1890s and continued up to the present. Thus I already had some idea of the early history of four areas running roughly from north to south. Just how representative these areas and their histories were remained to be seen. Secondly, between 1968 and 1971 the Department of History had encouraged some of its students to collect traditions, both for the Department and for possible post-graduate degrees, and of these David Musa, Dzingai Chigiga, F.B. Makore and Francis Mashasha had worked in the southern Shona country.[34] Their work was available

—and acknowledged—as a valuable touchstone by which I could check the accuracy of what I was getting from my own interviews.

Even so, a vast area remained to be researched: from the Odzi river on the borders of Manyika to Sanyati in the west was about 380 kilometres, or more if I chose to follow traditions west onto the Mafungabusi plateau. From the southern edges of the Zimbabwe plateau, where intensive Shona settlement met that of the Hlengwe and others, to the edges of the Mutapa state in the upper Mazowe valley was another 400 kilometres. This huge area contained scores of what had been independent dynasties outside the regions being searched by others. In just over four years of full-time research, which was in the end the amount of time I had available, there was no way in which I could carry out fieldwork on each one. Clearly, I would have to be selective, but upon what basis?

Here an answer lay in the totem system of the Shona-speakers. The Shona *mutupo*[35] or totem system is explained in more detail elsewhere[36] but, very briefly, men and women inherit from their fathers a totem, based upon a limited number of mammals, birds, reptiles and parts of the body. In the local context these serve as tokens of identity and safeguards against incest, for normally no one may marry someone of the same *mutupo*. In a single locality, most people of the same totem can trace their ancestry back to a single ancestor in the male line. But how far back can one go in linking people of the same totem? There are certain limitations beyond which one has to recognize that there is no proof for links, but the people themselves do tend to assume links where none can be proven, and most if not all political historians of the Shona have been tempted to follow suit and make such links.

To take only one example, the missionary Harald von Sicard, who was influenced by the thinking of Germanic scholars of the 1920s and 1930s, found that the assumptions of the Vienna *kulturkreise* school corresponded very closely to those made by the Shona themselves.[37] At least in the 1940s, his thinking ran on lines like these: assume that, before the coming of Bantu-speakers to southern Africa, there was virtually a clear field inhabited only by Stone Age peoples who had little effect upon what followed. Then, one had the arrival of the first wave of Bantu-speakers, who were almost entirely of the same totem.[38] These spread across the country, almost like a coat of paint of the same colour. Later, a second wave of migrants, also with their own totem, arrived and spread across the country, like a second coating of paint of another colour. In some cases, the original coat of paint stood out, where the second immigration was not strong enough to overcome the original settlers, and a dynasty of people descended from the first wave of 'Bantu expansion' survived to the present day; in other cases, they did not survive, but were remembered in the traditions of the descendants of the second wave as 'those who were here before us'. Further immigrations, either from outside or from within the Shona-speaking world, arrived and repeated the process, until one had the complicated and fragmented pattern of the different totems of today.

This was an attractive explanation, if only because it reflected the views of the Shona-speakers *in their own local areas*. It was also, as research showed, quite wrong, but this only emerged during the research. As Keith Rennie had already done for the Ndau-speakers and as Richard Mtetwa was to do for the Duma confederacy[39] I too had to go through the available traditions and, by making a large map showing dynasties and their totems in different colours, try to establish who, in the picture given by the traditions, had been 'first' in each area. It was soon fairly obvious that such a map did not represent anything like reality at any one time: if one used the traditions collected by Donald Abraham in the far north, one seemed to have some totem groups 'established' as early as the fifteenth century, (though this was partly due to assumptions based on Portuguese documents that dated the *nzou-samanyanga* Mutapa dynasty), whereas the traditions collected by John White in the modern Zvishavane area 'established' such groups only as far back as the nineteenth century. There were many intermediate 'dates'.

During this early examination of data, one feature appeared to stand out. In a belt running across the country from the Bocha territory of the Marange dynasty, which bordered on the Odzi river, all the way west to the Mafungabusi plateau, one seemed to find 'original' dynasties that were very largely of the *shava,* eland, totem. Was this true, and if so, did it result from a single historical process? Was it possible, for example, that this came from an expansion northwards from the state at Great Zimbabwe? Did all or most of the *shava* dynasties of the Shona come from a '*shava* nuclear area' in this belt? The answer, as it turned out, was 'no', although it did become probable that a lot of *shava* dynasties did come from a much smaller 'central *shava* nuclear area' consisting of Old Buhera and Bocha in the eighteenth century. Similarly, and much more tentatively, one could refer to a 'central *moyo* nuclear area' just to the north, from which many *moyo* , heart, and 'Rozvi' dynasties had come in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The evidence for this, which lies behind *Shona and Zimbabwe,* is discussed in the next two chapters of this book, but in 1973 when I started my field work, the question was open.

I spent 1972 carrying out basic reading of the available archaeology, as many Portuguese texts as I thought were essential at that time, and trying to formulate basic questions such as the one posed above. I knew that I had finance until the end of 1973, and there seemed to be a good chance of getting more money for 1974, but beyond that I had no guarantee at all. I also knew that the collection of data was less than half the task: it always takes longer to write history than to research it. Consequently, no matter how tempting certain lines of research might be, and no matter how much I would have liked to carry out interviews in just one or two more areas, I was going to have to stop field work by mid-1973, say to myself 'thus far and no farther' and get down to the business of interpreting what I had found and writing the history that was the object of the exercise. It was, after all, to be a first attempt at a history of the Shona, not the last word on the subject, which was why the eventual book was subtitled 'An *Outline* of Shona History'. For all I knew, it might not have been possible to get any sort of coherent pattern any earlier than about 1750, in which case all I would be able to do would be to present a series of disconnected local histories for use by later researchers. (In the event, it took me a year and a quarter of actual full-time writing after 1974 to get the bulk of the book written, along with the first drafts of the three regional chapters that follow this one, and certain essential articles.[40] Even so, I had to write Chapter 8 of *Shona and Zimbabwe* in my spare time as a Lecturer at the University in 1977. I mention this in order to remind future researchers just how carefully they must plan their work in the time available to them.)

I therefore decided to start out along the '*shava* belt', from Bocha in the east to Buhera, then slightly south to the Munyaradze area of Gutu, then — by-passing the Mutekedza and Chivero areas, where I had been in 1969 — to the Neuso dynasty of Sanyati and then back to the Seke dynasty just south of the capital , still within the 'shava' belt. From there I could proceed as far north and east as the circumstances allowed.

iii The environment of a research project

Since the publication of *Shona and Zimbabwe,* I have found to my surprise that many Zimbabweans have had difficulty in grasping the historical geography and environment involved. Oddly enough, race has not had much to do with it. Whereas it is not really surprising that white Zimbabweans, coming from a largely urban environment, have some difficulty in visualizing the different kinds of countryside involved, even those black Zimbabweans who are not themselves city-bred do not necessarily have an intuitive grasp of the geography of the country. In retrospect and with the help of further research into population patterns, one can see why: the modern communications pattern of the country runs in a way diametrically opposed to the main environment of the pre-colonial peoples. Take, for example, the main lines of road and rail: today they run in an arc from Bulawayo to Gweru, the Midland mining towns, Harare and Mutare. For a great deal of the time they run along the watershed, and when they do leave it, from Gweru to Harare, they run west of the watershed through what was (and to some extent still is) a relatively thinly-populated area. Even the Harare-Masvingo and Harare-Rusape roads run along the watershed for most of their distances, and thus they, too, go through areas that lay outside the typical pre-colonial settlement zone. If the main communication route ran from Bulawayo through Zvishavane, Masvingo, Gutu, Rusape, Mutoko, and Bindura to Chinhoyi, it would be running almost entirely within the area that was the preferred environment of almost all the pre-colonial peoples[41]. Although black Zimbabweans may come from districts within the 'Great Crescent' of population in pre-colonial times, such as Mberengwa, Bikita, Buhera or Murehwa, and understand their local environment very well, if they want to travel long distances they have in most cases to reach the watershed routes of modern Zimbabwe and use those. Consequently, although they come from the "Great Crescent' they may not always see it as a unity. Those from outside the 'Great Crescent', from the relatively flat lands of the rivers that run west to the Zambezi, may not understand the environment of the 'Crescent' at all.

Conventional geographies of Zimbabwe lay stress on altitude, but altitude and the 'high', 'middle' and 'low' velds can be misleading in terms of pre-colonial settlement patterns. For example, since the country is generally wetter towards the east and drier towards the west, the contours that are associated with increased or decreased rainfall are not exactly equivalent in the east and west. Thus, whereas the 923-metre (or 3 000-foot) contour in the east marks the edge of the comparatively well-watered plateau and the beginning of the lowveld, in the west it is the 1 333-metre contour (4 000-feet) that is the rough equivalent in human environmental terms. However, contours can be misleading: on the eastern side of the main watershed the main contours reflect quite a dramatic change in environment, as anyone can see who drives from a point such as Chivhu down through Buhera to Birchenough Bridge: one starts in open grassland and quite soon drops into wooded valleys between long ranges of hills. Gradually, the hills cease to be continuous ranges and become more isolated, while the valleys merge into what eventually becomes the flat valley floor of the middle Save, typical lowveld country, while the woodlands, having been originally highveld *musasa* and *munondo*, gradually become the *mupane* forest of the low-veld, with dryland scrub studded with baobab trees appearing in the middle Save valley itself. If one drives west from Chivhu towards the Sanyati, the whole process is much more gradual: there are ranges of hills, such as those of the Great Dyke system that slice through the country from north to south, and the ground is rarely absolutely flat and level, but the change in altitude is so slow that, if you can find a vantage point, all it seems to reveal is a vast and heavily-wooded expanse that seems to go on forever to the west.

The dividing line between the two environments described above is the watershed between the middle Zambezi river system on the one hand and the lower Zambezi, Save and Limpopo systems on the other, taking the watershed as starting on the modern frontier with Botswana just west of Bulawayo and ending near modern Chinhoyi. West of the watershed, the land is comparatively flat, and the hills and rivers offer nothing like the contrasts to be found in the east. Moreover, many of the soils are sandy or sodic, while the rainfall is not particularly plentiful or reliable. East of the watershed, severe long-term erosion has produced the much more varied landscape described above, with deep valleys, and eroded granite hills and outcrops. The result is a very varied series of micro-environments, with widely differing resources of soil, grasses and woodlands, rivers and marshes, that offers attractive opportunities to farmers — or would do, if the population had remained at pre-colonial levels. Below the 923-metre line, of course, in the outlying parts of the lower Zambezi valley to the north, in the middle Save to the east and in the lowveld to the south-east, poor soils and inadequate rain make for an environment even less attractive than that west of the watershed. East of the Save lie the Eastern Highlands, a chain of major ranges that rise like a wall, running from north to south, that can be seen from as far away as central Buhera and similar points. These have their own complex micro-environments, but lie just outside the research area in question.

Historically, it is clear from archaeology, traditions and the early colonial data that for nearly two thousand years before the coming of colonial rule, people have preferred to live in the 'Great Crescent' of eroded valleys, rather than in the flat environment west of the watershed or in the lowlands of the lower Zambezi, middle Save and the south-east. This should not be exaggerated: human settlement did not suddenly cease at the watershed, which in any case was no jagged range of hills but, usually, a gentle rise. Communities lived in the river valleys of the west, where the best soils of that half of the country were, or near mines of gold and iron and salt deposits. Conversely, there were parts of the 'Great Crescent' that were much more thinly populated than others. In general, though, the population pattern of the country in pre-colonial terms was very uneven, in terms of 'east' and 'west'.

Colonial rule and large-scale alienation of African land to make commercial farms affected practically every dynasty in the country. Some lost all of their land, others lost most or some of it, and even those who lost little or none of it to the farms often had to give up some to those who had lost everything. This, added to a tenfold increase of population, meant that what had been the best environment for people in the previous 2 000 years had become the worst. Indeed, for the first time in that period, increasing numbers of people were forced into trying to make a living in the 'Reserves' west of the watershed, and although today the heaviest concentrations of rural population are still in the 'Great Crescent', the imbalance between 'east' and 'west' has altered slightly. This book is about pre-colonial history, but its contents have their relevance for twentieth-century history. As we get a clearer idea of just which dynasties moved where, in just what numbers and in just what environments, so we will be getting a clearer picture of what colonial rule has meant.

iv The kingdom of Baker Avenue

When I turned off the Salisbury-Beitbridge road in late 1968 and entered the Narira, Chilimanzi and Chibi Tribal Trust Lands to prepare for my first field research, I was entering an unfamiliar world. This may be surprising to most black Zimbabweans who do not appreciate just how isolated and ignorant the white Rhodesian population was in the years before Independence — or, in many cases, after; yet a glance at the Land Apportionment maps of the time explains why this was. The white Rhodesian population was overwhelmingly urban in character and normally hardly ever left the towns. Travel to other towns and holiday resorts was by the main road network, and the roads ran almost entirely through the white-owned farmlands, so that it was possible to travel between most major centres and never see more than a few kilometres of African-owned land, if that. (Indeed, even in the towns, nearly all the Townships in which Africans were forced to live were also placed well out of sight.) Consequently, most white Rhodesians never saw more than fleeting glimpses from a fast-moving car of the conditions in which the vast majority of the people lived — and most of them did not want to know about it in any case. As for those who were curious, by the late 1960s regulations were in force to keep them out of the African half of the country, so that except on main roads and access roads to missions and mines it was necessary to apply to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for permission to go even a few kilometres into a Tribal Trust Land. Such permission was not always easy to get[42].

Travel into the Tribal Trust Lands meant going along the broad tarred roads for a certain distance and then turning off onto narrow tarred or 'strip' tarred roads that, sooner or later, turned into dirt roads that had usually been cut up into chassis-breaking potholes and corrugations. Only when one left this 'main' road to visit the more remote villages did one find easier going on tracks that were quite smooth if one took them slowly and learned where the main bumps were. The contrast between the commercial farmlands and the Tribal Trust Lands was dramatic: vast, usually undulating, beautifully conserved (as indeed they should have been, given the circumstances) and apparently depopulated lands on the one hand, and rugged, mountainous and overcrowded territory on the other, in which there were still (in the early 1970s) expanses of woodland grazing in places, but in which very often the fields went on from village to village with hardly a break.

The newcomer would gradually get to recognize some of the finer distinctions of this new world. Some villages in the early 1970s were still entirely of pole and clay thatched huts, but one could see a gradual hierarchy of houses, according to the wealth of the owners, from brick thatched huts to square brick thatched houses, brick houses with corrugated iron roofs and even plastered brick houses just like those of the cities. The interiors and furnishings also varied: clay benches and dressers for pots, with a fire in the middle at one extreme, all the way to three-piece suites at the other end. Outside, under the shade trees, conditions could be anything from absolutely immaculate, as in a Zionist homestead in Sabi North, to frankly scruffy. There might be only one wooden chair, or many, and most villages seemed to have an extra population below knee height of dogs, toddling children and chickens that had to be kept off the tape recorder. This was to be the environment of most of the interviews.

At the road junctions were business centres, which might be no more than a general store, a bottle store and a butchery but which might sometimes stretch for a kilometre or more. Here the buses from the cities came, and here news spread, with a remarkable speed, to even the most remote villages. I stress this, because although in the interviews the subject matter might have been events that occurred in the eighteenth century, this was no isolated 'tribal' environment in which historical information was preserved in an immaculate form until a researcher should happen to come along. This was a very well-informed world, as the Rhodesian government learned to its cost in the 1970s, and newspapers, radios and gossip kept everybody very much in touch with events. It was no surprise to me in a village in the Mukwada ward of Bocha that a group of young men, probably to become guerrillas and *mujibhas* a few years later, asked if there was any connection between my enquiries and Ian Smith's broadcast to the nation about spirit mediums on the radio the night before.

Gum-trees, fences, a church and a school indicated that one was coming to a mission. This, with its outlying schools, was an enclave, tolerated to a certain extent by the government, in which the racist rules of Rhodesia did not apply — to a certain extent. A mission might be like the American Southern Baptist mission at Sanyati, with houses that would not disgrace Mount Pleasant, and enormous refrigerators and deep-freezes ('I just can't understand why we aren't getting through to the people', said one Baptist). Or it might be like the much more basic Dutch Reformed mission at Nyashanu, where the missionary went barefoot at times and spoke fluent Shona. There was still a distinct racial hierarchy, in that white missionaries were usually in superior positions, but it was on a very muted scale in a Rhodesia where, outside the University, some schools and churches and private homes, it was very difficult for the two races to meet at all, except as employees, employers and customers. It was always refreshing to get back to this rarified atmosphere. Without the missions and schools my research would have been very difficult indeed.

More gum-trees, more fences, a court-house and a block of offices marked the Internal Affairs centres. Here, the Rhodesian racial hierarchy was perhaps even more extreme than in the towns. Outside the offices the people sat for hours, waiting to get a document stamped or to make a complaint about something. Whether they got into the offices at all depended very much upon the District Assistants, in immaculate khaki uniforms and badges, who were the 'eyes and ears' of the District Commissioners. Many of these were experts on local history in their own right, as they ought to have been after listening to so many Chieftainship claims, but many were also much more committed than they ought to have been to one local interest group or another. Above them were white Cadets, District Officers and technical and agricultural specialists, mostly young, with most of the faults and virtues of young white Rhodesians of the time. Above them was the District Commissioner, the local supremo of the government. He might not always be physically present because, although the picture I am giving is typical of an Internal Affairs station like Chibi, Gutu or Buhera, some Districts had more than one Tribal Trust Land and so the District Commissioner would be based in a town like Fort Victoria or Gatooma and would only visit the Tribal Trust Lands periodically. If this was so, the Internal Affairs bases in the Tribal Trust Lands were smaller and less important. (The police were usually slightly apart from the Internal Affairs bases, and in my research I never saw much of them, though of course the people did.)

By the late 1960s and early 1970s the District Commissioners had acquired more power in the government of the country than ever before. The Internal Affairs ministry was very much the old Native Department that had been founded in 1894, and many District Commissioners were the second or even the third generation of their family in the service. They had a very strong sense of pride in their Ministry — partly, I suspect, as an inheritance from the days when the Native Department had been looked down upon by white Rhodesian society as being both the poor relation of government and dangerously pro-African by the standards of the time. Since 1961 more and more responsibilities had been given to the Commissioners, for although the number of Districts had not increased greatly over the past fifty years, the population they were supposed to control had increased enormously. The result was that they had less and less time to do anything, and by the late 1960s they were being shifted from District to District at ever-increasing speeds.

The attitude of the District Commissioners towards their African subjects was at best paternal and at worst hostile. It was a radical official who pointed out that the policy of putting more and more power into the hands of the Chiefs was not appropriate to the times or likely to do any good to the institution of Chieftainship, or who actually invited an African into his house for a meal. Under the Rhodesian Front government these rare 'radicals' did not usually prosper. Basically, what the Commissioners wanted was a docile and productive population inside the Tribal Trust Lands, under obedient and effective Chiefs and Councils. Educated Africans were just tolerated if they taught at the mission schools and kept their mouths shut, but anyone from the University of whatever race was regarded with extreme suspicion, as a nationalist if not a communist, liable to turn an otherwise peaceful District into a hotbed of sedition against the state. (In retrospect, one can see that the University was largely irrelevant to the realities of politics, but those were suspicious times.) Under such circumstances, one might wonder how it was possible to do any historical or other research at all.

In practice, the system was not quite as forbidding as it looked. Firstly, the Ministry did recognise that historical and other research was necessary to the country, and hoped to benefit from it. Some of the District Commissioners had a genuine interest in the history of the people, as their publications in *NADA* showed, and although few had degrees some had a sense of what was historical evidence and what was not. Others were interested in the past, but could not always distinguish between history and what they thought of as anthropology, so that they would work away at creating a definitive genealogy for a dynasty in the hope that, once they had completed it, a future official need only look at it in the event of a Chiefly succession crisis to see who, according to 'custom', should inherit the title. One such genealogy at Gutu was nearly ten metres long in 1973 and still growing. Others again, more realistically, saw that even accurate history is not so easily put to use in the present.

The second factor that made research possible was that, *if* the Ministry in Salisbury had approved the presence of a researcher in a certain District, then even an unsympathetic local official had to tolerate the situation. This was illustrated by the case of Richard Mtetwa: when he arrived in Bikita to start field work, the reaction of the District Commissioner was to forbid him to do so. The Provincial Commissioner backed up his subordinate automatically. When the Department of History complained to the Ministry that the very same Provincial Commissioner had, on completing his amateur history of the Duma, suggested that someone from the University should complete the task, the result was that the Ministry allowed Mtetwa to carry on. So, if the Ministry in Salisbury approved historical research in the first place, the researcher might find an almost embarrassingly helpful District Commissioner, who would let him look at Delineation Reports that were supposed to be restricted, *or* an unsympathetic or uninterested official to whom he reported his presence in the District — and then gave a wide berth.

The Ministry itself, in its headquarters in Baker Avenue, had to be approached with extreme care. This was especially true just after the University crisis of 1966: Keith Rennie was not allowed into the Tribal Trust Lands of Melsetter and Chipinga, and was only able to carry on with field work in 1970 because these areas were so small and scattered that it was not difficult for information to come to him. Richard Gray at first got the approval of a Deputy Secretary for his proposed work on the Rozvi — and the Chibi official tried to get him to visit Chibi — and then the Secretary reversed the whole decision.

Obviously, tact was required: if I had asked to be allowed to work on the 'First Chimurenga' in 1968 I would have been refused, but 'Rhodesia in the Pioneer period' was acceptable, though it meant the same thing. Moreover it was usually safer to ask for permission to visit only one or two Districts at first and get gradual extension of permission to others, working on the assumption that a junior official looking at the file would endorse a permission originally given by someone else. (A useful by-product of the centralization of so many powers in one ministry was that, if it agreed, no other ministry was likely to argue with it.) As time went on, however, the Ministry learned that historical researchers were not in fact a real danger to its position and that it had much more to worry about as ZANLA started its offensive in the north from late 1972. This is probably why so many researchers were allowed to operate in the early 1970s. It was the spread of the Second Chimurenga rather than the Ministry that gradually closed down research in the late 1970s, though Dawson Munjeri, working for the National Archives, very courageously carried on right up to 1979.

The background to all of the foregoing was the 'independent Rhodesia' or 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia' that lasted for fourteen years between 1965 to 1979. Since 1965, the world has seen many governments that have offended the conscience of that world because of politics, race, religion or even 'tribe', and the world does not expect subjects of those governments to emigrate except under extreme threat. Subjects are expected to stay put, getting what they can out of the governments' allocations of services based on taxation, until changes come. The same rule applies to academics, and the Rhodesian government was not the only one supplying student grants, research fellowships and lectureships to those who strongly opposed it. 'Who sups with the devil must use a long spoon' remains sensible advice, and research workers using government funds have to be careful in their choice of spoons.

In my case, I was taking up a government-funded fellowship that was on the same lines as that started by Donald Abraham in 1960-1. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, which funded most of this fellowship, hoped to get a guide to the Shona with particular reference to Chiefs. From the start of my research I made it quite clear that what they would get would be a published history — in fact, *The Shona and Zimbabwe.* To give the devil his due, the Ministry accepted this and did not try to dictate the course or form of my work. The resulting book just coincided with the Independence of Zimbabwe.

v Fieldwork

In another decade or so, Zimbabwe's roads may have improved to the point where it is possible to get anywhere at any time. In early 1973 it was advisable to wait until the end of the rainy season before trying to get into the remoter corners of each district. Field work in the rains was possible, and I had done it in 1968-9, but having then nearly lost a University Land Rover into the flooded Mwerihari, I preferred to wait until the rivers had gone down a little. (Even so, a flash flood in Buhera in late March 1973 led to my guide-interpreter and myself having to leave our vehicle on one side of the Watekamwa river, which had been bone dry only hours before, and wading across with the more valuable equipment held over our heads, to get back to Nyashanu mission.)

Gwyn Prins has quite correctly stressed the role of transport in fieldwork[43]: not only did the available roads and tracks dictate just where one sought informants, but the available vehicles dictated just when the interviews took place. In 1968-70 I had used University vehicles, which were charged for by the kilometre. This meant that, quite apart from the distances to and from the fieldwork area from the capital, which could be calculated in advance, driving back and forth inside the fieldwork area itself, from village to village, could quite easily double or treble the kilometrage and thus the cost of research. Consequently, in 1968-70 I used to take full camping gear so as to be able to stay near an informant until the appointed time of the interview. Very careful calculation of times and places sometimes enabled me to arrange interviews while going one way and then carrying them out on the way back.

In 1973 I had my own vehicle — funded by the project, that is — and had chosen a 'Bush Buggy', basically a fibreglass shell with Volkswagen components. This was very economical on petrol and very good on the tracks in the remoter parts of the districts, so that I could select a base in each district and move out to interviews each day without needing to camp out, *but* it was far too frail for the first main roads between the end of the tar and the less-used tracks near the villages. The result was that sometimes planned work in one area was delayed for a week or more while repairs took place. (It also meant that I had to borrow a bicycle and cycle 35 kilometres in the hills of Chiduku to get to an appointment on time.) Choosing the right vehicle for the available money is a perennial problem for researchers, and many different solutions have been tried. Some, like Richard Mtetwa, successfully used a motorbike. That would not have suited me because not only did I have to take an interpreter-guide but very often one or even two people insisted on coming with us to help introduce us to the informant, and often their help was essential.

My tactics for fieldwork involved a preliminary visit to the area to arrange for my stay, recruit a guide-interpreter, collect as much information as possible about the area in advance, learn who the best informants might be, and so forth. This might take place at any time from a week to a month before the actual research began. I also hoped that during the interval at least some news about my planned visit would filter out from the missions to the villages, so that my arrival would not come as a complete surprise. It would have been unwise to try to do all these preliminary trips at once, though I did do so in the cases of Bocha, Buhera and Gutu, because vehicle repair or teaching assignments might prevent or delay a visit planned far in advance. Moreover, in between trips it was necessary to do preliminary processing work on the interviews just completed and then carry out fresh research on the district that I was about to visit, reading the sources available so far and getting used to a completely new set of place names, titles and issues. Consequently, research was very much a process of sudden stops and starts.

With three exceptions, I stayed at missions during my work, and in every case I worked through a mission organization. The exceptions were Seke and Chihota, which were just close enough for me to be able to stay at home in Salisbury and travel to the field each day, and Bocha, where

I had received a fairly pointed hint from the District Officer in Umtali that I should not actually stay in Chipfatsura ward because it was 'nationalist': since this was the very start of my work and my relationship with Internal Affairs was still rather delicate, I took the hint and used a government 'rest house', but this was the last time that I received such a hint. I mentioned the missions in the 'Kingdom of Baker Avenue' above, but I would like to stress again that without their open-handed friendship and generosity I could not have done a fraction of the work I did. There was very little that I could give the missions in return for all that they did for me. I was getting about $290,00 a month then, and my other funds were limited, so in effect I was begging for shelter and food. In Sanyati and Wedza I was able to give lectures to the schools, but even this was not much compensation.

It was similar where guide-interpreters were concerned. My grasp of Shona was better then than now, because I was in a Shona-speaking environment and not spending my time reading or writing in English (research historians spend very little time actually talking to anybody while working) but I was still only getting the gist of interviews, not the real substance, without an English translation, so I had to have an interpreter with fair English at his command. I also had to have a guide, who not only knew his way around but who was known to the people, by repute if not personally. In Bocha and Gutu I was lucky enough to get the services of African ministers of the church, and elsewhere I found young men, students or junior teachers, who had the qualifications noted above. Again, I could offer them very little in return for their time and effort, even if it was only for a week or so. To them and to the host missions, named at the start of this book, I owe a debt that I simply cannot repay as I would like to do.

Having got thus far, it was time to seek out informants. These were chosen because they were regarded as being knowledgeable about 'history', because they represented important factions in the communities I was studying, and because they came from different parts of the district in question. I knew that I could not see everybody in these categories, but I tried to get a fair sample. Inevitably, this meant seeing the Chiefs and Headmen as well as 'ordinary' people. At that time, the government was placing far more emphasis on Chiefs and Headmen than they merited, but it would have been tactless and futile to try to by-pass them. In any case, nearly every Chief had got where he was by knowing enough of the local dynastic history to be appointed, and many of them were good 'traditional' historians in their own right. After seeing the Chief, it was possible to visit others.

Access to the Chiefs depended on what was going on in the district. In Buhera, when I started work, most of the Headmen had been called in to the Buhera office on business, and I was able to interview them in a quiet spot round the back. In Chihota, another such rush of government business meant that it was days before I could get interviews with even two of them, and I had to move on to Wedza with another four communities untouched. With Chiefs, Headmen and 'ordinary' people, when it was possible I arranged interviews in advance, but in other cases it meant going into the interviews without prior warning. This often meant long waits until the time was right, and I thought I was doing very well if I got two interviews a day.

Interviews effectively started on the outskirts of the village, with greetings being called out, hands being shaken and clapped and praise-names being used. (If the correct praise-name was not known already, we would have asked on our way in: using a praise-name was not just good manners, it meant that one had taken the trouble to find it out, and in a case where a praise-name was a rare one it had a very good effect.) Having met the informant and been introduced, there were further questions of etiquette. Sometimes, if the household had enough chairs, we would all sit up on them, sometimes we all sat on the ground — but what if there was only one chair, and if they offered it to you? Theoretically, good manners would require one to suggest that the informant or most senior person present take the chair, so that he — as the host, and senior to me, the one asking the favour — would be seated higher up, but what if the people *insisted* that one take the chair? Did one risk giving offence by refusing? Luckily, the need to control the tape recorder usually meant that I would have to take the junior position anyway. All this was important because I was coming not as a government official in a position to command, but as a supplicant, and this affected the whole tone of the interview.

Once introductions had been carried out, and we had been seated, the process of explaining the visit began. (It was at about this point that my Shona began to collapse.) I was from the University (most people knew about that). I wanted to record the history of the old times, *not* the recent past or present. I was staying at X mission. I had previously seen so-and-so. That person had said that the informant knew a lot about it. Would it be possible to get an account? If the answer was 'no', we would have to withdraw politely, asking if anybody else might be willing to talk. If 'yes' then the tape-recorder would come out and be demonstrated. (This was very popular, though on windy days it meant moving to the lee of a house to keep wind noise in the foam-rubber masked microphone to a minimum.) Then, finally, the interview would start, after the informant recorded his name.

The beginning was the most general question imaginable, such as 'Can you tell me the history of the people of X?' The informant would be asked to talk in short bursts, to allow for translation, and soon a rhythm was established. While the informant and interpreter talked, I added notes on points that arose to a card that contained the main questions that I wanted to ask on the dynasty in question. Only when the informant finally came to a halt would I then ask questions, trying to keep them in a roughly chronological order. Very often a question would lead to another long stretch of narrative from the informant. When he and I had run out of things to say, the tape would be played back as far as possible (a sharp eye had to be kept on the recording level of the machine, as research was partly a constant hunt for batteries; there were never enough) and this too would often lead to more recordings as fresh questions arose. In the end, the interview would tail off, I would slowly leave the village, saying goodbye and thanking practically everybody. And so to the next interview, when the same process would occur.

Very few people wanted payment, and I was in no position to give it except in occasional very small payments and the soft drinks or beer that we shared afterwards. Nor would it have been good practice to offer money on a significant scale if I had had it: quite apart from the danger of 'buying' tailor-made 'information' to suit the researcher's requirements, if word had got around that I was paying money for interviews I would have had plenty of interviews, but the informants would not necessarily have known much about the subject. Basically, we were appealing to the natural interest of the people in their history and to the importance of having it preserved. Indeed, occasionally we would get interjections from the interested crowd that collected, and it would be necessary to ask tactfully for the interjector to wait until the informant had finished so that the differing version could be recorded.

Generally, the interview was its own reward. For the informant, it was an opportunity to show off his knowledge and to advance the claims of his house to a European who was asking a favour, not demanding information like an official. For everybody, it was something different, a break in routine. One informant who had been summoned from his bath in the nearby river (I hadn't realized this) was understandably grumpy at first, but got quite enthusiastic as the interview went on, and was obviously enjoying himself at the end.

On the whole, I think that people accepted that I was what I said I was. Researchers had often been in the district before, and the difference between them and government officials who came in perfectly recognizable vehicles with uniformed subordinates — and, I suspect, with rather different manners in most cases — was understood. This did not mean that there was no lingering idea of deference to Europeans or that people did not think that somehow, in some way, even if I did come from the University, what they said might help them in future land and title claims, but I certainly was not getting either complete subservience or complete rejection. As one man who would not be interviewed put it (I paraphrase, as he was drunk at the time), he didn't object to me but he did object to the phrasing of the note of introduction that the Chief had given us! In short, although I knew that I could not get the kind of information that I might have got if I had been in the same district for months like an anthropologist, I was certainly getting enough to justify carrying on over time.

Sometimes there happened to be a local factor that very much helped research. In Bocha the Marange dynasty, encouraged by the government, was trying to oppose the claims of the Mutsago house to control of the southern end of Bocha, while Mutsago house was busy inflating what had been a genuine claim to a demand for an equal status *vis -`a-vis* Marange. Both factions were quite glad to get a chance to spread their views, in any way possible. Similarly, the Samuriwo dynasty was quite keen to be interviewed because it had a dispute going back many years with the Nyandoro dynasty. In Buhera, the Nyashanu dynasty was objecting to the 'independence' of the Chamutsa dynasty, formerly a Headmanship under Nyashanu, and was even engaging lawyers to prove its case. These disputes complicated the task of the researcher in one way, because few factions could resist exaggerating their claims to make absolutely sure of success, but they also helped because they made interviews easier and because the officials had had to carry out their own researches, which often led to more reports being made on matters that would otherwise have escaped notice. Just what the researcher made of all this depended on the situation after field work.

vi After fieldwork

By mid-1973 I had a collection of tapes, each carefully marked with the name of the informant and date and place of interview, and note-books and cards carrying the other information picked up along the way, such as the names of people met in different districts — absolutely essential to a researcher who tends only to recall people who have been dead for a century or so. Fortunately, I had an assistant, Miss Nolian Sithole (as she was then). In 1968-70 I had had to listen to every tape myself, copying down the English half of each interview. Now, Miss Sithole was transcribing the whole of the 1968-70 tapes in English and Shona as well as those that I brought in during 1973. The results often made both of us sigh: there were cases where the interpreter and I had accidentally asked a leading question in spite of having tried not to do so (so that the answer could not then be used): and there were cases where I could see in retrospect that I should have pushed my enquiries just a little further, so that there was a temptation to go back for just one more interview, a temptation that had to be resisted if the work was to be completed.

The tapes of the 38 interviews collected in 1973, and those of the 58 of 1968-70, were stored at the University, along with copies of the transcripts, which were numbered and given very brief introductions explaining who the informant was, where and when he was interviewed, who was present and what special factors affected the interview. Several other historians working at the time did the same. Ideally, the transcripts should at some time be edited and footnoted down to the last mountain, title and local expression and then published, so that an historian working in, say, London can use them without getting any closer to Zimbabwe than the southern edges of Russell Square. This is not an ideal world, and Zimbabwe simply does not have the resources to carry out such an exercise in the foreseeable future. Editing Shona traditions is not easy: not all informants do start off with a clear, continuous narrative that gives the basis of the whole history, and many points do arise from questions, so an edited transcript of an interview as it actually took place would involve having the reader shift back and forth in time and from one topic to another. On the other hand, to cut and splice the taped evidence into a coherent whole would be to disguise the real nature of the interview, and to combine the essential features of several interviews on the same dynastic history would be even more misleading. The future researcher who uses the transcripts will inevitably have to become familiar with the background, though the following three chapters should be of some use.

Yet it is essential that other researchers should be able to see the transcripts, with all their defects. If some researchers of the 1970s did deposit their transcripts with the University, others did not. If a researcher produces a dissertation or a book that uses oral tradition and refers to certain interviews to prove a point, that point is not proven unless the interview can be checked. This is just as true for researchers who are known to be cautious, careful workers who would never dream of putting words into the mouths of informants as it is for the most careless amateur, and equally true for the notebooks of the less 'wealthy' as opposed to the tape transcripts of the University worker. In short, 'no access = no proof', even for the most impressive academic work. Thus those who want to check the University of Zimbabwe's tape transcript collection may do so, just as they may check a documentary reference in the Archives.

There are differing opinions about just how open such collections should be to researchers who want to do more than check references to oral traditions. My view is that, while it is essential that tape transcripts should be checkable by other researchers, they lie in a 'grey' area between the private notes of a researcher, which are his own property, and documents in a public archive, which are open to anybody. Consequently, as long as a researcher is alive and intends to make further use of the traditions that he has recorded, he has the right to grant or to refuse permission to researchers who want to incorporate them in their own works. This stems partly from an unacademic but human feeling, that those of us who actually did the hard work of collecting the traditions find it hard to get enthusiastic about a newcomer who wants to make full use of them to write history without stirring outside Harare and without offering anything in return. (In the early 1970s we got a few proposals from Zimbabwean students working on dissertations from universities in the USA that we should do their field work for them, presumably while they took vacation jobs.) Of course, this sanction would not apply to researchers who were making a genuine effort to collect their own material.

To conclude not just this section but the whole chapter, I have tried to show both Zimbabwean and foreign readers, both academic and general, as much as I can of the context in which *Shona and Zimbabwe* and the next three chapters were researched, in the hope that they can benefit from my example when I was doing things on the right lines and avoid my mistakes when I was doing things wrongly.

Field interview in Gutu, March 1973. The tape recorder in the foreground made it possible for the interpreter's words to be checked against those of the informant. Both are quoted below the other photographs as they were recorded, without correction here.

(Photo: Author)

'Vakange vachinyangira negano ini ndinaro gano racho,' 'They used to go where the elephants would be and then kill them by a small axe called gano renzou': UZHD Text 74 Mutare. This 'economic' tradition told by Headman Mutsago had a double significance, as it was part of his claim to be equal to Chief Marange.

(Photo: Author)

SECTION 2: Shona Dynastic Histories: The Central and Southern Shona

As was pointed out in the Introduction. *A Zimbabwean Past* covers only some of the history of some of the peoples of Zimbabwe. Even so, the area covered is a very large one, and nearly a hundred central and southern Shona dynasties are involved. It is only fair to warn the reader what to expect.

Firstly, although all of these dynastic histories deal with the same basic question, which is that posed by the oral traditions on which they are based, namely 'How did the people of each dynasty come to claim the territories they did, and how did rulers succed to the titles that gave them the theoretical right to control the land?', they are otherwise very different indeed. This is because the economic, political and social factors that caused people to recall the past at all were different in nearly every case, and there was a tendency to focus on one or two issues that were of interest to the people at the expense of the others.

Thus in some cases what matters is the way in which the ruling dynasty acquired land from those who originally held it. In other cases it is a question of frontiers, either before or after the coming of colonial rule. Sometimes the issue is that of who controlled the land in which parts of the territory. Often the main point is the succession to the title, which ruler succeeded whom and which houses lost the right to succeed. All of these differing emphases can be examined in Chapter Seven, but that chapter generalises whereas in the three chapters that follow we see some of the data upon which the generalisations are based. It is a very rare dynastic history that contains elements of *all* aspects of oral traditions.

Consequently, the period or periods upon which the most emphasis falls varies from case to case. Sometimes it is important to know what occurred in the eighteenth century; sometimes it is important to know exactly what occurred in the First Chimurenga of 1896-7, whereas in other cases this period is passed over because it was of less importance locally. Sometimes, although this book cannot possibly look at all of the factors that affected people in the twentieth century, we have to go well into that century to understand how the oral traditions and theories of political succession changed as people changed them to suit their own ends.

What can be gained from reading these chapters? For the pre-colonial historian the answer is obvious, at least in the field of political history: it is out of these many local histories that we can reconstruct the early political history of the country, a history that is still known only in outline.

Through this it will be possible to move to pre-colonial economic and social history in company with the archaeologists and anthropologists. Archaeologists will find that the geographical parts of these chapters refer to people living at certain places in the past at certain times. Although traditions rarely give such precise references that the archaeologist can drive straight to a site and start digging, they often narrow down locations to a hundred square kilometres or so, which is at least better than waiting for sites to be discovered by chance. Sometimes traditions refer to external trade, which is important to archaeological dating, and very often patterns of land use and settlement in the past can be deduced. There are several ways in which anthropologists will find these chapters useful. In the first place, anthropologists are often interested in political succession and have produced models of the way it may have worked. In these chapters we see something of how it actually worked, although it seems unlikely that any real 'system' will emerge — a set of conflicting tendencies is more probable. Secondly, although the role of women very rarely emerges from these male-dominated histories, glimpses of the female factor appear from time to time, in succession to titles and land based on wives' houses, in the old 'sister's wards' of some central dyna-sties and in rare individuals like Karivara.

However, although this book is basically about pre-colonial history, it has its uses for the reader interested in the twentieth century. Any historian wanting to know why Chief X took the attitude he did at a certain time would do well to look at the process by which Chief X had got to be where he was. Economic historians may well find it useful to know just where the Y people had been before land alienation and how much of their old lands they had kept. Finally, any government official or development worker interested in the District of Z has to know about the past of its people.

As was pointed out in the Introduction to this book, *A Zimbabwean Past* is expected to reach the people themselves as well as those who study, govern or develop them. Here I would suggest that the two kinds of reader adopt different reading strategies. Anyone approaching these three chapters without much previous knowledge should *not* try to assimilate all the detail at once, or severe indigestion may result. But anyone with a special and previous interest in one district or dynasty — especially someone from one of these dynasties — should attempt to read as much as possible. Only then will it be seen that hardly any dynasty has a history without dispute or differing interpretations.

CHAPTER 2

The Central *Shava* Belt

i Introduction

As was pointed out in the previous chapter, one of the first tasks for research in the early 1970s was the creation of a large map, with the pre-1900 territories of the Shona marked out in different colours according to the totems. One feature that stood out at once was a broad belt where the predominant colour was brown, for the *shava* or *nhuka* (eland) totem, which ran all the way from the Odzi river in the east to the Mafungabusi plateau in the west. In the nineteenth century this belt was broken in several places, by the *moyo* Njanja and the Changamire Rozvi fragments on the upper Save; by the small *dziva* dynasties of Nerutanga and Chitaura-Maburutse that bordered on the Njanja; by the *mhara* dynasties of Maromo and Mashayamombe; by the *nhari* of Nyandoro; and by the 'Tonga' of Ngezi. But most of them appeared at first to be relatively recent immigrants who had settled in what had been *shava*-dominated land.

The *shava* belt included the following dynasties: in Bocha, in the angle of the Odzi and Save, Marange; in Buhera, on the south bank of the upper Save, the Nyashanu and Mutekedza dynasties, once part of the Mbiru dynasty; south of Buhera, the Munyaradze dynasty; west of the watershed, where the population was settled more thinly, the Mushava, Nherera and Rwizi dynasties; on the middle Mupfure, the Chivero dynasty; far to the west of Chivero, in the angle of the Munyati and Mupfure, the Neuso dynasty; and west of the Munyati, on the Mafungabusi plateau, the Chireya, Njerere, Nemangwe, Nenyunga and Negonde dynasties, the latter reaching nearly as far as the middle Zambezi. Indeed, if one included the NeHarava and Seke dynasties of the upper Mhanyame, the Nyavira dynasty of the Gwivi flats and the Hwata and Chiweshe *shava* dynasties of the upper Mazowe, the '*shava* belt' could be extended to the north. (However, even at the start of research it was fairly clear that Seke, Hwata and Chiweshe *shava* represented comparatively recent migrations out of the central *shava* belt.)

Given the strong belief of the Shona that there must be a connection between all lineages of the same totem, the temptation to assume that this was a nuclear area from which all *shava* dynasties had originated was strong: after all, at least three *shava* dynasties of the south, Chiwundura *shava*, Mapanzure and Matenda had traditions indicating origins in or near Buhera. Moreover, I was not the first person to whom this idea had occurred. In Chwaya, the territory of Neuso, there was a tradition that Neuso and Chireya had travelled out of 'Guruuswa' to the east, which suggested a common origin.[1] Similarly, in the 1850s the African hunters and traders who worked for Izidoro Correia Pereira, the commandant of Sena and nominal *Capitão-mór* of Manyika and Teve, reported to him that the mines of Gwenzi (Chivero) were in the 'district of Oeras (the Hera)', a 'district' that also included the Shurushuru goldfield to the west and the Njanja territories of Gambiza *moyo*.[2] As the traditions of the region do not in fact suggest that the Hera had ruled as far west as Chivero or the Shurushuru, the only explanation would seem to be that these African agents had also noticed the prevalence of ruling *shava* dynasties in this belt and had concluded that all *shava* were originally Hera.[3] Consequently, it seemed possible that this *shava* belt represented a very old political unity on the Zimbabwean plateau, and in the early drafts of my work I referred to it as the '*shava* nuclear area'. Indeed, since there were *zimbabwe* in this area, apparently reaching from the Mutanda range to the Mupfure, and at least one of these in Buhera was linked in tradition to the Mbiru dynasty, it was also tempting to conclude that this belt of *shava* dynasties had something to do with an expansion of dynasties northwards from the Great Zimbabwe state from the fourteenth century.

All the above reasoning was very much like that of Sicard, and it was faulty for much the same reasons that Sicard's theories tended to fall down: firstly, many *shava* dynasties outside the *shava* belt do not claim origins within it;[4] secondly, most of the *shava* dynasties west of the watershed do not claim a common origin with those of Buhera and Bocha;[5] thirdly, apart from the case of the *zimbabwe* on Gombe mountain in Buhera, there is no connection between the dynasties of the *shava* belt and any *zimbabwe*-type buildings, and their histories cannot be projected back to the Great Zimbabwe period. Therefore, I had to abandon the idea of *the* '*shava* nuclear area' and refer instead to a 'central *shava* nuclear area' confined to Buhera and Bocha, because these at least did seem to be very long-established territories under *shava* rule, and because quite a lot of *shava* dynasties did appear to have come from there.[6]

The foregoing is intended to remind the reader that in Shona dynastic history what appear at first to be obvious linkages are not necessarily so, and that the researcher must be prepared to abandon even the most tempting theories if the available evidence does not support them. What follows is an examination of the entire *shava* belt across the centre of the country, as far as the evidence allows, dealing first with the older dynasties and then with the ones with more recent origins.

ii The Marange dynasty of Bocha

Newcomers to the world of Shona politics could hardly find a better point at which to start than the Marange dynasty of Bocha: it offers a neat little case history of struggle for political power and land, with the enforced peace of colonial rule only just suppressing the older methods of conducting politics in the last century.

At a first glance at the map, Bocha appears to be cut off from the surrounding country by natural features: on its northern border lies the Mutanda range, while on the east and west, joining in the south, run the Odzi and Save rivers, both of them major streams that are difficult or impossible to cross at the height of the summer rains. Actually, neither of the rivers have proved to be serious barriers to contact, while the Mutanda range is cut by many passes. In colonial times, however, Bocha was the most remote part of the Umtali district, and this is one of the reasons why there are so few sources on its history. A more significant environmental feature is the triangle of land above the 923-metre contour that occupies most of the northern part of the territory: to a certain extent Bocha history has been the history of the struggles within the dominant *shava/mukonde* lineage, headed by the holders of the Marange title, to control this higher land, with the losers tending to be pushed to the edges into the lower and drier plains of the Odzi and Save. The highland triangle is dominated by the 1 700-metre flat-topped mountain Nyaruhwe but, perhaps because it is so huge and steep, Nyaruhwe does not seem to have figured much in Bocha history. Instead, the main sites mentioned in Bocha traditions tend to be the smaller hills and mountains such as Makomwe to the south-west of Nyaruhwe and a large number of others between Nyaruhwe and the Mutanda range. Another feature of the uplands was the small gold belt along the Mutanda range: although it had largely been worked out (by pre-colonial standards) by the late nineteenth century, it had still been worth noting in the 1850s and must have been a valuable asset in earlier centuries.[7] Indeed, a small *zimbabwe* had been reported at the eastern end of the Mutanda range, though there is no way of linking it to the Marange dynasty, which can only be dated to the eighteenth century with any certainty.[8] In the southern lowlands, settlement has tended to concentrate on outlying hills such as Dema. Generally, the south was comparatively unattractive lowveld, but elephants bearing ivory, and salt springs on the Save, provided a certain amount of compensation, though hardly enough to outweigh the poor farming environment.

There does not seem to have been any pre-Marange population that was remembered in traditions, though presumably there must have been one. Even the NeChipindirwe *nzou* house that was settled early in the lowlands has a tradition of coming from the Mutapa area[9] while the Chiwadza *moyo* and Mushunje *shumba* lineages are comparatively recent immigrants. All the other major lineages are offshoots of the Marange *shava/mukonde* dynasty. The Marange dynasty does not seem to have any clear traditions of origins from elsewhere. In 1900 there was a report that the Bocha people were refugees from the far west, who had been so harassed by the Ndebele that they remembered nothing except that they had come from the west, but this report is so sketchy that it seems likely that the official who made it had not bothered to make serious enquiries.[10] This may lie behind a note of 1954 to the effect that the Marange dynasty had 'Hera affiliations' but this note may equally rely on no more than the common totem of Marange and Nyashanu and the fact that the two dynasties have a few personal names in common.[11] In fact, intermarriage between the two has taken place, which argues against any very close links.[12] Another theory was used by the Mutsago and Mukwada houses in their claims against the dominant Marange dynasty. The Mutsago house did travel to Bocha through Mbire III, and both it and its neighbour the Mukwada house claimed that their ancestors were the elder brothers of the founder of the Marange line. They therefore claimed that the Marange dynasty came from Mbire III,[13] but there is no support at all for this among the Bocha of the highlands and, as will be seen, the Mutsago claim that the *senior* house (by their reckoning) chose the lowlands around Dema is most improbable. On the face of it, therefore, it seems that the Marange dynasty has been established so long in Bocha that for all practical purposes it can be regarded as having originated there. This is certainly the impression given by the few surviving traditions of the Marange founding ancestor, Mutekwatekwa.[14]

Mutekwatekwa is said to have lived in the far north of Bocha,[15] depending on which variant of the genealogy is used, his death date is *1728 or *1756+32, which would put his career at the peak of Changamire Rozvi power.[16] He is indeed stated to have been installed by the Rozvi. Although it has often been stated or implied that the Rozvi appointed, confirmed or installed all Marange rulers, the next occasion on which they are specifically recalled as having done so was at the beginning of the reign of Nzvenga in the mid-nineteenth century, when the Rozvi who had fled from the Ndebele to the upper Save were apparently taking an active part in regional politics.[17] Consequently, although the Rozvi appear in Bocha traditions at the beginning of their history and from the 1850s onwards, Bocha may have been totally independent during the period in between.[18] That seems to be all that is known of Mutekwatekwa, and indeed even less is known of his elder son, Shirichena, who succeeded him.[19]

With Shirichena's younger brother, Chirukamaswe, who succeeded him as Marange, we begin to get more detail. He is stated to have allocated a great deal of land to his followers: Senda to Chikuni, Chinyaruuyu to his son Dambamuromo, land south of the Mutanda range to Chipamba, Cherenga to Zvirumwedza, Chinemapembe to Muwoko and to Dongorere, Mapembe itself to Chimhiti and Nengomasha to Mukomborwe. Other people went to Chibvurenyi, Rukandanwa and Nhengwe near Makomwe.[20] Most of these areas seem to have been in the uplands, between Nyaruhwe and the Mutanda range.

Marange Chirukamaswe died in the late eighteenth century, and it is said to have been in his reign that the long rivalry between the main Marange dynasty and the Mutsago house began.[21] To explain the origins of this, we must go back a little. At some time in the early eighteenth century a *shava* group left Bocha and travelled to the north-west, eventually to settle in the land of Harava on the Mhanyame river and to found the Seke dynasty.[22] At some time not too long after the Seke conquest a civil war drove some of the emigrants back to Bocha. Led by Ushanga, they did not go to the more favourable uplands, probably because the Marange dynasty had taken the best land, but instead went to Dema mountain in the lowlands to the south. Dema was owned by the *nzou* leader Nechipindirwe of nearby Chipindirwe hill, probably a sub-ruler under Marange.

Ushanga's people, who became known as the Mutsago house, took Dema and inter-married with the Nechipindirwe line. Dema was a long way from the heartland of Bocha, and the Mutsago house was left very much to itself.[23] At some time in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries two other groups entered the Bocha lowlands. From Muwushu across the Odzi came *moyo*-totem people who settled in lower Buhera under Chamutsa. A branch of these people under Chiwadzwa moved into the Rombe section of lower Bocha, refining and marketing salt. They appear to have been tributary to Marange.[24] In addition, in the course of the Marange civil wars the Mukwada house was ejected from the uplands and forced to settle near Nechipindirwe, who supplied Mukwada with land and wives.[25]

Although Chirukamaswe lived at Chekamaswa hill, he also had a base at Makomwe. This may reflect growing land pressures in the old settlement area north of Nyaruhwe, or a desire for a more secure base. In any case, although future Marange rulers were to live in other places, Makomwe became more and more the 'capital' of Bocha and assumed a special importance as a rulers' burial place.[26] Chirukamaswe was succeeded by his son Dambamuromo, of whom little is known except that he lived at a place called 'Mwandiyambira's.'[27] He probably died in *1808+24, and in the rest of the nineteenth century the history of Bocha was dominated by the struggles of his sons and grandsons to dominate Bocha in the face of growing pressures from outside. The century also seems to have seen an economic decline, with the working out of the Bocha goldfield and the reduction of the numbers of cattle to a very low level.[28] The Ndebele rarely seem to have reached Bocha but, by driving the Changamire Rozvi to the upper Save, they indirectly affected Bocha politics as the Rozvi began to take an active part in affairs.[29] Bocha was, however, well within the range of the Gaza Nguni when they settled in the south-eastern highlands beyond the middle Save in 1862, and apart from their great raid to the central plateau in c.1867 they also passed through it in 1880, 1888 and doubtless on other occasions.[30] Traditions suggest that although there was some resistance it was more usual for the Bocha to pay tribute.[31]

Dambamuromo was succeeded by his son Museyamwa, who is said to have died without children.[32] In view of the fact that this was also incorrectly said of his brother Chimhiti's son, Dongorere, it is possible that he did have sons but that they were pushed out of the line of succession and into obscurity. Museyamwa was succeeded by Chimhiti, and Chimhiti by Dongorere. As Chimhiti also had a younger brother, Nzvenga, and there was obviously no clear-cut succession system, Dongorere's succession probably faced opposition. We are not certain how or when Dongorere died, but it is significant that for a long time he was said to have died without children.[33] Actually, he did have descendants who formed the Wendumba house. This house was given a ward in the north-east of Bocha, possibly as compensation for the loss of its right to succeed to the Marange title.[34]

Nzvenga succeeded Dongorere, but not by any easy process. The leader of the Mukwada house attempted to gain the Marange title, and actually succeeded for a short while with the support of some elders. We do not know the exact relationship of Mukwada to the house of Nzvenga, and what followed partly explains why.[35] Nzvenga, who claimed the title of Chapuradima — the title of a Marange heir who had not yet been installed — lived under Mukwada's rule for a while, being in some danger from poison. In the end he forged an alliance with Mutsago and the Mukwada leader was killed.[36] After this the Mukwada house remained in exile in the southern lowlands.[37] The price of Mutsago's support for Nzvenga was virtual autonomy at Dema, including the prized right to keep the tusks of elephants killed on his land. Mutsago was known as Marange's head councillor.[38] However, either Nzvenga or his son Gandidzanwa was faced with a threat from Mutsago's ambitions: Mutsago wished to become the official installer of Marange rulers. Nzvenga's response was to claim that it was the 'custom' for the Rozvi to crown Marange rulers, and so the Rozvi, now settled in strength on the upper Save, came and installed him. Mutsago was forced to let his daughter marry Nzvenga, in spite of the closeness of their relationship. This effectively debarred Mutsago from claims to the Marange title, and in retrospect it looks as though Nzvenga used the Rozvi as a counterweight in the balance of power.[39]

Nzvenga's success over the Chimhiti-Dongorere, Mukwada and Mutsago houses was short-lived, however, and in 1931 he was not counted as having been a ruling Marange. He is said either to have been killed by the Chimhiti house or to have been forced into exile, first to Sadza, then to Garahwa and finally to Mapembenja.[40] Nevertheless, his descendants managed to overcome this set-back, and continued to dominate Marange politics from then on. This process was begun by Nzvenga's son Gandidzanwa, also known as Chahuruva, perhaps because his descendants were as many as the dust, as he had at least thirty-two sons.[41] He managed not only to become recognized as Marange by all the rival groups but also to cut the Mafararikwa house out of the succession. This house took up what became a semi-autonomous ward around Senda mountain, presumably first as a place of exile from the centre of Bocha politics and later as compensation for exclusion from the title.[42] Gandidzanwa lived at Mapembe in his youth, but by 1880 the Marange capital was at Makomwe.[43] One of the factors that aided Gandidzanwa was the arrival of the Mushunje house. The father of Mushunje left Manyika during the reign of Dongorere in order to escape the civil wars in that territory. He married Dongorere's daughter, but his son was to align himself with Gandidzanwa. According to one account he helped to rule Bocha during Gandidzanwa's minority and helped him during a famine. The Mushunje line acquired land east of Nyaruhwe, and became the hereditary *semukadzi,* a senior councillor.[44]

When Gandidzanwa died — possibly in 1884, certainly by 1895 — his third and eldest living son, Nyachitu or Nyakupeni, succeeded as Marange. He apparently had to fight off an attempt by the Mafararikwa house to take the title, and during his long reign he appears to have had to grant wards to the houses of two of his brothers, of Chipfatsura who died before Gandidzanwa and of Chikuku who died before Nyachitu himself.[45] This, and the recognition of Mutsago as a sub-ruler over Mukwada and Chiwadzwa,[46] seems to have given Nyachitu a relatively secure power base. He needed it, because whereas Bocha had been divided by civil wars almost since the death of Dambamuromo it was not isolated from foreign affairs. As noted above, Bocha paid tribute to the Gaza Nguni after 1862, but paying tribute to the Gaza did not bring the degree of stability that resulted from Ndebele rule: when the Jesuits reached Mapembe in 1880 they were met by an envoy of Mutasa who had apparently invaded Bocha without reference to Marange, and indeed it seems that relations between the two were cool.[47] Bocha also got involved in the politics of the Mutambara dynasty of Garwe, and seems to have got the worst of it, as it had to cede an enclave of land in the uplands, at Chikwiriro, to Garwe.[48]

The sudden transfer of the centre of the Gaza state to the south in 1889 seems to have upset the whole balance of power in the east of the Zimbabwean plateau, and it is not surprising that Marange signed treaties with the British South Africa Company shortly afterwards. Actual colonial rule arrived gradually: the Native Department was collecting forced labour by 1895, and although Nyachitu was 'inclined to give trouble' at first he seemed to have been persuaded to 'subjection and compliance with the rules of the government'.[49] But not for long: in April 1896 two of NC Nesbitt's men demanded labourers from Nyachitu, but he sent them on to Mutsago who supplied 60 men. On the way back they found that Nyachitu had fled from his village, so they seized his herds. An attack followed in which Nyachitu recovered his stock, and the police finally reached Umtali with only 30 labourers.[50] Nesbitt's death and the 1896 Chimurenga prevented further action, and Marange was neutral during the rising, though like Zimunya he probably considered joining in against the colonial state.[51] In August 1896 a patrol of Volunteers looking for carriers penetrated as far as Mutsago at Dema, and collected some hundreds after a demonstration of artillery.[52] In the decades after 1896 the Marange lost a strip of the uplands along the Mutanda range to European farmers, but the core of settlement around Nyaruhwe remained, though it had to absorb people from the farms. After Nyachitu's death in 1929 the Marange succession continued without, for the first time in almost a century, civil war, although in 1955 war very nearly broke out. As the brothers of Nyachitu took the title in turn, real power began to accumulate in the hands of his son Hama Isia, who as a 'progressive' was appointed as acting Chief in between reigns. In 1955 he and his supporters were evidently tired of waiting for Nyachitu's generation to die out, and he opposed Makarara for the Marange title. Spears, axes and sticks were in evidence, and after the state had played for safety by appointing Makarara as Marange the latter took his revenge by fining his opponents, threatening to exile them to the lowlands of Rombe and appointing his own *semukadzi*. 'I made them pay', he said; 'if the Europeans had not been in the country I would have killed them'. Hama Isia finally became Marange in 1961.[53]

To put the foregoing saga in perspective, we have been looking at the history of no more than the ruling minority of the 5 000-odd people who lived in Bocha in pre-colonial days: when the Mushunje, Mukunguma, Gombe, Dambiko, Mutsago, Mukwada and Chiwadzwa leaders met to discuss the succession in 1931, fourteen other non-*shava* leaders aided them.[54]

iii The Mbiru-Nyashanu dynasty of Buhera

The history of the Mbiru-Nyashanu dynasty of Buhera is interesting in that it shows how politics may have worked during the period of the Great Zimbabwe culture. Also, it shows very clearly how, as a

result of political struggles, *dunhu* (ward) boundaries were re-drawn and revised.

Modern Buhera consists of the whole region between the Save and the Nyazvidzi rivers, south east of the Ruwenje and Nyamasanga streams and an arbitrary line joining the latter two that was used to divide Buhera from the Charter district,[55] but 'Old Buhera' used to extend up to the Munyati river on the main Zimbabwean plateau watershed, with some Hera living north of the upper Save and others claiming land as far south as the Devure.[56] This large area was the home of the *shava/museyamwa* lineage that was originally led by the Mbiru dynasty, which in turn gave rise to the Nyashanu and Mutekedza dynasties. Most if not all of the other ruling dynasties in this area freely admit that the *shava/museyamwa* Hera people were there first. As in Bocha, there is a triangle of upland over 900 metres high which divides the valleys of the Save and Devure-Nyazvidzi, but in the case of Old Buhera this upland extends past the 1 200-metre contour to reach 1 500 metres at the watershed, so that Old Buhera — which was roughly three times the size of Bocha — offered the Hera far more good-quality land on which to operate. Where Old Buhera further differed from Bocha was in the fact that most of the upland area above 1 200 metres was lost to the immigrant Njanja in pre-colonial times, leaving the *shava/museyamwa* in two sections, under Nyashanu in modern Buhera and under Mutekedza in what can be termed 'West Buhera' up by the main watershed. Here we will be looking at the history of Old Buhera under the Mbiru dynasty and then at the Nyashanu dynasty, leaving the Mutekedza dynasty and the Njanja to be dealt with later in this chapter.

At the time of the Great Zimbabwe culture, several *zimbabwe* were built between the 900 and 1 200-metre contours: Matendere, Mutowa, Muchuchu, Kagumbudzi and Gombe. These are so close together that it seems likely that they were all built by the same dynasty, but with the exception of Gombe there are no traditions about them. Gombe, perched on the edge of the cliffs at the south-east end of Gombe mountain, is unusual in several ways: it is built in a rough version of the Great Zimbabwe style (probably because there was not much of the right kind of stone available) and has three monoliths in its single wall, but it also has seven 'loopholes' and is strongly linked in traditions to Mbiru, ancestor of the Hera, who is stated to have built it.[57]

The Hera, like the Bocha, have no traditions of any dynasty having existed in the country before them, though they do have traditions of 'little people', *mandiwonerepi, maguu.*[58] For the Hera, history starts with Mbiru. Ever since the first Hera tradition was recorded in 1904, the general consensus of opinion has been that Mbiru did not come from any other specific country or dynasty but was at Gombe 'from the beginning' although some informants, presumably reasoning that since Mbiru was an ordinary human being, thus was not created at Gombe and therefore had to have come from somewhere else, have offered a vague origin 'over a great water', *mhiri kwegungwa.*[59] Mbiru is variously seen as a lone hunter, someone who did not know fire, someone so completely alone that he had to marry a 'Bushman' woman, and so on.[60] Another well-known tradition states that Mbiru quarrelled with his sons because they wanted his wives, and so he retired into a cave on Gombe, never to reappear.[61] There are several reasons for thinking that 'Mbiru' was in fact a dynasty rather than a single ruler. One of these is that there are so many houses under Nyashanu, as well as the Mutekedza dynasty itself, that claim descent from Mbiru, that it seems unlikely that they were all descended from the same individual.[62] Secondly, the story of Mbiru's disappearance into a cave looks rather like a myth to explain a major change within the dynasty.[63] Thirdly, the traditions concerning the succession after Mbiru have been changed during the twentieth century in such a way as to suggest that more than one ruler may have been called Mbiru.

The earliest tradition, collected in 1904, stated that Mbiru had several capitals, but usually was based at Gombe. During his time, the first Rozvi leader entered the country from the north-east, and introduced fire and crops, the people having been hunters and gatherers until then. This Rozvi, who married one of Mbiru's daughters, was Gwangwava,[64] who is known from other sources to have settled at Nharira well to the west of Gombe.[65] The 1904 tradition then went on to give Mbiru's successor as Rukoto, who lived in the Ruwira hills (near the Chiwona *zimbabwe)* . Rukoto sent his son Marazha to the Rozvi capital at 'Samanyayi' where he gained the favour of the Rozvi and in due course returned and deposed his father from the Hera title. He lived a long time and extended his boundaries considerably. Dukuta then succeeded, reigning a long time from Gombe, and was succeeded by Goroshanga, who reigned for a long time from Gombe and Chingombe. After him, Charambira ruled for a short time before being deposed by his brother Matema and exiled to Gutu.[66]

Sixty years later the tradition had been simplified a little: Mbiru, still living at Gombe and still not knowing fire until the Rozvi came, was said to have had five sons: Hwata, Chiweshe, Mapanzure, Masarirambi and Mutekwatekwa. The first four killed an eland *(shava)* and fled to found their own dynasties elsewhere, leaving Mutekwatekwa to rule as 'Nyashanu', the fifth one', at Bedza. Mutekwatekwa's brother 'Sahwenje' was to have succeeded, but sent Mutekwatekwa's son Dirikwi to get confirmation by the Rozvi on his behalf, with the result that the Rozvi appointed Dirikwi as Nyashanu and the 'Sahwenje' founded the separate Mushumba house. Dirikwi also ruled at Bedza, and on his death his three sons Mudawose, Matema and Muradzikwa fought for the title. Matema got aid from Gutu and killed Mudawose and blinded Muradzikwa, ruling from then on from the Marabada hills. Nevertheless, the spirits caused so much trouble that the Muradzikwa house got the ritual drums and spears, women and a ward near Bedza as well as the right to succeed, while the Mudawose house was called back from exile in Bocha and got the Chirozva ward but no right to succeed.[67] Another version that was in existence by 1971 went as follows: Mbiru's son Dukuta succeeded him after he vanished (allegedly being afraid of the Ndebele), and lived in the Ruwira-Bedza area, being succeeded by Dirikwi, his only son. Dirikwi had five sons, and Matema succeeded as 'Nyashanu' by eliminating the other four: 'Hwenje' should have succeeded, but sent Matema to get confirmation by the Rozvi, and Matema became the ruler, subsequently blinding Muradzikwa and luring Mudawose to his death in battle against Gutu, Matema's fourth brother being insignificant and left alone. But Muradzikwa's house did retain the right to succeed.[68]

Out of these three versions, and with some help from the map and evidence collected in 1973, it is possible to build up a composite history, but one that cannot tie up all the loose ends. A few points need stating in advance: firstly, the 1904 history appears genuinely to have recorded aspects of early Hera history that have since been forgotten, but was oversimplified on the 'civil war' period of Matema; secondly, the episode of the Rozvi replacing a 'rightful' successor by his nephew probably belongs to the early period and has simply been shifted one or two generations closer to the present in later versions; thirdly, it is probably impossible to tell exactly when or why the Mbiru title changed to Nyashanu, as the 'five brothers' stories differ so much and may in any case have been invented to explain a title that was in fact created in other circumstances now forgotten.

The main geographical feature of Nyashanu history is the way in which the Hera rulers, like their *zimbabwe*-building predecessors, seem to have used successive parts of the territory as their capitals. Thus Mbiru used Gombe, followed by Rukoto and Marazha who used the Ruwira-Bedza area, with Mutekwatekwa Dukuta and Dirikwi Goroshanga then returning to Gombe, with the power base being finally located around the Marabada hills from the time of Matema. With the exception of two wards apparently created in the twentieth century, or at least in the late nineteenth, the structure of wards in Buhera is still based on the Marabada range, with a semi-concentric pattern of houses and wards, those descended from recent rulers in the centre and those descended from early rulers on the edges. As a map of the western part of modern Buhera of 1897 shows that this pattern evidently existed then,[69] so it reflects historical reality to some extent, but on the other hand it cannot be projected any further back into Hera history than the first half of the nineteenth century as Marabada was not a capital area until the reign of Matema. This confirms the suggestion from Bocha history that whereas territories as entities are very long-lived, wards are not, and have been subject to change according to the politics of the time.

The 'Mbiru' of the 1904 tradition and Rukoto can both be dated to the seventeenth century, which fits the traditions concerning the Rozvi coming from the north-east as the move of the Changamire dynasty to the Torwa state in south-west of the Zimbabwean plateau took place at about that time.[70] The coup carried out by Marazha against Rukoto with Rozvi support also took place at about the end of the seventeenth century, and has its parallels in neighbouring areas at about the same time.[71] Marazha was said to have lived for a long time, and extended his boundaries considerably. This seems to have occurred after the Rozvi had fixed the boundaries of the tributary rulers, and it may be that the Hera presence north of the Save, south of the Nyazvidzi and up to the main watershed dated from this period.[72] During the long reigns of Mutekwatekwa Dukuta and Dirikwi Goroshanga the centre of power moved back to Gombe.[73]

Most of the recent traditions give the credit for the exclusion of many sons of 'Mbiru' to Mutekwatekwa Dukuta,[74] but it may in fact have been a gradual process spread over two or more generations before him. The "Sahwenje' houses of Mushumba and Betera, for example, may have separated from the main line at the time of Marazha's coup, as the traditions concerning them are very similar to the 1904 tradition about

Marazha. These houses received wards in the south-east and east of Old Buhera, respectively.[75] Other houses in this category were those of Nechivava, Chiweshe, Mudinzva and Murambinda, and they received wards in a belt across Buhera from the Nyazvidzi to the Save, just east of the Gombe capital area.[76]

On the death of Dirikwi Goroshanga in the early nineteenth century there were two major developments. One was a serious civil war between his sons; the other was the loss of the Gombe area to the Njanja. It is difficult to establish cause and effect here. Did the Njanja take Gombe because the Hera were too weakened by civil war to hang on to it? This seems possible, because the Njanja advance seems to have reached the Gombe area only later in the century,[77] and because although the Njanja and the Nerutanga *dziva* recall Hera-Njanja wars in that area,[78] the Hera traditions tend to deny conflict with the Njanja over Gombe itself, claiming that they left the area to seek game towards the south-east.[79] This could relate to a serious famine mentioned in the 1904 tradition, possibly to the demand for commercial ivory on the Zambezi and coast, or possibly to the effects of the civil war.[80]

The civil war that followed Dirikwi Goroshanga's death centred on the ambitions of his son Matema. As was shown above, the 1904 tradition gave an oversimplified version of the war, 'Charambira' presumably being Mudawose or perhaps a combination of Mudawose and Muradzikwa.[81] But the results of the war are fairly clear-cut: Matema's house established itself around the Marabada hills, while the Mudawose house got the Chirozva ward to the east of them and the Muradzikwa house got the Chikuwa ward to the west of them and the right to succeed. Matema's long reign was also marked by a major attack by the Rozvi in which his people were treacherously attacked while assembled to pay tribute, and then by the famine referred to above.[82] The reign of Matema evidently ended before the first Ndebele raids in the 1850s.[83]

It is not certain whether Muradzikwa succeeded as Nyashanu or not on Matema's death. The 1904 tradition omits him, but a later tradition claims that he did succeed but Matema's son Makuwa Mawire acted as regent for him and then succeeded to the Nyashanu title himself.[84] However, it seems certain that Muradzikwa's son Chikuwa Mundandi then became Nyashanu, although in 1904 it was reported that 'nothing of importance is known of this chief.[85] This is not surprising, as Matema's second son Murwira Mfumo was then Nyashanu, having been ruling since at least

1897,[86] and Matema's house and especially that of Makuwa Mawire were firmly in control. All of the Nyashanu Chiefs from 1907, when Murwira Mfumo died, until 1943, four in all, came from Mawire's house and it was not until the 1940s that the Muradzikwa house convinced the government that it deserved not one but two successive turns at the title. Thus Muradzikwa Chiefs ruled from 1946 to 1981.[87] Whether either the Matema or Muradzikwa houses would have held the title for as long as they did if civil war had not been abolished from 1897 is doubtful, but in terms of the land there is no doubt that the Matema house made good use of its period of supremacy: seven wards were formed by the descendants of Matema, all but two in the core area around the Marabada hills.[88]

One of these exceptions, the ward of Chingombe house, reminds us that the history of Buhera was not simply the history of the *shava/ museyamwa:* it received an area in the far south-east of Buhera, beyond even the Mushumba house's ward. This seems to have been a comparatively unattractive area for a house that, in spite of the fact that Chingombe evidently died before he could succeed Murwira in 1907, retained the right to the Nyashanu title,[89] and it is possible that it was intended that Chingombe house should defend Buhera from invaders. Certainly the Gaza Nguni were a menace from 1862 to 1889, and one *dziva*-totem house was said to have been established as a look-out point against them,[90] but in fact the whole question of Nyashanu's boundary in that direction was and is a vexed one. To begin with, the far south-east of Buhera between the Save and Devure was thinly populated lowveld and, whereas from the point of view of Nyashanu rulers living in the uplands of Buhera it was doubtless valuable as an ivory-hunting area, there was little incentive actually to occupy it by Hera communities. Consequently, although there were the small communities of Begede and Nejingamire *dziva* from Dondo over the Save,[91] and of Nechiwi and Chikova *moyo* and Mashani *ngara,*[92] and Nemadziva *moyo,*[93] Nyashanu's actual control over them was probably limited. In addition, from at least the early nineteenth century the Chamutsa *moyo* dynasty had crossed the Save from Muwushu – one of many such *moyo* groups to do so at that time – and more or less conquered the area.[94] Just what the relationship between Nyashanu and Chamutsa was before 1904 is not clear; in that year, it was stated that since before Rukoto's time the Nyashanu could only cross the stream into that area by being blindfolded and carried across amid shouting and singing, for fear of going blind and losing the title,[95] so the boundary between the two was obviously an old one, but whether that meant that Nyashanu had no rights at all over the Chamutsa area is not certain. Very probably the position changed from time to time, with such houses as Begede and Nejingamire playing off Nyashanu against Chamutsa to their own advantage. Since Chamutsa was raised to Chieftainship in 1967 the historical position has probably been confused for good by the claims made by both sides and by even more local rivalries.[96]

Other non-Hera communities in Buhera included the Viriri house from Bocha,[97] and the Neshava *ngara/wamambo* house, which was given a complete ward east of Gombe.[98] The Nerutanga *dziva* dynasty, which will be dealt with in another section, was also once under Nyashanu.[99] Buhera lost virtually no territory to land alienation,[100] and with a traditional history that appears to go back much earlier than that of most of its neighbours it provides a rare example of a dynasty ruling in the same area from the last period of *zimbabwe* construction to the present.

iv The Masarirambi-Mutekedza dynasty of West Buhera

The focal point of the history of Mutekedza of West Buhera is the period of the 1890s: during this time, political deadlock between the houses that held power, and the arrival of the first outposts of colonial rule, allowed a faction that had been excluded from power to recover the title. Three years later, in 1896, the leader of this faction found himself fighting on both sides at once. Not surprisingly, he and his house lost power.

The correct name for the territory of the Masarirambi-Mutekedza dynasty appears to have been Zabe, after the range of hills that formed one of the main settlement areas of the western Hera, or Gona, after the other big range nearby,[101] but the term 'West Buhera' will be used here to stress that we are dealing with what was once part of Old Buhera, cut off from the main Hera territory by the advance of the Njanja. Originally, West Buhera must have been much larger than it was in the late nineteenth century, but the Mount Wedza region was lost to the Mbire of Svosve in the eighteenth century, as well as land between the Save and the lower Mbowa river to the *soko/gumene* Mudzimuirema dynasty.[102] To the east, land was lost to the Njanja, and to the south and south-west to the

Chitaura-Maburutse *dziva* and Maromo *mhara* dynasties.[103] A Rozvi group under Murambwa also took over the 'Chikomba' area in the north, but judging from the whole range of sources for the 1890s and 1900s it is unlikely that it was totally independent. Probably Murambwa was under the Hera at that time[104] To the west, the border with Nyandoro's territory of Tsunga was the upper Munyati.[105] This area is generally higher, more open and with less well-defined river valleys, which may be one reason why territorial borders are harder to define, though reference to the maps of the 1890s gives us a rough idea of the limits of each dynasty,[106] but a major reason for the geographical confusion is the fact that almost the whole of the western Hera territory was taken up by the Wiltshire and other estates and the Hera were moved off into the Manyeni and Save North reserves. When the Wiltshire returned to African occupation in the 1960s it was as individually-held purchase land, and the old ward divisions — if in fact the western Hera did have well-defined wards — were not revived.

According to Hera traditions, the founder of the West Buhera dynasty was Masarirambi, descended from Mbiru. Masarirambi was said to have settled first at Zvevare or Nharira in the territory of Bvumbura, rather to the south. However, this claim is a little suspect, because non-Hera traditions also indicate that this area was held by the *shiri* dynasty of Chirwa and that the early Njanja and Gwangwava's Rozvi also settled there. Whereas the Hera as a whole are widely agreed to have been the first in the whole Old Buhera area, the Masarirambi lineage has had good reason to stress its prior rights to the land because it has been so hemmed in by others, and it has been claimed that the Masarirambi gave the Chirwa leader a daughter.[107] In kinship terms, this would have tended to put the Chirwa in a junior position, and since the Njanja were descended from a Chirwa's daughter, the placing of Masarirambi in Bvumbura as Chirwa's father-in-law would have made him the undoubted genealogical and territorial senior in the whole of the West Buhera region. Masarirambi's successor Chingwere is said to have lived at Makoshori, and Chingwere's nephew at Manyeni and Gamanya, but by the 1880s the main strongholds appear to have been in the Altona-Gona-Zabe area.[108]

Most if not all traditions are agreed that although there was a person named Masarirambi, his name became that of the dynasty for some time, until it was changed to 'Mutekedza'.[109] Indeed, there may have been more than one Masarirambi before the next generally-remembered successor, Chingwere Chimhavi.[110] Tension developed between his house and that of his younger brother, Dete, and after a civil war the latter succeeded to the Masarirambi title.[111] Dete was succeeded by his fourth son, Musonza, in circumstances that led to the near-monopoly of power by Musonza's descendants. One tradition states that the house of one of Dete's elder sons, Murishomana, fought Chingwere's house for the ruler's title, won it and then gave it to Musonza.[112] Another version states that Musonza's son Chingono distinguished himself in a war with Gutu, winning the name 'Mutekedza', 'one who stands in the open', but that his father insisted on taking the name for himself as a replacement for his title Masarirambi.[113] These traditions, taken together, may reflect reality but they should be taken with a pinch of salt. It is easy to see that Dete's house would have wanted to take the title from that of Chingwere, but as Murishomana house pointed out in the 1960s, Musonza's brothers did not fight Chingwere just to see Musonza's descendants monopolize power.[114] Similarly, the western Hera may well have fought Gutu, either during cross-raiding or perhaps as part of the Gutu-Hera wars mentioned in Nyashanu traditions,[115] but by changing the ruler's title to 'Mutekedza' Musonza was in effect cutting out his own brothers as well as Chingwere house from the succession. In short, there appears to have been a straightforward power struggle, first between the Dete and Chingwere houses and then between Musonza's house and the rest.

Musonza probably died in about the 1830s, but his rivals remained in being. This may account for the attitude of the Mutekedza dynasty to the Ndebele. By the late 1850s Ndebele raiders were beginning to reach the area, partly in pursuit of the Changamire Rozvi, partly in pursuit of Nyandoro.[116]

The Hera of Mutekedza were raided then, and one tradition stated that Musonza's son and successor Chisvo was killed, while the head of the Nyoka house was said to have had his hands cut off.[117] But the Ndebele were perfectly prepared to accept people as tributaries, and a large number of the southern Shona were paying tribute to avoid being raided. The nearest part of the main Ndebele tributary area was the territory of Chirimuhanzu, and neither Maromo's *mhara* dynasty nor the Njanja appear ever to have paid regular tribute to the Ndebele, which raises the question of why the Mutekedza dynasty, even further away, did so. According to one tradition, a son of Musonza named Mandisadza raided cattle from the Ndebele but then returned them, on the orders of the ruling

Mutekedza. The result was a treaty relationship with the Ndebele and, probably, Ndebele support for the sons of Musonza against their rivals. This tribute was still being collected in 1888, apparently by two men from the Ndebele state identified in traditions as Rozani and Munhondo.[118]

Traditions differ on just which of Musonza's sons held the Mutekedza title: all agree that Chisvo was the first of them to rule and Mutswiri the last, but whereas the 1904 version gave only Matemayi as ruling between them, the 1964 account claimed that only Mandisadza ruled during this period.[119] Mutswiri's death raised two major questions: would the rule of West Buhera stay in the house of Musonza or revert to the descendants of Chingwere, and if power did stay in Musonza's house, which of his grandsons would succeed? Traditions state that Mutekedza rulers at about this time began to have what seemed to be unnaturally short reigns, with the result that the *mhondoro* spirits were consulted, their advice being that Chingwere's descendant Muchecheterwa Chiwashira be appointed.[120] The documents tend to support this, but with a very different explanation for the surprising return to power of Chingwere's house: in 1888 there was apparently a ruling Mutekedza,[121] but in 1889 when the Portuguese made treaties with most of the rulers of the central Zimbabwean plateau *two* rulers of the western Hera made contact with them. These represented the 'Masarirambi' and 'Musonza' houses, which were stated to be divided by the Mbowa river. Treaties were evidently made with each, and this led to the connection with the Ndebele coming to an end.[122] In 1890 there was evidently only one ruling Mutekedza,[123] but by 1891 there were two rivals for the title.[124] In 1892 there was still no accepted Mutekedza, and one of the rival claimants hinted to the BSAC interpreter from the court at Victoria that the BSAC should intervene.[125] At that time even the individual houses were divided; in October 1892 the Chisvo house was divided between the 'Chisvo' and 'Sungendava' factions.[126] Still there was no solution, until the Chingwere house made a successful alliance with the Europeans. The origins of this lie in the decision of a demobilized BSACP trooper, Henry Short, to stay on at the old Umniati Post Station as a trader. He became a Field-Cornet over a radius of 10 miles from Umniati in August 1892, and it seems likely that he was already mixed up in Hera politics, for when in September he was wounded in a gun battle while trying to arrest a man who had assaulted one of his servants, a force of 300-400 Hera turned up to protect him. Short also had a farm, Altona, very close to the Chingwere house's stronghold. At some time between 1891 and 1896 he married the daughter of Muchecheterwa Chiwashira, and thus it was that in October 1893 Short intervened in order to have his father-in-law confirmed as Mutekedza by Rhodes during one of the latter's journeys through the country.[127]

To sum up this complicated period, the death of Mutswiri probably led to serious divisions within the house of Musonza, and this sufficiently weakened the dynasty to allow the Chingwere house, with Short and his servants as allies, to regain power, although to do so it had to drop the Masarirambi title and to adopt that of Mutekedza. There is no record of opposition to Muchecheterwa's rule from 1893 to 1896 from the rest of the dynasty, but when the first Chimurenga came in March 1896 in the Ndebele area, the weaknesses of his position began to emerge. He allowed the BSAC to recruit men from his people in April, and they went off with Beal's Column to fight the Ndebele. But in June word came that Beal's Column had been destroyed in battle, and presumably the Hera volunteers with it. This was serious news, particularly for Muchecheterwa, if the Hera group had included a large number of men from his own house, as this would have altered the balance of power within the Mutekedza dynasty. But other news altered the situation even further: the dynasties in the Mwenezi range had followed those of the middle Mupfure into a rising against the Europeans, and Maromo's dynasty just to the south-west had already joined in.[128] Muchecheterwa thus had to make a decision. Opinion in the Musonza houses evidently favoured joining in the rising, and so Muchecheterwa decided to follow suit, sacrificing his son-in-law Short to the needs of the day.[129]

Once in the rising, however, the western Hera found it hard to keep going: Beal's Column re-appeared from the south, bringing with it the Hera force, so that Muchecheterwa now had men on both sides. Beal's force did some damage as it went north, but the real danger to the western Hera was that they were threatened from Fort Charter on the one side and the Njanja on the other, the Njanja having decided to come in on the BSAC side.[130] When a large force of British, Natalian and Southern Shona collaborator troops arrived in September, some of the Hera — unfortunately we do not know from which houses — had already contacted NC Taylor, and with their help Muchecheterwa was persuaded to surrender himself before the rest of his people had given up fighting. He died the next year in prison[131] The rest of the Hera abandoned resistance shortly afterwards.

The First Chimurenga thus left a vacancy for the title of Mutekedza. But already the splitting of the Hera had begun. Before the end of the Chimurenga, two 'locations' for refugees had been established, one on the Masugandoro stream west of Altona, the other on the 'Machimbudzana', and Taylor appointed Gavajena of Nyoka house to rule the one and intended to appoint the late Mutekedza's son over the other.[132] This foreshadowed the splitting of the Hera by their removal from the Wiltshire estate, but by mid-1898 it had become apparent that a Mutekedza was still needed, and Sungendava of the Chisvo house was elected by a majority of the people consulted.[133] The basis for this decision, which was probably that of the Hera themselves, was apparently that, as Musonza had had six important sons who had not all held the title, some of their houses should have the right to succeed nevertheless. Thus, before 1893, Mutiti of Chigonero house had briefly held the title,[134] and now it was the turn of Chisvo house. Whether this arrangement would have held good under pre-colonial conditions is difficult to say, but under colonial rule Matizha of Nyoka house followed in 1914, and Masoka of Matemayi house in 1921. After that, Chisvo and Matemayi houses ruled until 1976, with the long-neglected Mutswiri house succeeding in 1982. The Nyoka house gained its own Chieftainship in Manyeni in 1926. This was reduced to a Headmanship under Mutekedza in the 1950s and restored in 1968.

v The Munyaradze dynasty of South Buhera and the Karivara cult

The history of the Munyaradze dynasty and the Karivara cult is most unusual, in that the central figure of the oral tradition was a woman. It used to be a commonplace that defeated African dynasties became religious cults, but the Munyaradze-Karivara group managed to be both religious and secular.

The modern Gutu district is centred upon the *gumbo/madyirapasi* Rufura dynasty of Gutu that arose in the first half of the eighteenth century. Essentially, the district exists because of the later territorial expansion of the Gutu dynasty and the importance attached to it by the early colonial administration. Before the Gutu rulers became paramount in the area, however, there was no real political unity in the region: north of the Devure, the historical links were with Buhera; in the east, links were with the middle Save valley and, beyond, with the Eastern Highlands people; south of the Devure, the Duma confederacy dominated the land until the rise of Gutu, although the Duma themselves had only been in the area since the early eighteenth century.[135]

Since, in this chapter, we are looking at the possibility of a *shava* 'nuclear area' having existed in the past, and since there are two *shava*-oriented communities living between the Devure and the Nyazvidzi rivers surrounded by Gutu's Rufura, it might be thought that we are seeing the remnants of an original *shava* occupation of what can be termed 'South Buhera'. In fact, the picture is a little more complex: these surviving communities, the Munyaradze dynasty and the Karivara cult centre, were only indirectly linked to the Hera, and were established after the Gutu dynasty was founded. Nevertheless, the land as far south as the Devure does seem to have been once part of the Mbiru-Nyashanu territory of Buhera,[136] and there were Hera communities living there: Nechirima's and Mushava's Hera north of the Devure,[137] and Mheresi's Hera living below Mount Rasa.[138] But, as stressed elsewhere, no Shona area was exclusively dominated or inhabited by one totem-group. The *shiri* people of Chasura lived at Gona, Hweru and Rasa, which latter mountain appears to have attracted a lot of different groups. Maronga *moyo* lived between the Vazizi and Nyazvidzi rivers, and there were *mwenye* Lemba at Hamandishe.[139] All these people, apparently, were under Mbiru-Nyashanu until Gutu became powerful. The rise of the Rufura is generally dated to the middle of the eighteenth century and the career of Gutu Mabwazhe, but the origins of the Munyaradze dynasty and the Karivara cult came a little later, from across the Save, and involved one of the rare women given major importance by Shona traditions.

In the territory of the Muwushu *moyo* dynasty beyond the Save in the late eighteenth century lived Gumbu-Marumbi, a member of that dynasty. He was a major religious figure, able to produce rain with the help of his special regalia. Unable to die at the end of his life because of the power of this regalia, he ordered his sons to burn it, and when they refused he made his daughters do so. This effectively transferred his powers to his daughters, and specifically to Karivara.[140] Thus runs one version of the tradition: another claims that Gumbu-Marumbi vomited forth a rainstone that he gave to Karivara.[141] The girls fled from the hostility of at least some of their brothers, and arrived in Buhera as impoverished refugees.

Thus far the traditions follow the religious mythology of the middle Save valley, especially those of Musikavanhu and the Duma.[142] But in addition to the religious element, it seems that the same kind of pressures that drove Chiadzwa and Chamutsa's *moyo* westwards were operating here, since a number of the girls' brothers are said to have accompanied them.

According to a myth also found in the tradition of the Kaguvi cult, Karivara's powers were not recognised until it was noticed that the cattle given her to herd were remaining fat during a severe drought.[143] Her powers were then recognised, and she was made the wife of the Nyashanu ruler by force, according to some.[144] At this point the traditions differ. The drought continued, and the Nyashanu called on all of the *masvikiro* (mediums) of the country to compete in an effort to produce rain. Karivara and her sisters defeated a team of Rozvi mediums by producing a downpour. So far, there is agreement, but some versions say that the event occurred at the capital of the Nyashanu,[145] while others claim that it took place at 'Matonjeni', meaning the Changamire state area.[146] It is easy to see how a tradition locating an event in Buhera could in time have been altered to fit 'Matonjeni', because in the twentieth century the Mwari cave-cult based on 'Matonjeni' was powerful in the Gutu area, but it is difficult to see a 'Matonjeni' tradition being transferred to the less famous Buhera region, and therefore it is probable that the 'Buhera' version was the original. However, the whole point of the tradition is basically to stress that, though Karivara's descendants were *shava* because her son was fathered by Nyashanu, they were *shava/wakanonoka,* not *shava/museyamwa* like the Hera, and that they were not simply part of Buhera.[147]

Karivara did not stay in Buhera after this. Nyashanu's other wives are said to have hated her and her son by Nyashanu, Chinemasabwa. Indeed, the whole *moyo* community of Karivara and her brother may very well have been unwelcome in Buhera, at a time when the economy was threatened by droughts that even Karivara's powers might not have warded off entirely, and at a time when there may already have been the menace of Chamutsa's *moyo* in the eastern lowlands of the territory.[148] The traditions concerning Karivara's search for a place to live vary according to whether they contain the 'Buhera' or the 'Matonjeni' version of the rain competition, and they variously claim that Gutu[149] or the Rozvi[150] allocated land to her group. Since the Rozvi had connived at the replacement of the Chasura dynasty by that of Gutu, the two versions are not entirely contradictory.

A Munyaradze tradition stresses that Karivara selected land in what is now Munyaradze territory, probably to stress Munyaradze land rights in the crowded Gutu area.[151] But in the end, she settled at Rasa with her *moyo* brothers, who founded what is still called the 'Chamutsa' community, though it is not certain that there is any proven link with the Chamutsa dynasty of Buhera.[152] Her son, Chinemasabwa, came from Buhera and settled, but this led to tension.[153] The community split in two, and Karivara's religious power split also. One tradition claims that she was killed,[154] and she was said to have been buried in the Vazizi river.[155] Her spirit began to enter mediums among the *moyo* community at Rasa but her regalia went to Chinemasabwa, who went to the upper Devure-Soti area and founded the Munyaradze dynasty.[156]

After this, the most important developments in the history of Munyaradze concerned land and religion. The Munyaradze territory was surrounded by the expansion of Gutu's Rufura, and in general Munyaradze became subordinate to Gutu. The Munyaradze traditions still claim that Gutu came offering friendship and protection, but took the outlying Munyaradze lands as the price for this. This probably reflects the overcrowding of Gutu district in this century.[157] The Munyaradze dynasty developed its own rain cult, based on the possession of Karivara's regalia, and in 1960 the Karivara cult leaders at Rasa were still trying to get it back.[158] The relationship between the Munyaradze cult and the Mwari cave-cult of Matonjeni has varied considerably over the years: in 1960 the Munyaradze cult leaders not only denied any spiritual connection between themselves and Matonjeni, but they also denied that Gutu had any right to go there.[159] Yet in 1966 Munyaradze cult members twice visited Matonjeni with the local Mwari cave-cult leader.[160]

The short history given here is tentative and at the same time something of an over-simplification, as the history of this area interlocks with that of the Rufura and the Duma which are covered elsewhere.[161] What it does show, however, apart from the fact that it is possible to get widely differing traditions on a relatively small community, is that the Munyaradze dynasty is not a remnant of early *shava* settlement but rather a hybrid creation.

vi The *shava* dynasties west of the watershed

Thus far, we have been looking at the *shava* dynasties in the central *shava* belt to the east of the main watershed or, more accurately, to the south-east of the upper reaches of the Munyati river. We now turn to the west of the upper Munyati to look at the *shava* dynasties that existed in the region of the Mupfure valley, the middle Munyati valley and the lands in between them. We will also be looking very briefly at the *shava* and other dynasties even farther west on the Mafungabusi plateau.

There are two obvious differences between this sub-region and that dealt with so far: Old Buhera, its outliers and Bocha. One is environmental, and the other relates to the traditions of its people and the history that can be reconstructed from them. In the first place, this western part of the central *shava* zone is even larger than the eastern part: from the upper Munyati to the Munyati-Mupfure confluence is further than from the upper Munyati to the Odzi, and if the Mafungabusi plateau is brought into consideration then the difference is even greater. Yet it is fairly clear that by the end of the nineteenth century the population of this western part was far less than that of the eastern part by a factor of roughly one to four or five, and there is no evidence to show that the western part had ever been more heavily populated.[162] It is not difficult to see why this should be so: as pointed out in Chapter One, the whole environment west of the watershed was less attractive to agriculturalists than the 'Great Crescent', and even the presence of the 'gold belt' does not seem to have done much to redress the balance. Consequently, although the dynasties in this area often claimed vast territories, most of them seem to have clung to the banks of the rivers or to the rare hills of any significance, leaving the intervening land to their hunting parties. There were exceptions, of course: Chisvipi, the territory of the Chivero dynasty between the Mupfure and the Mhanyame rivers, seems to have been a relatively productive area, and perhaps the same can be said for Tsunga and the hills immediately to the west.

In the second place, although Old Buhera and Bocha appear to have had a fairly long and continuous history of occupation by their ruling dynasties, those of the west part of the central *shava* belt seem to have much more diverse and recent origins, with the Chivero dynasty as an exception to the rule. Moreover, in the non-*shava* dynasty of Ngezi in the territory of Rimuka we have the question of a much earlier settlement by Tonga people related to those of the Mafungabusi plateau and the middle Zambezi valley.

a. Ngezi of Rimuka

Not many small non-Shona groups have moved into the Shona country, or survived as such when the Shona migrated and surrounded them. One such group, today almost completely Shona, was Tonga three centuries ago. Unfortunately, this was one of the few groups to be very badly disrupted by Ndebele raiding, so we do not know as much as we would like about the assimilation process.

Rimuka and the Ngezi dynasty were mentioned by Portuguese writers in the period 1667-1696, who stated that Rimuka was a relatively rich gold-mining region under an Ngezi or 'Budera' dynasty that was only marginally, if ever, subject to the Mutapa state. This territory was the prey of Portuguese adventurers in the 1660s, but by the early 1680s the Ngezi ruler had managed to regain a measure of independence. The Portuguese also stated that the land and people resembled their equivalents in the 'Tonga' country and thought of themselves as being 'Tonga' in the midst of 'Karanga' (ruling-class Shona) country.[163] The Portuguese were comparing Rimuka with the 'Butonga' country they knew in the Zambezi valley below Tete, and in terms of environment they were not far wrong, as to a traveller from Sena or Tete coming over the main watershed and moving south-west over the Mupfure into Rimuka the countryside was reminiscent of the lands toward the Lower Zambezi. However, 'Tonga' with whom they compared the Tonga of Rimuka were the patrilineal Tonga of the Lower Zambezi, whereas the Rimuka Tonga regard themselves as having been originally part of the matrilineal Tonga from both sides of the *Middle* Zambezi valley. It seems, therefore, that the Portuguese were misled by the coincidence of the 'Tonga' name and the environmental similarities.

There is a good deal to support the claim of the Ngezi dynasty to be part of the Middle Zambezi Tonga: although by the twentieth century Shona had almost entirely replaced Tonga as the language of the people, no Shona-type totem had been adopted and the name *mutonga* was used instead, with a praise-name of *mupamombe* added, while there was a strong tradition of former matrilineal succession being practised that had not entirely been replaced by Shona-style patrilineal succession by the late nineteenth century.[164] Moreover, the claim to have been Tonga and to have preceded the surrounding Shona was recognised by all the neighbouring dynasties.[165] However, reconstructing a coherent history of the Ngezi dynasty is not easy. Abraham, in 1961, suggested that there was a genealogy reaching back to a first Ngezi ruler in the early seventeenth century, but his genealogy when compared with the others available does not support this, and the most that can be said is that the dynasty can be dated as far back as the eighteenth century. [166] Moreover, although one would expect, having read the sources from the seventeenth century, that the Ngezi dynasty would claim to have 'always' been in the district or at least to have had a rather vague tradition of immigration, by at least 1939 a strong tradition of a fairly recent immigration from beyond the Middle Zambezi had been noted, linked to the Mukoka Tonga dynasty of the Gokwe area.[167] Since the Mukoka dynasty in its turn claims to have originally been Rozvi and only later became 'Tonga', this produces a rather confusing picture.

The answer would appear to be that the Ngezi dynasty has in fact become confused about its own history: during the Ndebele raids of the 1860s the Ngezi dynasty lay right in the path of Ndebele forces on their way to the upper Mazowe, and Rimuka did not have many good strongholds. Consequently, the dynasty broke up, one section under Mupawose staying just inside Rimuka, west of the Chirundazi river, while another under Chanakira took refuge in Seke's territory. This confusion probably led to much of the historical tradition being lost, though the 'Tonga' identity was recalled, and as Mukoka of Gokwe was the nearest Tonga ruler and also had the praise-name *mupamombe,* links with his dynasty and with the Tonga of the Middle Zambezi and beyond became much stronger in Ngezi traditions.[168] In other words, the Ngezi dynasty of Rimuka represented the easternmost extent of Middle Zambezi settlement by the seventeenth century, but most of its early history was forgotten following the Ndebele raids, and the survivors proceeded to rebuild a history in the twentieth century that was shorter and had fictitious elements of relationship with the Gokwe and Middle Zambezi Tonga built into it.

Turning to the history as given by the traditions, they all start with a first ruler, Ngezi. We know from the Portuguese documents that this was actually the title of many rulers and that the title was being used up to the 1860s.[169] After Ngezi the evidence becomes contradictory, and what follows is considered to be the most likely sequence of events: of the descendants of the earlier Ngezi rulers, Zinyongo and Mukwasi founded houses that dominated the dynasty from then on.[170] Zinyongo held the title and was then followed by Mukwasi and Mukwasi's son Nyaromo,[171] Zinyongo's son then succeeded by killing his father's sister's son who would have succeeded according to matrilineal 'custom', [172] but after him the succession went to Nyaromo's son Runamo, who was in turn succeeded by Chideya's son, Chanakira. Chanakira, who must have died no earlier than 1865,[173] gained power by killing a number of his rivals — a process later described as a ritual contest to capture a live crocodile in later years — but shortly afterwards the Ndebele came and the dynasty split up, some going to live with Chirimuhanzu and some with Seke.[174] Gundumuzira, of a third house, apparently attempted to become the next Ngezi, but with the people so scattered it is not surprising that he was not generally recalled as having been an Ngezi ruler.[175]

Of the Tonga who remained in Rimuka, the most important were those of the Runamo house. Mupawose, the son of Runamo, was killed during the Ndebele raids, but his name was inherited by Mudodowafa, the son of Chatora, who lived on the Zwezwe river and was recognised as Chief over Rimuka immediately after the First Chimurenga of 1896-7.[176] For a while it was intended that this Mupawose Chieftaincy should have its own reserve inside Rimuka, south-west of Hartley Hills, but in the end the Tonga were forced to move into the Mhondoro reserve. A feature of the colonial period was the campaign of the Chanakira house to revive the Ngezi title and then to succeed to it. They had started by at least 1939, and after Independence the old title was revived — and given to neither the Zinyongo nor the Mukwasi houses but to one that had never held the title before.[177]

b. Chivero of Chisvipi

When Chiefs lived for a very long time, under colonial rule, the result was that details of past history tended to be forgotten, because the people lacked the opportunity to use them in arguing for their own candidates. In the case of the Chivero dynasty, two long reigns for nearly seventy years meant that virtually no history was recorded, and one has to try to piece together the past from genealogies.

The Chivero *shava/mwendamberi* dynasty of the territory of Chisvipi is generally regarded as being the oldest *shava* group west of the watershed in the central *shava* belt. Traditions collected between 1904 and the 1930s indicate that it predated the rise of the Changamire Rozvi in the late seventeenth century,[178] and a fairly cautious use of generational dating puts the earliest Chivero ancestors in the seventeenth century, possibly earlier than then.[179] Nevertheless, one feature of the traditions that link the foundation of the dynasty to that of the Zvimba dynasty to the north, which in turn can be dated to before 1635 by Portuguese sources, must be treated with scepticism.[180] Zvimba's title has been explained by a legend to the effect that the Zvimba founder stopped during a migration, saying that his feet were swollen, *'ndazvimba makumbo'*, and settled in his territory of Chipata north of the Mhanyame. This legend has affected the traditions of many of the older dynasties in the centre and north of the Zimbabwean plateau as, obviously, if Zvimba was part of a migration there must have been others involved. Different traditions of this whole region have provided lists of those who 'came with Zvimba', but they are rarely consistent, and it looks as though the whole idea of a migration of specific dynasties with Zvimba derives ultimately from the 'swollen feet' legend. Thus the Chivero tradition that the first Chivero ancestor came with Zvimba cannot be used to date the Chivero dynasty back to the 1630s.[181] Similarly, the Zvimba legend affects the direction of migration in such traditions: those living south of Zvimba reason that the homeland of 'Guruuswa' must have been in the north, while those living north of Zvimba put it in the south.[182] Given this, the Chivero tradition that the dynasty came with Zvimba from Guruuswa in the north does little more than tell us that the Chivero people claim to come from somewhere else, which is hardly unusual.

However, there are reasonable grounds for regarding the Chivero dynasty as being an old one, in spite of the fact that relatively few historical traditions have been collected.[183] As early as 1904 it was noted that the dynasty predated the rise of the Changamire Rozvi,[184] and by 1927 a tradition had been collected to the effect that the Chivero dynasty had aided the Mavudzi *shava* Rozvi during the period when the Changamire dynasty was rising to power, the 1680s or slightly earlier.[185] A further hint lies in the fact that the Chivero dynasty had originally occupied some of the best land in the region, east of the Saruwe-Chirundazi and west of the Doronanga-Marirangwe, or in other words not far enough west to reach the unattractive wooded plains of Rimuka nor far enough east to include the open and nearly indefensible watershed country. Chivero's land originally ran as far south as the Ngezi and as far north as the Mhanyame,[186] and a feature of Chivero history was the gradual loss of much of this land to others both before and after 1900. This territory contained defensible hills,[187] but probably not enough of them, to judge by the later history of the people. A final point is that the Chivero genealogy goes back to an ancestral 'Chivero' of the late seventeenth century, but it is probable that, like 'Mbiru' of the Hera, he was in fact several rulers. The Changamire Rozvi gave the Chivero of that time the title of Gwenzi,[188] and this title was still being used in 1857.[189] The Gwenzi title became that of the Chivero ancestral spirit.[190]

After the episode in which Chivero aided Mavudzi and was given the Gwenzi title, the dynasty remained tributary to the Rozvi, but the last occasion on which the Rozvi installed a ruler appears to have been in the late eighteenth century,[191] and they do not seem to have intervened in the succession struggles before that. According to the genealogies collected, the 'first' Chivero had at least twelve sons, though in fact these may have been descended from different Chivero rulers. The 'eldest' sons, Chinyaika and Tavezira, were suspected of murdering their father and were excluded from the succession, but together they formed the 'Mutibvu' house, with the task of looking after the Gwenzi mediums, and they were given the autonomous Kaunga ward.[192] Zhekete, Chikangamano, Nemaboyi and Mashutu, all 'sons' of 'Chivero I', then took the title.[193] If the genealogies are to be believed, this 'generation' must have lasted for a long time, because apparently no-one of the next generation survived to take the title after Mashutu, and so it went to Chitemamuswe, who probably ruled in the late eighteenth century.[194] He was probably of the Zhekete house. On his death, which is practically impossible to date, something of a revolution occurred: the house of Nyahunzvi rose to power. Nyahunzvi was apparently the youngest son of 'Chivero I', but even his descendants have not claimed that he held the title himself, nor have they claimed that any of the members of the three generations between Nyahunzvi and Mudarikwa did so. Mudarikwa took the Chivero title, but died without issue shortly afterwards.[195] The title then went to Nyandebvu Mavunga of another branch of the Nyahunzvi house, who died in about 1904 as a very old man.[196] Chimanda, also of Nyahunzvi house, was then Chief until 1944.[197] At that point, Michael Mishi, a very famous early Catholic convert, of the Zhekete house, made a successful bid for the Chieftainship and held it until 1974.[198]

All of the foregoing is a little thin for a history of over two pre-colonial centuries, for a number of reasons. Firstly, no-one tried to collect a genealogy until the late 1940s, when memories were already a little confused, and no attempt was made to reinforce this genealogy with a history of every ruler; secondly, the dynasty was broken up during the height of the Ndebele raids in the 1860s, though it was back in place by 1884, and this must have led to some confusion and loss of traditions;[199] thirdly, the failure of any of the generation below that of the first four rulers to provide a ruler, and the sudden rise to power of the Nyahunzvi house, both suggest that civil wars may have taken place.

If the Chivero dynasty was the most important in the region south of the Mhanyame in about 1700, by 1800 it was already in the process of decline, due to steady encroachment by other groups. Very early in this period, the Nharira sub-territory on the Mhanyame was given to the Nyamweda *moyo/ziruvi* dynasty, which was in effect independent of Chivero.[200] The Chigutiro *soko/nehumba* dynasty came and after a war with Chivero was allocated land by the Rozvi. It remained independent enough to make its own treaty with the Portuguese in 1889,[201] but as late as the 1920s the Chivero people regarded it as subordinate, holding the Gonzo ward.[202] In the Matanha ward south of the Mupfure the Gora *gwai* dynasty arrived and took up land. By 1900 it claimed to be independent, but then so did virtually everybody else in Matanha[203] But the real menance to Chivero power came in the last part of the eighteenth century, when the Mashayamombe *mhara/mbuya* dynasty appeared. As will be shown below, it arrived during the period when the Hiya *dziva* people were raiding the whole region from the upper Mazowe to the Gweru river, and after winning a battle against the Hiya the Mashayamombe group settled in the Njatara ward of Chivero. During the 1860s it too had to leave the area, but after its return it rapidly became the main power in the area, taking many of the prime settlement sites along the Mupfure and Zwezwe.[204] Yet villages owing allegiance to Chivero continued to co-exist with the Mashayamombe group and with the different peoples in Matanha well into the twentieth century.[205] North of the Mupfure, Chivero lost land to the European farmers, and also had to make room for the Nyamweda people when they lost their land on the Mhanyame.[206]

c. Rwizi of Chitungwiza

Most small political units of only one or two villages were under the bigger territorial dynasties. Some were independent, but tended to be forgotten when colonial rule came. Because of the fame of the medium of Chaminuka, this was not the case with the Rwizi group.

The Rwizi *shava/mazarura* dynasty is chiefly famous for having had among its members the medium of the Chaminuka *mhondoro* spirit who was killed by the Ndebele in 1883. A great deal has been written about the medium, Pasipamire, and his spirit; a great deal of this is apocryphal and contradictory.[207] The reconstruction of the political and territorial history of the Rwizi community itself is not easy, partly because the Ndebele raid that brought about Pasipamire's death led to the partial dispersion of the dynasty, which only began to reassemble after the 1896-7 rising.

In 1900 it was recorded that the dynasty came from somewhere to the east of Chitungwiza, at about the same time or just after Chivero's arrival.[208] By 1964 it was claimed that it came from 'Guruuswa'[209] and not long after an immigration from the Dande by way of the Chinhoyi area was offered by informants.[210] This last version may have been influenced either by the neighbouring Chivero dynasty's tradition of having come from a 'Guruuswa' in the north, or by reasoning that if there had been links between Chaminuka and Dzivaguru spirits in the past then the dynasty must have come from the Dzivaguru realm in the Zambezi valley. As the genealogy shows, there are many variants of the numbers and relationships of the early members and rulers of the dynasty. The longest version of the genealogy gives six generations before the generation that was living in the last half of the nineteenth century, so if this is taken as being accurate then the idea that the dynasty was nearly as long-established as that of Chivero is understandable, but there could well have been confusion between individuals and thus an artificial lengthening of the genealogy. However, the dynasty appears to predate 1800 by a considerable period.

The Rwizi dynasty lived in the flat country south of the Mhanyame, at the headwaters of the Mtsike stream that runs south to the Mupfure. It probably had no more than one or two villages, the most important being on the Chitungwiza stream where it ran under a small group of boulders. Riverbank settlements like this were common in the flat country south of

Harare for, although they were not as good as the mountain strongholds of the 'Great Crescent', they offered some protection against raiders.[211] After two or three generations, the dynasty split into two main houses and power was kept by that of Tsuro or Bvute, until the last half of the nineteenth century, when Madzorira held the Rwizi title.

Madzorira was very much overshadowed by his brother Pasipamire who, by the late 1870s, had become a medium of the Chaminuka spirit. Because Pasipamire was later killed by the Ndebele, by the 1960s a myth had built up to the effect that he had organized resistance against them among the central Shona.[212] The contemporary sources make it quite clear that, on the contrary, he was on good terms with the Ndebele until 1880. He, like other religious leaders to the west, was respected by the Ndebele for his ability to supply rain. In return for this, the Ndebele sent him cattle and women, and his permission was needed for ivory hunting in the area.[213] By 1880, however, although the alliance had progressed to the point where Pasipamire would send his son to ask for Ndebele aid against the people north of the Mhanyame (which aid was given, a joint force raiding the Shawasha later in the year),[214] the beginnings of a dispute could be seen in June. Lobengula forbade ivory hunters to visit Pasipamire to buy charms with guns and ammunition, and Pasipamire's son claimed that his father would limit Ndebele authority to the Munyati and could prevent hunters licensed by Lobengula from killing elephants, by magic.[215] Nevertheless, relations between Pasipamire and Lobengula remained apparently friendly until, in April 1883, the ruler summoned the medium to his country and had him executed. The Rwizi people, forewarned, scattered.[216] For some years afterwards the Chitungwiza area was even more thinly populated than usual, and the Rwizi dynasty ceased to function for a while.

It was not until the 1896-7 risings that the dynasty began to appear in the records again, though obviously it must have been slowly recovering for some years before that, as it had a large cattle herd before the rinderpest.[217] Gavaza, grandson of Kaverenga, had a stronghold just west of the Mtsike, not far from Chitungwiza.[218] He was neutral in the rising,[219] and in 1898 he was allocated the 'Gavaza' reserve, quite a large tract for 74 householders, east of the Mtsike.[220] Kwari, a son of Pasipamire, rejoined the group from near the Mhanyame in the same year.[221] Gavaza and Kwari appeared to be the leading figures in the Rwizi group in the early 1900s, but, although Gavaza was sometimes termed 'Chief'

Rwizi,[222] no 'Chiefs' in Hartley received subsidies and thus it is not clear how Chivandire, of a house that had never succeeded to the title before, became Rwizi in 1907.[223] Possibly it was because Gavaza's wife Kanowango became possessed by the *mhondoro* of Chaminuka in late 1903. This caused a nervous administration considerable alarm because several rulers visited her. Kanowango was arrested and committed suicide in early 1904, and this may have discredited Gavaza and allowed Chivandire to gain power at a time when local officials were being frequently moved in and out of the district.[224]

Chivandire thus became the first official Rwizi under colonial rule, but when the Gavaza reserve was abolished in 1920 the Rwizi group had to move into the Mhondoro reserve where it has remained, with the title being shared between the two main houses. What distinguished this group in the twentieth century was its connection with the Chaminuka spirit.

d. Mushava and Nherera

Even in the pre-colonial era there were 'frontier' zones, with small groups that had no need to keep long and elaborate genealogies or oral traditions. In the cases of such groups as Mushava and Nherera, 'history' starts with the 1890s.

We have already seen that the *shava* belt west of the main watershed was much less closely settled than the 'Great Crescent', and that in addition it was much more severely affected by Ndebele raids in the 1860s, with disruption occurring in the Ngezi, Chivero and Rwizi dynasties. We will also see that these raids caused the complete emigration of the Nyandoro dynasty from the Tsunga territory between the upper Munyati and the Mwenezi range. South of the Mupfure as far as the Munyati, in the Mwenezi and Mashaba ranges and in the flat country between them, the historical picture up to 1900 was particularly complex. This was due to a number of factors. Firstly, the area had probably always been thinly populated. Secondly, no large dynasty had ever been settled there, and it lay in between the conflicting spheres of influence of the Mashayamombe, Ngezi, Chivero and Nyandoro dynasties. Thirdly, although it was affected by Ndebele raids it was also a place of refuge: people fled there after the initial Ndebele conquest of the south-west in the 1840s, and again after the fall of the Ndebele state in 1893, so that 'Ndebele' were reported as living there by 1896. People also fled there from Mutekedza's territory during the 1896-7 risings, and in the twentieth century more were moved in from the encroaching white farmlands. Fourthly, the area lay on the borders of the Hartley and Charter districts, and the early Native Commissioners of both were inclined to appoint one of the local leaders as 'Chief' over the others without much enquiry into the historical facts. Given all those factors and the increasing competition for reserve land in more recent years, it will be understood that claims of one dynasty or the other to have 'arrived first' and to have controlled a large area should be treated with caution: their traditions do not all agree and they cannot all be right. In effect, we only move into historical 'fact' from the 1890s.

There were five different dynasties in this area, probably all in fact independent of each other by the 1890s. Mushava and Nherera were of the *shava* totem and will be discussed here as part of the *shava* problem; Gora will be dealt with later under the non-*shava* groups of the *shava* belt, and Nyika *soko* and Benhura will be covered along with other Rozvi groups later.

The Mushava *shava/musimuvi* dynasty claims an origin beyond the Zambezi, then settlement in 'Zipingu' and then at Dzivaresekwa near modern Harare.[225] Four generations before the men who ruled at the end of the nineteenth century, the group moved to the Mwenezi range and settled at Mwenezi Poort where by 1905 they had five villages. Some of the group fled when the Ndebele came in the 1860s, but Mushava remained. Since it was such a small group, the Mushava dynasty was put under Nyika *soko,* and since at least 1966 it has been trying to get Chieftaincy status.[226]

The Nherera *shava* dynasty has the *mvuramavi* praise-name for its men, [227] and from this one would naturally assume that it was an offshoot of the Seke dynasty which has the same totem and praise-name. However, in 1984 it was noted that this group was originally from 'Basutoland' and moved in after staying at Bulawayo, the Munyati river and Featherstone, after which they moved to the Matanha section of the Mhondoro reserve after the 1896-7 rising when their land was wanted for farms.[228] This is, frankly, incredible: there is nothing in the genealogy or culture of the group to suggest Sotho origins, and Runeka, the ruler of the Nherera dynasty, was already living in Matanha by 1900, long before the farms to the south-east had been occupied or even fully pegged out. The NC made Runeka 'Chief' of Matanha, even though he knew that many other groups in Matanha had been independent, purely for convenience and in due course the Nherera dynasty became a subsidised Chieftainship.[229] The other inhabitants of Matanha, such as Gora, have pointed out that the Nherera dynasty has not been a traditional ruler over the area in the past and that in any case Chivero and Mashayamombe had prior rights to the land.[230]

e. Neuso of Chwaya

Some small groups were no more important than their neighbours, but rose to importance because the colonial government placed them over the other local groups as a matter of convenience. This led to the survival of their oral traditions. Without this factor, given the circumstances of the Neuso dynasty, nothing of their history might have survived.

At the beginning of this chapter it was pointed out that the *shava* belt appeared to run far to the west, with the Neuso dynasty occupying the Munyati-Mupfure confluence area and with Chireya and other *shava* dynasties holding the Mafungabusi plateau even farther to the west. Yet we have also seen that the Ngezi 'Tonga' dynasty lay between the Neuso group and the Mashaba range to the east and that, although it had by the twentieth century built up its own tradition of immigration from the Middle Zambezi valley, it was in fact a very long-established unit in the area dating back to the seventeenth century. This section shows that although the Neuso dynasty dates back to the late eighteenth century in its present area it is not part of a very ancient *shava* settlement like Buhera, Bocha or even Chivero but instead represents an immigration of a relatively small group that moved westwards beyond the already established Ngezi 'Tonga'. Moreover, the fact that Neuso and Chireya have the same totem appears to have been a coincidence around which people have built up a myth of common origin.

According to the traditions of the Neuso dynasty, they originated in 'Guruuswa', which they regarded as being part of Buhera.[231] There they were *shava/nhukahuru-museyamwa,* but when they had to leave — possibly because of land shortages in Buhera, probably because of a civil war — they went north-west by way of Zvimba and Nemakonde and in the latter area they changed their praise-name to *murehwa.* According to tradition, this was on the advice of the *mhondoro* of Nemakonde so that their enemies would not be able to trace them. Having arrived in Chwaya, the Munyati-Mupfure confluence area, they fought Ngezi's people and took it. Just how far their boundary went east is a matter of opinion. Approximate generational dating puts this in the middle to late eighteenth century. This fits to some extent with a tradition which claims that at first the Neuso people took the Ngezi land as far east as the Sesembe stream, with the permission of the Changamire Rozvi. During a period of Rozvi weakness, the Ngezi 'Tonga' allied themselves with the Magunde *dziva* people, and Neuso was driven back to the Golden Valley area.[232]

The connection with Chireya *shava* was explained in the 1970s by a tradition that Neuso and Chireya immigrated together, each carrying a cock. Neuso's cock crowed in Chwaya and so the people settled there, but Chireya's did not do so until the Mafungabusi plateau was reached.[233] This was an ingenious explanation for the common totem held by the two groups, who had considerable trading contacts in the nineteenth century, but it is not confirmed by the Chireya and other Gokwe traditions which claim an origin in the Changamire state in the south-west.[234] In short, the similarity of totem appears to be coincidence.

Chwaya and its outlying areas lay in a harsh environment, and the traditions indicate an economy in which people raised crops along the rivers and relied more than usual on hunting for meat and ivory, with salt from Mafungabusi as a sideline. In return for ivory, slaves were bought from the African agents of the Portuguese, a trade that must have gone on until the 1860s.[235] Political control of the area after the decline of Rozvi power tended to centre on the Nemakonde dynasty north of the Mupfure: most of the local small dynasties had important *mhondoro* spirits, but those of Nemakonde were especially famous and Nemakonde confirmed most of the local rulers in office. For this reason, when the Ndebele began to raid into the area from the 1860s their raids were not as destructive as they might have been: as with the Nemakonde and Chaminuka cults, the Neuso and other *mhondoro* cults inspired respect among the Ndebele, who used to ask them for rain. Thus although the area was thinly inhabited it was not depopulated.[236]

The Neuso dynasty was not in fact in sole control of the territory west of that of Ngezi. When the Portuguese made a treaty with Nemakonde in 1889, Neuso was only one of several rulers who took part.[237] The area was too far west of effective colonial penetration in the 1890s to cause its people to take part in the First Chimurenga, and in the late 1890s the NC Hartley appointed Neuso Matondi or 'Bapata' as the paramount over the far west of his district, including previously independent rulers such as Devera and Nezimba.[238] As in the Matanha area mentioned earlier, this was purely a matter of administrative convenience. Power in the Neuso dynasty had been shared until then by two houses, but the Zinyemba house that had been ruling in the 1890s took advantage of the situation to monopolize power until the 1930s, after which the Masviba house has in turn held power up to the present. However, the rise of the Neuso dynasty to prominence in this century has been tempered by the loss of land to farms, a forced move to Mhondoro and back as the state tried different policies against the tsetse fly and by having immigrant groups such as Wozhere moved in from farmlands far to the south.

vii The central *shava* belt: a 'nuclear area'?

At the beginning of this chapter I pointed out that when I began research on the central and southern Shona I was considering the possibility that the '*shava* belt' from Bocha to Mafungabusi represented a very early wave of Shona settlement dating back to the period of the expansion of the Great Zimbabwe state. (In this period of my work, 1972-1973, I was not yet questioning Abraham's work on the northern and eastern Shona, which seemed to show that the traditions of those areas ran back to the period of the Great Zimbabwe state's outlying centres.) I was also considering the idea that the *shava* dynasties of this belt had a great deal in common, that they predated all the non-*shava* groups in the same area and that this was a 'nuclear area' from which most if not all *shava* dynasties came. That was in 1972 and early 1973. As a result of my field work in 1973 and my writing draft histories of the *shava* dynasties east of the main watershed in 1975-1976, I had to modify my ideas: whereas Mbiru of Buhera and Marange of Bocha did represent comparatively old dynasties that appeared to have originated in those areas, Chivero and Rwizi had different origins even though they also dated from an early period, having in common with a great many dynasties with very different totems in a wide arc of north-western and northern Zimbabwe an origin in 'Guruuswa'. All the other *shava* dynasties-Mutekedza, Munyaradze, Neuso, Mushava and Nherera-appeared to be either comparatively recent offshoots from Buhera or simply groups that did not fit any 'pattern' at all. Consequently I dropped the idea of 'the' *shava* nuclear area but retained a 'central' *shava* nuclear area composed of Bocha and Old Buhera because a considerable number of *shava* dynasties had come from there.

Yet when I adopted that position and used it in *The Shona and Zimbabwe* I had not carried out a detailed analysis of the region west of the main watershed, even though I had carried out field work there in 1969-70 and 1973. Now, in 1987, I have looked at this area again. On the whole, the picture is much the same, but there are some differences. Chivero and Rwizi do appear to be at least seventeenth or early eighteenth-century polities, though their claims to an origin in 'Guruuswa' are slightly vaguer than I thought in the 1970s. (Claims to 'Guruuswa' origins in the last twenty years across the whole country have probably been confused by feed-back from school-books using the idea.)[239] Certainly, if these two dynasties ever had links with Buhera it was in a period before that covered by 'reliable' traditions. The Neuso dynasty remains as an example of an offshoot of Buhera that picked up a 'Guruuswa' tradition. The Mushava and Nherera dynasties remain anomalies, and their presence does nothing to support the idea of continuous *shava* settlement that far west at an early date. But by looking at the Ngezi 'Tonga' dynasty myself, instead of relying on Abraham's article, I have had to rethink my ideas on the dating of the Neuso dynasty: in the 1970s I seem to have thought that Ngezi represented a Tonga intrusion into Shona territory and that if the Ngezi dynasty was in existence by c.1650 then Neuso must have been earlier. My revised view is given above.

In short, if we wish we can continue to refer to Old Buhera and Bocha as the 'central *shava* nuclear area' for the reasons given above, though I now tend to feel that the 'nuclear area' idea was a useful tool when beginning to grapple with so many dynastic histories but that it is no longer necessary.

viii More recent immigrants into the central *shava* belt

Having examined the evidence for the *shava* dynasties within the central *shava* belt, and discussed the extent to which we can regard this belt as a unit at all, we can now turn to the comparatively simple task of outlining the history of the non-*shava* ruling dynasties of the area. (Once again, we should remember that just as the subjects of the *shava* rulers would have been of many different totems, so the non-*shava* dynasties would have ruled over a considerable number of people of the *shava* totem.) In this section, we will be dealing with the non-*shava* groups from the west to the east of the *shava* belt as far as the borders of Nyashanu's territory, but with three omissions: Nyandoro's *nhari* dynasty lived in Tsunga to the west of the upper Munyati from the early eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century before returning to the north-east from which direction it originally came. So little is known of the Tsunga period of its history that it is much better dealt with as a unit in the next chapter. As for the complicated Njanja and Rozvi settlements in the *shava* belt, they deserve their own sections.

a. Devera and Gora *gwai*

Devera and Gora are two more very small dynasties that existed west of the main watershed, distinguished mainly by their rare totem.

We begin with two dynasties of the rare *gwai* (sheep) totem. One of these, that of Devera *gwai/mwendamberi* of Chakare, was so small that it was scarcely noticed by the colonial administration, and the only available genealogy only goes back about three generations from 1973, but in fact it was noted as being in control of the Shurushuru goldfield in 1857.[240] The boundaries of the Chakare territory as given, between the Shurushuru and Nyabangwe tributaries of the Mupfure, clash with those of the Ngezi dynasty of Rimuka, while the Portuguese *feira* of Maramuca of the seventeenth century, then regarded as being within Ngezi's territory, lay just west of the Shurushuru.[241] It seems probable, therefore, that the Devera dynasty represents a late intrusion into Ngezi territory. (However, a feature of most of these traditions of the western half of the *shava* belt is disagreement about boundaries. This may be due to the fact that the land was thinly populated or to losses and gains of land by dynasties over time, but it probably owes a lot to the fact that nearly all of this vast area was alienated in this century: this led to people being removed from their old territories and thus losing touch with the real boundaries.) Like the Neuso *shava* dynasty to the west, the Devera dynasty was subject to the powerful Nemakonde dynasty over the Mupfure to the north and thus took part in the treaties with the Portuguese in 1889, while the Devera also had a spirit that was consulted by the Ndebele when the latter wanted rain. Otherwise, not much is known of the Devera line.[242]

The other *gwai* dynasty was that of Gora, *gwai/mukuruvambwa*. In spite of the rarity of the *gwai* totem there do not seem to be any links between Devera and Gora, but there were links between Gora and a group that accompanied Nyamunga, a dynasty that reached the Zambezi-Sanyati confluence area.[243] Both of these had come from the territory between the Mubvinzi and Nyaguwe where a ruler named Kanyoka had a daughter who married the ancestor of the Chikwaka *mbano/matemayi* dynasty. Conflict between the *mbano* and *gwai* groups, with Rozvi involvement, led to the former dynasty coming to rule the disputed area, while Kanyoka's grandson moved to Chivero's country. There he was given land in the Matanha area, east of the Nyundo tributary, and founded the Gora dynasty. This would have been before 1800, and the exact circumstances under which the Gora dynasty established itself are not clear. This is because Gora was put under Nherera shortly after colonial rule began, and by the 1960s it was being claimed that Nherera usurped Gora's rights when the latter fled in fear from the guns and fireworks at Edward VII's coronation celebrations in Salisbury. Thus it was claimed that the Rozvi gave Gora land and he in turn allowed Nherera to settle. The more prosaic truth is that in the late 1890s, as we have seen, the NC Hartley found several different groups in Matanha and put Nherera over them for convenience's sake.[244]

b. Mashayamombe and Maromo *mhara*

The *mhara* or impala totem is a rare one among the central and southern Shona. Here we see two related dynasties from the north-east establishing themselves on the central plateau, with one of them — that of Mashayamombe — becoming the most important dynasty in its locality, overshadowing much longer-established groups.

By the time the Guzho people reached the central plateau from the north-east in the eighteenth century, resettlement of that area was probably well advanced, as we will see in the next chapter. Their arrival was linked to one of the major disturbances of that time, the Matema or *hiya* wars. These, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four, involved a branch of the *dziva* people of Dondo, the land east of the middle Save under the Musikavanhu dynasty. They moved up the Nyazvidzi through Old Buhera, and while other sections remained there or turned to the south the group under Matema ranged over a wide area that included the Mazowe valley and the middle Mhanyame and Mupfure. Local traditions in these areas still recall this period as one of great destruction and disturbance, and this is partly borne out by the contemporary Portuguese documents.[245]

Into this disturbed scene came the Guzho. Their totem was *mhara*, impala, and their praise-name *mbuya*. They claimed to come from a land called Dzete in the north-east, ruled by a dynasty called Nyagwizu.[246] (There seems to be no connection between this and the *guzho/mhara* Katevera dynasty of Tsombe between the lower Ruya and Mazowe.)[247] Following a succession struggle there, at least two sections of the dynasty left, one under Tshembere and the other under Nyatsambo. The first group arrived in the west of Old Buhera, being by then under Mberekwa, and settled in the territory of Zvihota, south-east of Mutekedza between the upper Munyati and Sebakwe. From here, a group led by Koroka set out to found what was ultimately to be the most important *mhara* dynasty, but it is possible that another civil war was the cause of the split. Nevertheless, the two groups remained on good terms with each other.[248]

Koroka's group arrived on the middle Mupfure to find the Chivero *shava/mwendamberi* dynasty of Chisvipi fighting off Matema's *dziva* group. In return for help from the Guzho, which succeeded in driving Matema away, Chivero granted the ward of Njatara to what became the Mashayamombe dynasty. The Chivero dynasty originally thought of the Mashayamombe rulers as subordinates, but in practice the new group fairly soon became the most powerful in the area and by the mid-nineteenth century were clearly supreme.[249] Chivero continued to rule some villages south of the Mupfure, but his main strength was in a limited area between the Mupfure and Mhanyame. The Guzho villages lined the Mupfure between the Chirundazi and Doronanga streams, on both sides of the river, and Mashayamombe claimed all the land east of the Rutala hills between the Mupfure and the Zwezwe.[250]

Like many other dynasties the Mashayamombe line managed to keep power in the hands of one house, with other houses being given wards in exchange for their right to succeed. At least, that was the theory. As might be expected, this situation emerged after a fairly complex process in which a certain amount of violence occurred. Thus Koroka's son Musengezi took the ward between the Nyundo and Doronanga streams south of the Mupfure, which should theoretically have prevented his house from taking the main title. But two generations later a war developed with the main dynasty, a war generally admitted to have been provoked by the latter. The murder of the Musengezi house leader led to his house calling in Ndebele aid, with serious consequences for the whole dynasty. What is not clear is the real reason for the war. If it did escalate out of the seduction of the ruler's wife or the destruction of crops, as is variously said, then its outcome was out of all proportion to its origins. On the other hand, it may have been caused by an attempt by the Mashayamombe rulers to reduce the threat posed by an over-mighty sub-ruler.[251]

Other important houses included that of Nyatsambo, descended from the original Nyatsambo from Dzete, which after wandering for some time arrived in Mashayamombe's area and settled as sub-rulers based on a hill east of the Chirundazi.[252] Such groups, not directly involved in the struggles of the dynasty, could strengthen the whole group. Another of these was the *moyo/mondizvo* house of Rozvi under Murombedzi, which took land from Mashayamombe, supplied Koroka with a wife and became traditional positional fathers-in-law and advisers to the dynasty[253] Yet another house given its own ward was that descended from Mubayira, who was killed in a war with Nyandoro of Tsunga.[254]

South of the Mupfure, Mashayamombe's growing strength expressed itself in what appears to have been a claim to local overlordship — as yet not properly researched or defined — over the villages of Nyatsanga on the Zwezwe, Mushava in the Mwenezi range and the small settlements of Matanha, including Gora and Nherera.[255] It should be noted, however, that although Mashayamombe's influence stretched a long way into the progressively more thinly populated lands to the south, no attempt seems to have been made to expand to the north or north-east. It seems that the *shava* dynasties of Chivero and Rwizi may have been strong enough to deter such moves.

The Mashayamombe dynasty does not appear to have been affected by the Ngoni episode of the 1830s, but the great Ndebele campaigns of the 1860s brought disaster. A study of the campaigns suggests that the Ndebele were more interested in the territories farther to the north and north-east than in Mashayamombe or the neighbouring dynasties but, as is common in traditional history, the Mashayamombe traditions give a localised reason for the Ndebele raids. According to them, they were caused by the murder of the Musengezi house leader byMuzhuzha of the main dynasty. The Musengezi house then went to the Ndebele and got their aid. This led to a major raid in which Muzhuzha was killed and many of his house removed to the Ndebele state. In fact, this may have been a later raid of the late 1880s which traditions have moved back twenty years to account for the entire Ndebele raiding period.[256] Mashayamombe is said to have withstood a long siege by the Ndebele at Chingondo hill near the Zwezwe, before moving first to Chishawasha and then to Zvimba. In Zvimba he tried to seize land but failed and returned to the Mupfure. By 1866 at the latest, however, the Guzho were back in their old territory.[257] From then on, under Chinengundu, the Mashayamombe dynasty began to recover its power. They never paid tribute to the Ndebele, but sometimes they were raided by them and sometimes they traded with them. In 1889 they made a treaty with the Portuguese in return for guns. Up to and including the 1893 war, Mashayamombe was on the whole friendly to the Rhodesians,[258] but the exactions of the Native Department in 1894-6 led to his taking an important lead in the 1896-7 Chimurenga.[259] His death at the taking of his stronghold led to his replacement by his brother Bangira. There is a strong local tradition to the effect that Bangira had something to do with Chinengundu's death and that consequently he was given the title as a reward. In fact, as the NC Hartley's records make clear, Bangira had nothing to do with his brother's death, and the NC would at first have preferred Muzhuzha's son Gobvu, but this was vetoed by the CNC because of the prominent role he had taken in the rising. Asked to select a successor, it was the Guzho themselves who chose Bangira.[260]

For the senior but less powerful dynasty of Maromo in Zvihota, life after their settlement was less eventful. Power in this small territory was shared between three houses, and reputedly Maromo rulers were confirmed by the 'Rozvi'.[261] Zvihota had rather poorly defined boundaries with the neighbouring Hera, Nobvu and Njanja, but no serious wars seem to have occurred until 1892 when there was a brief conflict with Gunguwo's Njanja.[262] Maromo's people seem never to have been regular tributaries of the Ndebele. Their closeness to Enkeldoorn and the Native Department at the Range probably made them especially liable to tax and labour demands, and part of their land was pegged and occupied by white farmers. Thus in June 1896 Machingahuta readily joined the First Chimurenga in 1896. Being so close to the main road, however, Maromo's people were quickly crushed. Machingahuta died in exile in Mashayamombe's territory, and this gave an opportunity to Hokonya of the Kutama house, which had only once before held the title. Hokonya had been co-operative towards the government, and was thus a natural choice as the next ruler.[263]

In the twentieth century the two Guzho dynasties fared differently in terms of land. Whether the NC Hartley knew it or not, the reserve that was originally allocated to Mashayamombe in the late 1890's was close in extent to Mashayamombe's territory, except for some land on the north bank of the Mupfure that was not included and, later, land east of the Rutala hills that was removed from the reserve. *But* Mashayamombe was forced to share this reserve with many other groups who were moved in from the farmlands, so land shortage became a serious problem. Most of Zvihota was taken for farms, and the Maromo people were split between the Manyeni and Nharira reserves. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chieftainship was one of those downgraded to Headmanship in 1951.

The third Guzho dynasty, that of Chikore to the north of Maungwe, lay outside the scope of this book and has not yet been fully researched.[264]

c. The Njanja confederacy

The Njanja are best known to the rest of the Shona for their alleged 'Portuguese' origin. There may be something in this, but in fact the most remarkable thing about them is their political structure. Anthropologists write of a 'rotating house' system of succession to ruling titles among the Shona, but it is practically impossible to find one that existed in practice. The Njanja are the main exception, and documents show that it really happened, at least around 1900.

We come to the third and last non-*shava* group to be considered in the history of the *shava* belt, the Njanja. Strangers to the region reading this will probably heave a sigh of relief. Those who know the area, even allowing for the fact that we are only dealing with dynasties that were independent in the pre-colonial period, will wonder why certain of them have been omitted: Nyika *soko,* Benhura *dube,* Nyandoro *nhari,* Murambwa, Sango and Gwangwava *moyo* and Nerutanga and Chitaura *dziva,* to name the most obvious. They will, in fact, be dealt with in the next two chapters, because the first six belong to a group of associates of the central plateau Rozvi who will be covered in Chapter Three, while the last two are best discussed along with their larger and more famous *dziva* relatives in Chapter Four. Where the links of groups of dynasties cut across geographical boundaries it is sometimes best to ignore geography and deal with them thematically.

Many Shona groups have traditions of having originated outside the Shona-speaking area and of having become Shona by acculturation. In many cases such claims are either mythical or impossible to prove. In the case of the Njanja there is a strong tradition of having come from the Lower Zambezi area, which is backed up by the fact that the *njari* type of *mbira,* now found over much of the central plateau area and generally recognised as having been introduced by the Njanja, is of a type that appears to have originated on the Lower Zambezi.[265]

The tradition of the Njanja claims that a party of traders from Sena left one of their party behind at Chirwa's *shiri* village because he was sick. Chirwa, possibly on the orders of the local Rozvi ruler Gwangwava, let his own daughter look after the stranger. The result was a son and the beginning of the Njanja.[266] This tradition could be literally true, or it could be the usual explanation for an immigration. Nevertheless, for three generations the Njanja remained a minor group. The trader Muroro (his name suggests the 'Roro' or Lomwe of the Lower Zambezi) adopted the Rozvi *moyo* totem, but his praise-name *sinyoro* was said to be derived from the Portuguese *senhor.* As late as 1904 the Njanja themselves made no claim that Muroro had actually been a Portuguese, but the people to the north in Svosve's area were saying that he had been one, and later in the century Muroro's status among the Njanja developed from (apparently) pure African to 'half-breed' to pure Portuguese. This probably arose because of confusion in traditions between 'a man from the Portuguese area' and 'a Portuguese man'. Even if he had been Portuguese, by the twentieth century the 'European' ancestry of a modern Njanja would have been no more than 1/64th, or 1/128th, so statements occasionally heard in recent times that the Njanja 'look Portuguese' are simply fancy.[267] For a while the early Njanja kept up contact with the Lower Zambezi — Muroro's son Masamha was said to have been drowned in the Pungwe while visiting the area from which the Njanja came — but they remained unimportant until the lifetime of Masamha's grandson Neshangwe.[268]

By Neshangwe's time, in the late eighteenth century, Old Buhera under the Mbiru dynasty was in decline, and from Neshangwe there developed a remarkable expansion of the Njanja in numbers and power that by the end of the nineteenth century had led to the Hera territory being split in two by a solid mass of Njanja dynasties stretching from the Save to the upper Nyazvidzi. The demographic expansion of the Njanja was still very noticeable in the early twentieth century, when they were having many more children reach maturity than the neighbouring Hera. This may have been due to the fact that the Njanja territories had an environment which was superior to either the Nyashanu or the Mutekedza lands. This does not explain how the Njanja became strong enough to take their territories in the first place, and the Njanja expansion remains an unsolved problem.[269]

The entire Njanja genealogy of the nineteenth century was centred on Neshangwe, yet relatively little is known of him. His rise to the title of Gambiza is explained in tradition by the bad relations between the Chirwa ruler and the Rozvi. The Chirwa is said to have refused to recognise the Changamire or pay tribute, and was therefore driven out and replaced by Neshangwe. A later tradition says that Chirwa had been a regular tributary of the Rozvi but that Neshangwe became a favourite of the Rozvi and thus supplanted Chirwa's sons. This is a common device by which traditions explain such changes.[270] In any event, Neshangwe took the Chirwa family name of Gambiza and made it the title of the new Njanja dynasty.[271] What we do not know is how this local revolution became possible: whether the Rozvi took the initiative in replacing Chirwa or whether they simply acknowledged a change that had already taken place, as they did so often at about that time farther to the south in areas such as Gutu and Chivi. They would hardly have handed over power to a ruler who lacked the strength to maintain it. Neshangwe had nine wives and many sons and they supplied the basis of his power, but there is no explanation for the way in which the Njanja, starting with a single immigrant and remaining subordinate to Chirwa for four generations, had become so powerful. It has been suggested that the Njanja were originally attracted to the iron of Wedza mountain, and certainly by 1857 the Wedza ironfield was well known and by the 1890s the Njanja had developed a considerable iron industry and trade in hoes.[272] But the majority of Njanja traditions see the Njanja as expanding like any other people, seeking land, from Bvumbura which was well to the south of Wedza. Indeed, it seems to have been only those Njanja houses closest to Wedza, those of Ranga and Kwenda, that became especially famous for iron-working. Moreover, although the traditions lay great stress on Neshangwe's descendants, there was at least one other house led by Zinyemba that was probably descended from Neshangwe's father. Consequently, the 'revolution' led by Neshangwe may have been aided by members of the Njanja group not now remembered who built up an Njanja strength in the eighteenth century to a point where a take-over from Chirwa became possible.[273]

Of Neshangwe's many wives and sons, only some were of political importance. The Njanja of today group themselves into houses descended from Neshangwe's wives, and this is linked to their territorial expansion and the succession to the Gambiza title. The houses of three of these wives appear to have inherited the title in strict rotation through two generations until as late as 1908. Although the irregular succession 'patterns' of other Shona dynasties might lead us to think that this regular succession pattern of the Njanja looks a little too neat to be true, by the law of averages if one has enough dynasties then presumably occasionally politics will lead to a succession 'pattern' of the kind popular among anthropologists some time ago. In any case, the expansion of the Njanja was so rapid that the sons and even grandsons of Neshangwe set up what were very nearly independent dynasties and the Gambiza title became that of a confederacy in which the Gambiza had less and less real power. Possibly the Njanja could afford to let the succession to the Gambiza title proceed on 'regular' lines because it was worth less and less in terms of everyday politics.

Four of Neshangwe's wives were of real importance: Chikono, Charwe, Dondi and Marudya. Chikono bore two sons of importance, Chivese and Makumbe, and they came to dominate the south of the Njanja country. When Neshangwe died in the early nineteenth century, Chivese became the next Gambiza and consolidated his hold on the core area of Bvumbura. His dynasty — and we can call it a dynasty as well as a house — dominated most of the land south of the Mwerihari river, and the Rozvi dynasty of Gwangwava sank into insignificance until the 1920s. A Chivese tradition hints that thefts of Gwangwava's cattle assisted this process.[274] Chivese lived to see the *mfecane* and the passage of Zwangendaba's Ngoni.[275] His sons continued the Chivese title after his death, but one of the youngest, named Gunguwo, set out on his own and settled rather to the south-west, around the upper Nyazvidzi. By the 1890s he had a small cluster of villages under him.[276] Chivese's full brother Makumbe moved to the south-east, towards the heart of Old Buhera. At the Dzavora river his house ran into Nerutanga's *dziva* people, and although Nerutanga obtained help from Gutu he was defeated and forced to let Makumbe settle on the Buhera side of the river.[277] The Hera of Nyashanu were already regrouped around the Marabada hills by this time,[278] and there are no traditions of serious conflict between the Hera and the Njanja. Makumbe's people even occupied the land around the old Hera capital at Gombe mountain, and they were this far to the south-east at the time of the Ndebele raids of the 1860s.[279]

Njanja expansion due south was effectively blocked by the power of Gutu, and consequently the Charwe, Dondi and Marudya houses all turned to the north. Charwe's sons moved due north from Bvumbura and occupied the north-western lands of what became the Njanja confederacy. One of these sons, Nzuwa, settled at a place called Magangara west of the Dzidzi river. He had sixteen sons in this place, and when Chivese died, probably in the 1830s, he succeeded to the Gambiza title. There had been an unsuccessful war with the Hera early in Neshangwe's reign, but in Nzuwa's lifetime the Hera of Masarirambi-Mutekedza were pushed steadily back. Two of Nzuwa's sons became especially prominent at this time. The fourth son, Ranga, settled a little to the south-west in the Nyahoni valley, while the ninth son, Kwenda, went in the other direction. He crossed the Ruwenje river and settled at Ruputiro within sight of Wedza. He and Ranga became the 'frontiersmen' of the Njanja against Mutekedza's Hera and also by far the most prominent Njanja ironworkers.[280] Another son of Charwe was Munyimi, who established his house on the middle Dzidzi river.[281]

Dondi's sons moved north-east to the south bank of the upper Save. Zhakata, who took the title of Gambiza after Nzuwa, established his house in the upper Ruwenje valley. Tambawoga occupied the land due south of Wedza mountain, and farther down the Save were Mutengwa's villages. Chitsunge settled between Zhakata and Tambawoga at Homa hill.[282] The son of Marudya, fourth of Neshangwe's important wives, moved only a short distance from Bvumbura and settled on the north bank of the Mwerihari.[283]

Thus far we have an apparently neat pattern of land settlement and political succession in the Njanja confederacy, with sub-dynasties of four female houses occupying four distinct geographical areas and a senior title passing uneventfully between three of them in turn. The reality was probably more complex than that. Firstly, the Gambiza succession may have been more irregular than traditions suggest. Another of Neshangwe's wives, Chinanga, had a son named Gwehwerere who, according to Posselt, was appointed as Gambiza but did not reign. Modern tradition claims that he was excluded from the succession for adultery and his house remained in Bvumbura without rising to the same status as his half-brothers' houses.[284] As for Marudya's son Mukoroverwa, mentioned above, neither he nor his descendants ever took the Gambiza title even though he held his own tract of land. It looks rather as though the Chikono, Charwe and Dondi houses surrounding his area made sure that only they shared the senior title. Nor was the territorial expansion completely uneventful: Ranga is said to have driven Kwenda away from the Nzuwa centre in a war, and Kwenda took over his own territory from his uncle Zhakata, not his father Nzuwa, only to renounce all allegiance to Zhakata.[285]

After the death of Gambiza Zhakata, the senior title passed in turn between the houses of Chikono, Charwe and Dondi as it had done before. In each case it went to a different sub-dynasty within each house, so that by 1893 each of two dynasties of each house had held it. But even this text-book example of power-sharing was not achieved without incident. After the death of Gambiza Makumbe, the title went to the Munyimi dynasty of Charwe house, and Munyimi's son Kawondera became Gambiza. He is said to have lived to be very old, and to have been murdered by members of the Chikono and Dondi houses, one of whom became the next Gambiza. This was Tambawoga's son, Svinurayi Chisora, and it was in his reign that colonial rule began.[286]

As we have already seen, colonial rule affected Shona succession to titles in several ways. The new Native Commissioners often did not find out enough about the history of each group to get a clear idea of the real political situation, and thus opportunistic houses could often manage to get more than their fair share of successions, without fighting for them as they would have had to in the past. In addition, it was possible for previously subject houses to get recognition as separate dynasties under colonial rule, while conversely genuinely independent dynasties might be placed under the rule of another dynasty. In the case of the Njanja, the problem is to decide just how far the break-up of the Njanja confederacy under the Gambiza rulers was due to pre-colonial politics and how far it resulted from colonial rule.

When the BSA Company arrived in 1890, the Njanja and their Gambiza rulers were comparatively well-known. Far less was known of the junior titles until the questions of tax collection and law enforcement arose. It then appeared that the Gambiza was genuinely unable to control even his own immediate followers, far less his junior rulers. Thus in 1892 Gambiza Svinurayi claimed to be unable to stop his own son, Magaya, from raiding in the upper Save valley. In 1895, when the Gambiza title had gone back to Chikono house in the person of Makumbe's son, Ngwena, the latter claimed to have no control over his brother Marume who had flogged some African messengers of the NC instead of paying them tax.[287] Obviously in these cases the Gambiza would have been keen to disclaim responsibility but, during the 1896 rising the weakness of the Gambiza in the Njanja confederacy became apparent. The Chivese, Gunguwo, Kwenda and Ranga dynasties all acted independently, and there is no trace in records or traditions of any attempt to work out a common policy under the Gambiza. For reasons of local politics, each of these rulers collaborated with the colonial rulers long before the outcome of the war could be known, and it was not until two or three months later that the Gambiza himself arrived at The Range to make his position clear.[288] Even then, he had been preceded independently by his brother Mombeyarara.[289] Thus it seems that when NC Taylor made Gambiza the most senior of a number of Njanja Chiefs, he was simply reinforcing a political reality that already existed.[290] The power of the Gambiza did not vanish overnight. As late as 1904, Gambiza Ngwena was credited with being able to influence all but Kwenda and Magaya against the increase of the hut tax,[291] and although he is reckoned to have been the last Gambiza there is some slight evidence that after his death in 1908 his successor in the Makumbe house, Ngundu, was known as the Gambiza.[292] By that date the Gambiza title was clearly worth little, which may be why the Chikono house of Chivese made no objection to this ephemeral title being retained by Makumbe.

By the 1890s, then, the Njanja confederacy had weakened to the point where its rulers junior to Gambiza were effectively independent. But even at their level the sub-dynasties were not holding together. Partly this was due to the stresses of the 1890s and the opportunities offered by the Native Department to independently-minded would-be Chiefs. Partly, it was due to pre-colonial politics. In the Chikono house, for example, both the Chivese and the Makumbe dynasties had given rise to independent dynasties before 1896. We have already seen how Chivese's son, Gunguwo, settled in the area south-west of Bvumbura. When Chivese died, his title went to his eldest son, Muwawarira, and then to the sons of his third son, Diza, the last of whom died in 1919. Unless Gunguwo died before his eldest brother, which is unlikely in view of the fact that he was a ninth son himself, he did not try to succeed to the Chivese title. The speedy collaboration of his son, Gunguwo Chiduku, with the BSA Company in 1896 and the allocation of a Chief's title to him seem merely to have confirmed the separation of the Gunguwo line.[293] Much the same thing seems to have happened in the Makumbe dynasty. When Makumbe's dynasty took the Gambiza title in c.1893 it did not go to the eldest son of Makumbe — Mombeyarara — but to his second son, Ngwena. This may have been because Mombeyarara was already dead, but this should not have given the Mombeyarara house the right to a separate Chieftainship under colonial rule. Yet this was what happened, and it is possible that Mombeyarara house had already become another sub-dynasty by then.[294]

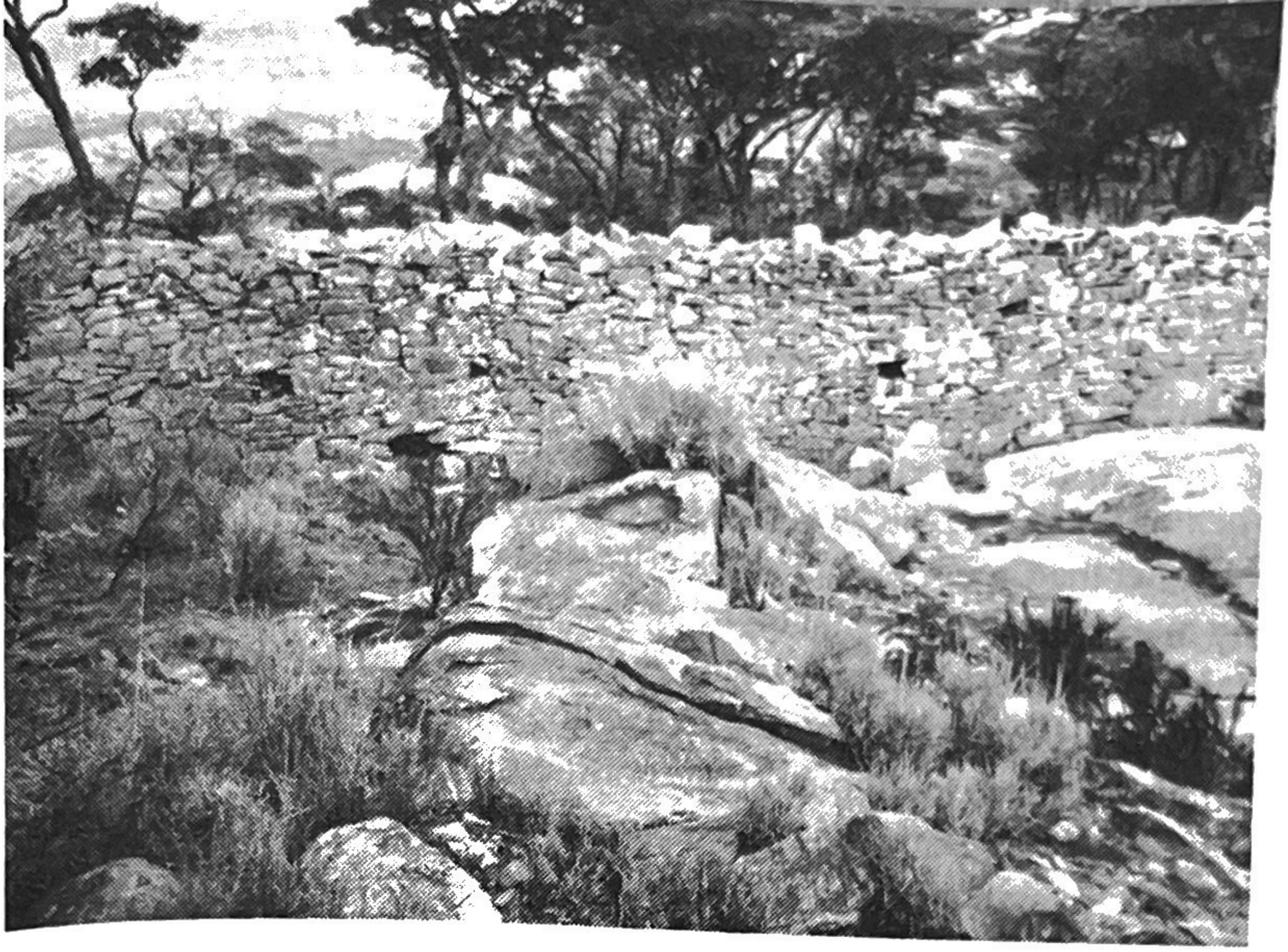
In the north of the Njanja country, much of the political change that was taking place was centred upon the dynasties of Ranga and Kwenda. We have already seen how these two groups rose to power. After their collaboration against the Hera in 1896 they did exceptionally well when Chiefly titles were handed out by the colonial state. Ranga was at first put under his fellow Charwe-house ruler Munyimi, but by 1899 he too was recognised as a Chief along with Kwenda. The interesting feature of this is that the Nzuwa title, to which both Ranga and Kwenda were both theoretically subordinate, and the Zhakata title of the Dondi house, were both overshadowed. There was an Nzuwa ruler in 1896, probably Nzuwa I's son, Masendu, but he was put under Munyimi in 1897 and his brother Nemachena's house under Kwenda. Zhakata's dynasty was also put under Kwenda.[295] In short, NC Taylor was completely ignoring the real pre-colonial relationship between the northern Njanja groups. This may have been due to the prominence of Ranga and Kwenda as collaborators in 1896. It may also be that, in the years before that, their power had been building up to the point where it could no longer be contained within the 'traditional' political system of the Njanja. In 1901-2 it seemed likely that

Gambiza Ngwena would soon die. Charwe house would theoretically supply the next Gambiza, and it promptly broke into factions. It is still not clear what actually happened, and the actions of the Gambiza, the Njanja *svikiro* and the Native Department are still not fully understood, but Kwenda and Ranga both laid claim to the Nzuwa title. Kwenda apparently obtained it, but neither the Gambiza nor the Nzuwa titles lasted much longer.[296]

The twentieth century brought land shortage to the Njanja because so many of the Mutekedza Hera and others were moved onto their land.[297] In view of the complexity of the Njanja political system — if 'system' is the right word — it is not surprising that colonial rule made it more complex still. Of the Njanja ruling dynasties made Chieftainships by NC Taylor in the 1890s, some lasted, some were downgraded to Headmanships and some vanished. Chivese, Makumbe and Munyimi survived as Chieftainships, though the latter was renamed under the old title of Neshangwe. Kwenda and Mukoroverwa (Marara) became Headmen, Ranga was in time reduced to a Headmanship and Gunguwo's dynasty vanished after its land was taken by farmers. The Gwehwerere dynasty had a revival in 1919, but was abolished in 1952. In short, the modern history of the Njanja dynasties would make a study in itself.

The Njanja represent what seems to be a unique example of a confederacy with at least five tiers of authority from the Gambiza down to a village head. There are other examples of Shona confederacies — the Duma being the best-known case — but none seem to be as complex. This *might* be a long-term result of matrilineal people from the Zambezi valley moving into a patrilineal region, but I have my doubts: the thread from Muroro to the complex pattern of the 1890s is a long one, and other groups making a similar move, like the Ngezi dynasty of Rimuka, acculturated themselves to the plateau Shona system without a similar result.

This section completes our survey of the central *shava* belt, with the exceptions noted earlier. We have seen the idea of the *shava* nuclear area posed and partly demolished, and the establishment of a mixed group of *shava* and non-*shava* dynasties up to the beginning of colonial rule.



'Mbiru akaronga svingo rake achiti ndinotya zvikara. Ndimo makange muine nhari yake,' 'Then Mbiru built a wall for defending himself against wild animals. There was his fortress' : UZHD Text 79 Buhera. Another explanation for the wall on Gombe mountain was defence against the Gaza or Ndebele. In fact it had no defensive value as it was easy to walk round.
(Photo: Author)

'Akazvipfigira mumba. Akange ava kuda kufa ndokubva atora mhuri yake yese ndokuiisa mubako umu ndokuzvipfigira imomo. Akange achitya kuti bako iri ringazotorwa. Vese vakafira imomo,' 'He locked himself in a cave. At the time that he was about to die, he took his family and they locked themselves there. He was afraid that the cave might be taken away by some other people. And they all died there' :UZHD Text 79 Buhera. The story of Mbiru's cave on Gombe is also confused with the Nguni period. Some suggested that the cave lay under the cliffs that face south.
(Photo: Author)

CHAPTER 3

The North-Central Plateau

i Introduction

The north-central plateau region as defined here was bounded by political rather than geographical boundaries. Its borders did not coincide with any marked environmental dividing line. To the east it was bounded by the large territory of Maungwe under the Makoni *shonga* dynasty and by the western limits of the Nyanga archaeological culture which is still little known to us from traditions. To the north-east lay the territory of Budya, dominated by dynasties of the *shumba* totem. To the north lay the Mutapa state of Mukaranga, dominated up to about 1700 by the *nzou-samanyanga* Mutapa dynasty but containing many subject groups of different totems. To the west lay the Zvimba and Chirau dynasties, part of a greater number claiming 'Guruuswa' origins and with vague links with the Mutapa dynasty. To the south lay the central *shava* belt, the nearest dynasties of which were those of Chivero, Rwizi and Mbiru.[1] None of these frontiers were entirely rigid in political terms: groups crossed it in both directions, and on the north bank of the upper Save territory held by *shava* groups under Mbiru and Masarirambi-Mutekedza was lost to dynasties from farther north.

In dealing with the central *shava* belt, we were considering the question of whether there had once been a major centre of power of *shava* dynasties there, possibly dating back to the time of the Great Zimbabwe state. In this case we are dealing with groups of the *moyo* totem. This question arose out of the following factors: firstly, the great Changamire dynasty, which dominated the south-west of the Zimbabwean plateau from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, was of the *moyo* totem as were some but not all of its subject dynasties, all of whom were known as 'Rozvi'. (This refers to the people of the Changamire state itself, not its tributary area.) Secondly, traditions of the Changamire Rozvi, collected early in the twentieth century before the 'rewriting' of Rozvi history outlined in Chapter 5 was well under way, indicated that from a south-western plateau perspective they had originated in an east to north-east quadrant, with a special emphasis on the modern Murehwa area. This was confirmed by Portuguese documents of the 1680s and

1690s which indicated that the Changamire ruler of the time was between Manyika and the Mutapa state, rather close to Manyika. Thirdly, a considerable number of dynasties that were *moyo*, 'Rozvi' or both indicated their origins as lying in the north-central plateau area. These included the *moyo* dynasties of the south-eastern highlands who named the Mount Wedza/Mbire III area but who more probably meant the land slightly to the north.[2] Others in this category included several *moyo*, 'Rozvi' or 'Rozvi associates' whose history will be discussed in this chapter. Morever, a considerable number of the modern dynasties of this north-central plateau area claim that they were preceded by dynasties that were *moyo* 'Rozvi'.

In short, we seem to have a collection of evidence that relates to the power base of the Changamire dynasty in the late seventeenth century before the conquest of the south-western Torwa state and to what can be called a 'central *moyo* nuclear area' on the ground that so many *moyo* groups came from there. *But* there has never been a question of projecting this 'central *moyo* nuclear area' back to the period of the Great Zimbabwe state as there was in the case of the central *shava* belt. Most of the modern dynasties of the area date only to the eighteenth century, and we have no way of knowing how long their *moyo* or 'Rozvi' precedessors had been there. Perhaps they had been there for half a century, perhaps longer, but this only takes us back to the period of the rise of the Changamire dynasty in the last half of the seventeenth century, and the only local dynasty known to us in that area from the first half of that century was that of the Muslim ruler of 'Entombe', about whom no reliable traditions survive.[3] One to two centuries separate the Great Zimbabwe culture outlier of Tsindi from the rise of the Changamire dynasty, let alone the period covered by traditions.[4] In short, this 'central *moyo* nuclear area' may have been the point of origin for many *moyo* dynasties but they formed a temporary grouping under the Changamire from about the 1670s to the 1690s until they were gradually replaced by the modern dynasties of that area in the eighteenth century. Therefore in this chapter we look very briefly at these 'earliest inhabitants' before going on to examine the 'Rozvi' groups in the area and the modern dynasties.

ii The early inhabitants of the north-central plateau

Here, we are introduced to the earliest remembered inhabitants of the region, and reminded of the original reasons for the examination of the region's traditions.

Starting in the far north of the region, in the angle of the Mazowe and Mubvinzi known as Satwa, was a minor ruler known as Tambi, a 'Rozvi'. He was supplanted by the Musana *gumbo* dynasty which came from the Mutapa state. The dating of this is vague: the Musana genealogy goes back to the eighteenth century, or perhaps earlier as there have been civil wars in the dynasty, but a *gumbo* offshoot under Mudzimu had already reached the middle Zambezi by the 1690s, so it may be that the conquest of Tambi was in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, the Musana-Mudzimu linkage may be suspect.[5] Just to the south of Satwa between the Mubvinzi and the Nyaguwe was the Gora *gwai* dynasty which, as noted in Chapter 2 was supplanted by the Chikwaka *mbano* dynasty from the Mutapa state. The main Gora dynasty moved to Matanha on the edges of Chivero's country, while others moved to the modern Murehwa area. Neither the Chikwaka nor the Gora genealogies go far back into the eighteenth century.[6] To the south-west of Gora was the 'Rozvi' *soko/murehwa* dynasty of Ditoti, conquered by Chinamhora's Shawasha in the first part of the eighteenth century.[7] On the Mhanyame was a *shava* dynasty under NeHarava, conquered at about the same time or a little earlier by the Seke *shava* dynasty.[8] On the site of the modern city of Harare was Mbare *shumba/gurundoro*, conquered in the late eighteenth century by Hwata and Chiweshe *shava* from Buhera.[9] and west of him on the Gwivi flats was the Nyavira *shava/nyakurivuka* dynasty. The small Nyavira group survived until the twentieth century, but it lost all of its land to farmers and its people scattered so that no history has been available.[10] Another *shava* dynasty, that of Zumba, occupied the upper Mazowe and Tateguru valleys before it too was conquered by Hwata and Chiweshe's Hera.[11] To complete the naming of early groups in the western half of the north-central plateau, we have the Nyamweda *moyo/ziruvi* dynasty, which apparently originated in the Jeta hills east of the upper Mazowe, and which will be discussed in detail below.

Turning to the eastern half of this region, the early dynasties are even thinner on the ground. A Gunguwo Rozvi dynasty figures prominently in the history of the upper Mupfure, and will be discussed below in the history of the Chihota dynasty. In what was to become the territory of Nhowe there was Nyamhunga or Nyamunda who preceded the Mangwende dynasty. Some sources make him the *moyo* ancestor of the Tandi dynasty of Maungwe, while others make him Barwe or even Shangwe, though it is agreed that he was under the Rozvi before Mangwende arrived.[12] Finally, one of the groups that figure as immigrants in this chapter, Samuriwo *moyo/wakapiwa*, apparently came from Uzumba on the northern border of the north-central plateau.

To sum up, we have ten of these early dynasties of which four, possibly five (Tambi, Ditoti, Nyamweda, Gunguwo and possibly Nyamunda) were 'Rozvi' or *moyo*. Of the rest, Mbare might well have been one of a number of Budya immigrants who left Budya and moved westwards in the eighteenth century,[13] while NeHarava, Nyavira and Zumba might well have been simply early immigrants, *possibly* from the central *shava* belt. Granted that in a hypothetical central *moyo* nuclear area a lot of the inhabitants would not have been *moyo*, just as a lot of the inhabitants of the central *shava* nuclear area of Old Buhera and Bocha were probably not *shava;* if I had been working purely from the local traditions, and had known nothing of the body of Changamire Rozvi and *moyo* 'Ndau' traditions of origin in this general area nor anything about the Portuguese documents, I would not have considered the idea of a central *moyo* nuclear area at all. However, I did have the origins of the Changamire Rozvi and the *moyo* 'Ndau' dynasties to consider, as well as the dates and general localities supplied by the Portuguese, and although the evidence is nowhere as tight and specific as I would like, more than ten years after I formulated the idea of a *moyo* and 'Rozvi' expansion from this area I still cannot produce a better theory on the evidence available. The traditional history of this region really only begins with the eighteenth century, and anything earlier than 1750 must necessarily be tentative. However, it is worth making one point clear before we move to the individual histories of the dynasties of this area: all around this north-central plateau region we have dynasties that by documentary evidence or traditions can be shown to have been, or to have very probably been, established before 1700: Mutapa, Makoni, probably Marange, Mbiru, Ngezi, Chivero, Zvimba, Chirau and possibly Rwizi. Inside this area we have dynasties that all date from the eighteenth century. In *The Shona and Zimbabwe* I suggested that this area was where, in the course of the seventeenth century disruption of the northern and eastern Shona areas by the Portuguese, the great Changamire built up his power and then moved to conquer the south-west, while the *moyo* dynasties led by Mutema conquered the south-eastern highlands. In this scheme, the Changamire left the north-central plateau to minor Rozvi and subject dynasties, their territories marked out by boundary cairns, but these groups were too weak to maintain their hold against immigrations from the north, east and south, and so a new group of dynasties had redrawn the political map and established themselves by 1800. It is with their history that the rest of this chapter will be dealing.

iii The central plateau Rozvi and their associates.

a. The Gwangwava, Sango, Murambwa, Nyika and Benhura dynasties

It used to be thought that all of the Rozvi were somehow in a position superior to that of the rest of the Shona. The history of these five minor Rozvi dynasties shows that this was not so. Indeed, if it had not been for the coming of colonial rule some of them might have disappeared entirely.

When dealing with the central plateau Rozvi — and here we are just as much concerned with the central *shava* belt as with the north-central plateau — we have to distinguish between the Rozvi who settled in the area in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as part of the original Changamire expansion, and those who fled from the Changamire state in the south-western plateau in the face of the Ndebele and re-settled in the central plateau, mostly in the upper Save valley. In this section of the chapter we are mainly looking at the former. But the Ndebele conquest of the south-west and the fall of the Changamire state was a catastrophic event, and in Chapter 5 we will be seeing something of the damage that it did to Rozvi traditions. The Rozvi throughout the country had a strong sense of identity, and the scattering of the Changamire Rozvi from the 1840s sometimes affected the traditions of the central plateau Rozvi, so these have to be examined with care.

A good example is that of the Gwangwava Rozvi: in 1904, when a newly-appointed and conscientious J.W. Posselt was NC of Charter, he collected traditions from the Hera that indicated that Gwangwava came into Buhera from the north-east, before the main Changamire group, whereas half a century later the Gwangwava group had forgotten this early version and adopted one whereby it left the Changamire state in the south-west with the rest of the Rozvi refugees in the 1840s[14]

Gwangwava was recalled in Hera tradition as having arrived in Old Buhera from the north-east and introduced fire, crops and iron before marrying one of the Mbiru's daughters. This appears to indicate that Gwangwava brought Buhera, at least temporarily, into the Rozvi set of tributary territories. Gwangwava settled at Bvumbura or Nharira in the west of Old Buhera[15] Two other groups led by his brothers Sango and Murambwa settled nearby, Sango at Chigara Hill south of the Sebakwe,[16] and Murambwa at the northern end of Mutekedza's area in Chikomba.[17] Neither of the two junior groups had any special function in the Rozvi system of relations with the other Shona nearby, and Murambwa appears to have come under the control of the Hera dynasty of Masarirambi-Mutekedza by the 1890s.[18] One part of the Murambwa line split off and settled in the area under Mashayamombe on the Mupfure.[19] Here yet another small Rozvi group under Tazviwana was to appear at the same time as the Guzho of Mashayamombe and became the hereditary father-in-law of the Guzho dynasty.[20]

Obviously, even if a dynasty was Rozvi, descended from a Changamire and had the *moyo/mondizvo* totem and praise-name it did not necessarily follow that it would be of great importance in relations between the Changamire and the rest of the Shona. Even the Gwangwava dynasty, which has been cited as an example of a Rozvi 'provincial' ruler,[21] did very little after its first contact with the Hera except to take part in the acceptance by the Chirwa ruler of Muroro, the founding ancestor of the Njanja in the early eighteenth century.[22] Three generations later, when the Njanja finally got Rozvi support for their replacement of Chirwa, Gwangwava was apparently not involved. A century later the Rozvi of Nharira were very inconspicuous, and first met the colonial state as sub-rulers under the Njanja. Musarurwa of the Gwangwava line joined the Njanja in contacting NC Taylor in October 1896.[23] In July 1897 Musarurwa was confirmed as a Headman under the Njanja Chief Chivese,[24] and there things remained until 1925. In that year the Rozvi managed to 'revolt' against the Njanja and although several Rozvi were imprisoned the

Musarurwa title was raised to a Chieftainship and some of Ranga's Njanja and Hokonya's Guzho were placed under its control.[25]

The Sango dynasty was not so fortunate. It was completely dispersed after the 1896 rising and all of its land was taken for farms. The Murambwa dynasty was in a way more fortunate. It remained under Mutekedza until 1918 and was then raised to a Chieftainship, being moved to the Ngezi reserve. Although it was downgraded to a Headmanship in 1951, the Murambwa group as a whole may have done better by this move than if it had stayed under Mutekedza, at least in terms of land.[26]

In the Mwenezi and Mashaba ranges west of the Munyati two more Rozvi groups were settled near Mushava, who was at the Mwenezi Poort, as mentioned in Chapter 2, by the end of the nineteenth century. Land pressures in the twentieth century and the fact that all the dynasties of the Ngezi reserve were put under Chief Nyika have led to conflicting claims as to who was there first and had the prior right to the land. Yet in the nineteenth century the area was not heavily populated and groups seem to have co-existed without very definite boundaries: a map of 1896 of the Mwenezi Poort shows Shona villages (of Mushava?) and an 'Ndebele' village close to each other,[27] while in 1897 a 'Chagora' ruler and Murambwa (presumably having taken refuge from the fighting in Mutekedza's area) were noted as being present.[28] The 'Ndebele' village was probably that of Nyika.[29]

The Nyika *soko/simboti* Rozvi have the same totem and praise-name as the Nerwande associates of the Changamire, but although the Nyika group claim to be closely associated with the Changamire Rozvi they do not mention Nerwande. Instead, they claim origins from or beyond Wedza and then refer to a migration to the Matobo range in the south-west. When the Ngoni came in the 1830s they remained there, but when the Ndebele arrived they moved to Hangayiva hill on the middle Munyati. Famine had driven this group to Mutekedza's country by the early 1890s, and the Nyika traditions retained a fairly accurate version of events there up to the First Chimurenga. Prior to this the Nyika group seems to have had close links with the Ndebele, as they wore Ndebele-style clothing, and by 1904 they apparently claimed to be Ndebele.[30] The leader of the Nyika group, Wakaraya Kundiwona, made his own surrender in October 1896.[31] The NC Charter was sending labourers and auxiliaries to serve in the areas to the north in 1897, and Wakaraya apparently aided in this.[32] By 1900 the Ngezi reserve had been established,[33] and by 1903 Wakaraya was regarded as 'Chief' of that area,[34] although NC Posselt was not sure how he got into that position and no-one recognised him as a ruler.[35] When Wakaraya died in 1904 the Mushava ruler claimed to be the rightful Chief of the reserve on the grounds that although he had only five villages his people had stayed there during the Ndebele raids while the Nyika group had fled. But Dora of the Nyika group had more supporters and thus became the next ruler.[36] He was succeeded as Chief by Wakaraya's brother Denya, and by the 1950s a claim was being made that Dora had been an outsider, a 'witchdoctor' who was appointed because the people feared him because many people of the Nyika lineage were dying mysteriously.[37] By 1986, however, the traditions had been 'rewritten' and Dora was once more recognised as a member of the dynasty.[38]

The last Rozvi dynasty, that of Benhura *tèmbo/wakapiwa-gumene,* had by the 1960s produced a history in which the first Benhura came from the south with Jiri *moyo/mondizvo* and Mudzimuirema *soko/gumene* and, leaving Jiri in the south, reached Wedza, before Benhura moved to the Ngezi river.[39] The 'Jiri' element is probably a recent addition, as Jiri has become one of the best-known Rozvi dynasties in this country, but the Mudzimuirema traditions do recall Benhura as a 'step-brother' who fled from Ngezi early on.[40] The Benhura dynasty appears in the records from about 1912 as a Headmanship under Nyika, as a Chief from 1924 to 1951 and as a Chief again from 1969.[41]

The history of the Murambwa, Nyika and Benhura dynasties interlocks with that of the Ngezi, Mushava, Nherera, Gora, and more remotely, the Mashayamombe and Chivero dynasties: essentially, south of the Mupfure and west of the Mwenezi range the land was underpopulated by nineteenth-century standards and much more severely affected by Ndebele raiding than most. Consequently there were tracts of land like Matanha and the Ngezi reserve area where different communities seem to have lived independently of each other and only sometimes acknowledged the primacy of a remote senior dynasty like that of Chivero. Moreover, the fact that such regions lay a long way from the early Native Department bases meant that early NCs after the First Chimurenga tended to make *ad hoc* appointments of local leaders as Chiefs over others without much reference to the real history, which is now submerged by conflicting claims. Land alienation and national population growth meant that these areas, once thinly populated, were now highly competed for: Chiefs and Headmen acquired followers from many different areas, and their influence — and the traditional histories concocted to maintain it — grew and declined in various ways throughout this century. The result has been an exceptionally 'untidy' traditional history that makes the traditions of the 'Great Crescent' look comparatively straightforward.

A further point concerns the Rozvi, of whatever totem: whatever power these had had in the eighteenth century, all five of these dynasties were very small and obscure by the end of the nineteenth. Yet, except for Sango, they were in a much stronger position relative to the non-Rozvi dynasties under colonial rule than they had been before. A Rozvi would probably claim that this merely demonstrates the innate power and ability of the Rozvi as a group; in fact, the rise of Musarurwa, Murambwa, Nyika and Benhura appears to owe a lot to happenstance. However, the fact that these dynasties had done comparatively well in the struggle for Chieftainship under the early Native Department may help to explain part of the Rozvi 'revival' and politics described in Chapter 5.

b. Nyandoro of Tsunga

One important dynasty that was subordinate to the Changamire Rozvi showed extraordinary vitality. Nyandoro's people survived the *mfecane* and, though driven to the north-east, managed to rebuild some of their power, by a mixture of military strength and diplomacy

It was shown above that the Gwangwava *moyo/mondizvo* dynasty was not really a good example of the 'provincial' Rozvi rulers supposed to have covered the country in the eighteenth century as equivalents to 'District Commissioners' under the Changamire. A much better example of such a provincial ruler under the Changamire Rozvi was not Rozvi at all. The Nyandoro *nhari/unendoro* dynasty appears to originate in the Tavara country and to be descended from the holders of the Mukomohasha title under the Mutapa dynasties up to the mid-seventeenth century in the lands of the lower Ruya and Mazowe. After this, it was driven out by a group of rulers encouraged by the Mutapa and the Mukomohasha title went to another dynasty not far from Tete. The reason for this may have been connected with the rise of the Changamire dynasty at about that time, in view of what happened later: the *nhari/unendoro* dynasty went south over the Mazowe into Pfungwe and there founded the Chitsungo *nhari* line which survives to this day.[42] But the more significant movement was even further to the south at some time later on.

Following a dispute in Pfungwe, a leader of the Nyandoro dynasty moved south through Uzumba to the centre of the plateau. His name was Ganyire, Mavunga or Baturowa, but his title became 'Nyandoro'. This movement was said to have taken place at about the same time as those of Mangwende and Samuriwo, and the individual histories of these dynasties tend to date this to the first half of the eighteenth century.[43] Nyandoro moved to Tsunga, a land on the north bank of the upper Munyati, east of the Mwenezi range and south of the Mupfure. This was a flat, open territory and there is no record of conflict with any earlier inhabitants.[44]

This movement was apparently made with Changamire agreement,[45] and the Nyandoro dynasty figured prominently in what we know of Rozvi contacts with the central plateau area. In effect, Nyandoro seems to have been the intermediary between the central plateau Shona and the Changamire state in the south-west, while at the same time he acquired a personal ascendancy. Thus, when the Rozvi confirmed Chotizva as Samuriwo it was just after he had been living with Nyandoro, and when the Rozvi were invited to settle the dispute in the Chihota dynasty between Chishambwe and Chiputire, they used Nyandoro's home as a base.[46] At least one Nyandoro, Kunzvi, was appointed by the Rozvi in the mid-nineteenth century, and in his reign at least the Nyandoro people stressed the importance of the Rozvi influence.[47]

But a lot of the actions of the Nyandoro rulers seem to have benefitted their own position rather than that of the Changamire. Ganyire married the sister of an elderly Samuriwo and later, when the Samuriwo people were threatened by drought and a Portuguese raider they took refuge in Tsunga. By the early nineteenth century the Samuriwo, Chihota, Seke and Nenguwo dynasties were apparently paying tribute to Nyandoro, and the Nyandoro made at least one appointment in the Samuriwo dynasty.[48] It appears that the Nyandoro rulers, having started as subordinates of the Rozvi, had begun to build up their own power, and it is interesting to note that when the Ndebele conquered the Changamire state in the 1840s the Nyandoro ruler, along with some of the Rozvi, came to terms with them. Ndebele cattle were said to have been distributed for grazing in Tsunga, and Nyandoro became a tributary of Mzilikazi.[49]

During the early 1850s, however, there was a surge of Shona resistance to the Ndebele, and an Ndebele *nduna* was killed by Nyandoro's people. The result was a series of raids, part of the general Ndebele campaign of the 1860s, in which Nyandoro's people were pushed out of Tsunga, leaving it almost depopulated. They moved to the north-east through Samuriwo's country until they reached Nhowe, the territory of the Mangwende. During this flight, Kunzvi emerged as the Nyandoro ruler.[50] The Tsunga spent seven years in Nhowe, paying Mangwende a tribute for the use of the land between the Nyaguwe and the Shavanhowe rivers.[51] Across the Nyaguwe was the hill Shangure, which belonged to the *moyo* Rusike dynasty. Like a Shona Rhodes, Nyandoro offered to rent Shangure from Rusike in return for tribute. Rusike accepted, only to find that once the Tsunga were in possession of Shangure and the surrounding land they refused to pay any tribute, claiming that what had been paid at first was a straightforward purchase price. The result was that Rusike lost the whole northern part of his territory.[52]

In this new territory Nyandoro Kunzvi soon established a reputation as a strong ruler. He allied himself with Manuel António de Sousa in his 1889 campaign against Budya, and he allied himself to the Portuguese in the hope of recovering Tsunga.[53] In the 1890s Nyandoro, while willing to accept European traders, frequently opposed the colonial state, before, during and after the 1896 rising.[54] In the end, the Nyandoro people were moved out of the Shangure area and back towards Tsunga. But Tsunga had been taken by the farmers and, although as late as 1915 Nyandoro was still trying to get it back, he was forced to occupy land in the Chihota reserve under his one-time subordinate Samuriwo.[55]

Much of the foregoing deals with Nyandoro's external relations. The internal history of the dynasty seems to have been fairly simple: the house of Machengo Panashe has dominated the succession since the 1860s, except for an interlude in 1912-26.[56]

c. Samuriwo of Mani

The Samuriwo dynasty reminds us yet again that small political units among the Shona did not necessarily, or even often, have simple internal political histories.

If the history of Nyandoro has involved a great deal of movement, that of the *moyo/wakapiwa* dyansty of Samuriwo has been something like a pivot around which Nyandoro has moved, in a geographical sense: Samuriwo and Nyandoro both started off in the north, between the Mazowe and Nyadiri rivers, but whereas Samuriwo settled on the north bank of the upper Mupfure Nyandoro went on to Tsunga. Then, while Samuriwo stayed put, Nyandoro went north again in the 1860s, and then joined Samuriwo in the twentieth century. There has also been a kind of counterpoint in the status of the two dynasties: whereas Nyandoro was not Rozvi but did have close links with them, Samuriwo's position was just like that of the rest of the non-Rozvi Shona, in spite of the fact that the dynasty had a *moyo* totem. Recently, the Samuriwo dynasty has claimed Rozvi descent, apparently working on the assumption that all those of the *moyo* totem must be related. The earlier traditions, however, do not confirm this. There seems to have been a tendency for north-central plateau dynasties of the same totem to claim common origins as the twentieth century advanced, and thus links have been suggested between Samuriwo, Mangwende and Rusike *moyo* dynasties as well as between Svosve and Chinamhora *soko.*[57] But, as we have seen, not all *moyo* were Rozvi and not all Rozvi were *moyo,* and the closest links between the Samuriwo dynasty and the Rozvi seem to have been no more than a common totem and the fact that the the Samuriwo dynasty probably came from the edges of the central *moyo* nuclear area in Uzumba. But the contrast or counterpoint between Nyandoro and Samuriwo goes further, as the former was senior to the latter in the eighteenth century but the position was reversed under colonial rule.

The earliest history gives the origin of Samuriwo, with Nyandoro and Mangwende, as 'Zomba'. Recent traditions assume that this means Zomba in modern Malawi, but this is highly unlikely as there is nothing else in Samuriwo history to suggest an origin from north of the Zambezi, and in view of an alternative recent origin in 'Mazumba' in 'Tanganyika' I strongly suspect that the origin lay in the *nearest* place with a similar name, Uzumba, and that the 'Tanganyika = north of the Zambezi' idea borrowed from modern geography has added a great deal to an originally uncomplicated tradition of origins.[58] The Samuriwo dynasty occupied a small triangle of land called Mani between the upper Mupfure and the Chivake river, in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Matsvitsvi caves were important in this area.[59] It was in this small stretch of generally open, exposed country that the complex Samuriwo history unfolded. At first, the Samuriwo rulers used the device common among the northern

Shona whereby a sister of the ruler was given a ward in order to provide her with the economic power to rule the people on the death of her brother, until the succession of the new ruler was assured. Thus the founder-figure Mupfumbwa allocated a ward to his sister Muyenda, but by the time she came to rule as regent the sons of her nephew Samuriwo had so grown in numbers that there was a struggle in which she was killed. The sons of Samuriwo shared the succession after his death, but of these only two emerged as real powers. One of these was Mukwenga and the other was Bisa.[60]

For most of the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries the Mukwenga house dominated Samuriwo during wars with Seke, droughts and wars with the Portuguese. Within the Mukwenga house the sub-house of Chiviri tended to dominate, and it was not until the *mfecane* that a change occurred. During the brief passage of Zwangendaba's Ngoni through the country the Samuriwo people paid tribute and were apparently undisturbed, but the presence of the Ngoni seems to have allowed the Nyandoro to become more independent of the Changamire Rozvi, who were in too much trouble in the 1830s to object. Hanga Chipitiri of the Mushonga sub-house of Mukwenga house gained Nyandoro support against the Chiviri sub-house which had been favoured by the Rozvi. Even when the Ndebele raids of the 1860s drove the Nyandoro dynasty into Samuriwo's refuge of Matsvitsvi and then drove both dynasties to take refuge in Nhowe, the Nyandoro continued to oppose the Chiviri sub-house, and on Hanga's death in Nhowe he appointed Kariwo Mapfukidza of the Bisa house. In retrospect, it looks as though the aggressive behaviour of Chiviri's house in some wars with Seke earlier in the century had upset Nyandoro's efforts to set up his own overlordship over the central plateau.

By the 1890s the Samuriwo people were once again established in their homeland, but the Chiviri sub-house was unable to regain its hold on the succession. Thus, according to the 1904 history, Zarambuko of Chiviri sub-house would have taken the title after Kariwo's death, but his own death before appointment led to Kariwo's son, Gavanga, succeeding. This explanation, however, seems a little glib, and argues for a much closer adherence to the theory of Shona 'custom' than was then usual. Morris, in 1897, seems merely to have confirmed Gavanga's appointment after the fall of Matsvitsvi caves to the police, and there is no suggestion that this was a new installation.[61] It appears that, after the period of exile in Nhowe in the 1860s, the Bisa house used first Nyandoro and then the Native Department to remain in power. Thus, although in 1904 Morris wrote that the next Samuriwo would be of Chiviri sub-house, when Gavanga died in 1936 his son Wiri took the title.[62] The arrival of Nyandoro's people in the already crowded Chihota reserve has led to some rivalry between the Samuriwo and Nyandoro dynasties: the latter claims that it was once Samuriwo's superior, while the former points out that Nyandoro is now on what was Samuriwo land. Both are right.[63]

d. Nyamweda of Nharira

On the other hand, we know practically nothing of the internal history of other groups, such as that of Nyamweda.

The Nyamweda *moyo/ziruvi* dynasty appears to have originated in the Jeta hills, in the upper Pote valley.[64] This was for a while the home of the Mangwende *moyo/muzukuru* dynasty covered below, and in 1904 an official thought that the Nyamweda group had been part of that of Mangwende[65] He may have been influenced by the common totem, for neither Nyamweda nor Mangwende histories collected since seem to have agreed. Recent Nyamweda histories tend to refer to a migration from 'Guruuswa', like those of the neighbouring Chivero dynasty, and this may in fact be a borrowing that has supplanted the 'Jeta' origin. The Nyamweda dynasty's genealogy starts with a long line of father-to-son successions from about the seventeenth century, and then from the end of the eighteenth century it branches out into four main houses. One of these, that of Matangira, was excluded from the succession and given the hereditary Nevanje title and, together with the Mizha *soko* family and the Rozvi, played a part in the appointment of later Nyamweda rulers. The Chidyausayi house took the succession until about the middle of the nineteenth century when the Mudziviri house began to succeed, while another house took the title in 1944.[66]

But most of the foregoing comes from the genealogies and there seems to be no supporting history as such apart from episodes that explain the origin of the Nevanje title. It is not clear just at which point in the genealogy the dynasty immigrated from Jeta — or 'Guruuswa' — to the part of the Mhanyame valley called Nharira (the modern Lake Chivero area) nor is it clear at exactly which point the "Nyamweda' title began. It looks possible that the *mfecane* shook the Chidyausayi house's hold on the title and that this and colonial rule increased this tendency. But we have no details yet. Nyamweda's little dynasty survived the nineteenth century at Nharira in spite of Ndebele, First Chimurenga and other troubles, and was only moved into the Mhondoro area in this century. It remains for us to discover what was going on inside its villages.

iv Movements from the south

a. Seke of Harava

In a territory that was remarkably short of defensive sites, the Seke dynasty both fought outsiders and used them in its frequent civil wars and intrigues.

As was pointed out in Section ii of this chapter, in about 1700 the north-central plateau was occupied by about ten early dynasties, some 'Rozvi' or *moyo*, others of different totems. By 1800 the political map had been re-drawn; of these ten only Nyamweda and Nyavira were left, and whereas there had been a southward migration of groups associated with the Changamire Rozvi into the central *shava* belt — that is, the Gwangwava, Sango, Murambwa, Benhura and Nyandoro dynasties — there had been considerable immigration into the north-central plateau from the north, north-east, east and south. This immigration led to the majority of the modern dynasties of the region.

The movement led by Seke Mutema *shava/mamvuramavi* seems to date from the early eighteenth century. The earlier sources claim that Seke Mutema came from Bocha, and his father Mazvimbangwaya was once said to have been a Marange ruler of Bocha.[67] Nowadays both Seke's people and the Hera of Buhera tend to claim that he was Hera, but this claim is used to mean an origin in the central *shava* nuclear area rather than any precise ancestry.[68] Seke Mutema's people arrived on the upper Mhanyame to find the NeHarava *shava* dynasty occupying the land of Harava, whereupon they took both the land and this Harava name for themselves. NeHarava's people were scattered.[69] Seke held both banks of the Mhanyame as far down as the Mukuvisi confluence, and in time

Seke villages flanked both the Mukuvisi and the Nyatsime. An important site was the grave of Seke Mutema's daughter, Nemasanga, on what is now Harare airport.[70]

This conquest was in territory where the Rozvi had a special interest. The Rozvi response was a war in which the Rozvi drove Seke Mutema as far as the Mazowe river before he was killed. Although he died before his time, if Mutema had been a young man his dynasty would probably not have lasted, so he must have been at least middle-aged at his death.[71] In short, there must have been enough of his group to make it impossible for the Rozvi to reverse the conquest and reinstate NeHarava, so the Seke dynasty remained where it was. (This, as will become clear in this book, was fairly typical Rozvi behaviour).

In the period following this war the sons of Seke Mutema were divided. One group went back to Bocha to found the Mutsago house.[72] Other sons were excluded from the succession, one of them getting the hereditary Usirevi title and the right to help appoint future Seke rulers.[73] As in some other dynasties, Seke Mutema's daughter Nemasanga was allocated a good deal of power in his lifetime, so that she was able to secure the succession of Musonza out of the ranks of his brothers. From Musonza and his son Zengeza, who succeeded him, came all the later Seke rulers.[74]

Sonono succeeded Zengeza, but although he managed to build up his power to the extent that most of the Seke rulers after him came from his house, he was unable to prevent at least one of his brothers from developing his power to the point where his sub-house had to be taken into account. Thus Motsi, who is not normally admitted to have ruled, had a house powerful enough to provide at least two later Seke rulers.[75] Indeed, since the traditions of the nearby Samuriwo dynasty claimed that at least two Sekes were killed by their rulers, in spite of the fact that modern Seke traditions ignore this conflict it is possible that Motsi and one of his sons did rule for a while.[76] After Sonono, his son Savanhu ruled for a while before being killed in a war with Chinamhora's people over the ownership of the Domboramwari rocks south of the Mukuvisi.[77] By this time, the early nineteenth century, it seems that land pressures were building up. It was about this time that the Hera, under Hwata, Gutsa and Chiweshe, passed through Seke before conquering the lands of Mbare,[78] and apart from the Samuriwo and Chinamhora wars mentioned above there was a war with Nyandoro in which Sonono's son Chifurira was killed.[79] This war may have been linked to the attempt of Seke to influence the succession of Samuriwo in rivalry with the growing power of Nyandoro.[80]

These wars seem to have shaken the hold of Sonono house, and Njiri the son of Motsi was able to take the Seke title for a while.[81] By the time Sonono's house regained control its own ranks were disunited and a complicating factor had appeared in the shape of the arrival of the Changamire Rozvi on the upper Save in the 1850s. Although defeated by the Ndebele, they were still in a position to influence central Shona politics thus, when Sonono's son Chawuruka succeeded Njiri, the Zhakata sub-house plotted with the Rozvi to kill him. Chawuruka was summoned by the Rozvi to their headquarters and murdered.[82]

At this point the Seke succession becomes confused, and is not much clarified by the early records. The Zhakata house and three descendants of Zinyati, another son of Sonono, are said to have ruled up to the 1890s.[83] Dongorere, the son of Njiri, was apparently ruling during the early stages of the First Chimurenga, but during talks with the police in December 1896 the Zhakata faction managed to convince them that a new Seke from their house was required.[84] Surprisingly, the Kaguvi *mhondoro* medium endorsed the police decision, and by July 1897 NC Campbell recognised the Zhakata ruler as the Seke.[85] But this situation did not last. By 1903 the Dongorere leader was once more recognised as Seke and remained so until he was deposed in 1910.[86]

Seke history so far has been seen as a struggle between houses. It is quite likely that a lot of these rivalries have also been about defensive sites, which would have been of exceptional value in such flat territory. Similarly, it is quite likely that a lot of the wars with neighbouring groups were caused by the difficulty of marking and keeping to boundaries in this landscape but research so far has not been able to check on these points of micro-geography.

b. Chinamhora of North Shawasha

The Chinamhora dynasty's history appears in several publications. Unfortunately, they disagree on the internal politics of the group. Here, we look at the different versions and try to arrive at a 'least unlikely' account of what occurred.

The northern Shawasha provide the main exception to the general trend of population movement in the eighteenth century: whereas the southern

Zimbabwean plateau was being occupied by dynasties from elsewhere, mostly from the north and east, the Shawasha started out in this region and moved north. The original territory of Mahumwi or South Shawasha south of Great Zimbabwe was ruled by a *soko/watinaye* dynasty under Tumbudu at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[87] Tumbudu's descendant Derere led a part of the Shawasha to the north, and it seems likely that civil conflict forced him to leave, as his brothers remained behind and presumably led the older dynasty until it was submerged by the advance of the Duma confederacy, leaving behind the name of South Shawasha.[88]

Derere's Shawasha went north to Mount Wedza and apparently found Svosve's Mbire already there. This meeting of *soko*-totem peoples coming from opposite directions has tended to confuse the traditions somewhat: the Shawasha have been credited with the iron-working interests of the Mbire of Wedza, and a recent writer has suggested that the Mbire were an offshoot of the Shawasha. Earlier accounts, however, give the separate origins used here.[89] The Shawasha reached Chikwaka's land and may have settled there for a while.[90] Beyond Chikwaka's land was that of the *soko/murehwa* dynasty of Ditoti's Rozvi and in a short war Derere drove them out, taking the land and the *murehwa* praise-name and assuming the title of Chinamhora.[91]

This original settlement was high up on the watershed of the plateau, near the source of the Ruwa and Chinyika rivers, and for a while the dynasty did not challenge the longer-established groups to the north and south, but moved west along the watershed.[92] By the 1860s or 1870s, however, the Shawasha were moving into the borderlands of Musana *gumbo* and Masembura *moyo,* conquering two minor groups near Domboshava as they did so.[93] The division between the watershed and valley Shawasha was later stressed in an account of the Shawasha civil war of the mid-nineteenth century: supposedly, this was caused by the lowlanders envying the highlanders because the latter had rock outcrops on which to dry their grain.[94]

The traditions of the Shawasha refer to a considerable number of houses that were excluded from the succession at different times. Thus the term Nehambakamba was first used for the first ruler of the Shawasha and then for the sons (and later for the brothers) of Derere; all of these latter versions imply an exclusion from the succession, even though this contradicted the earliest version.[95] The traditions of the 1960s also stressed the exclusion of all but the descendants of Mhembere from the title, whereas in the 1930s it had been claimed that at least one other house had shared in the succession.[96] Yet the Mhembere house spent some time in exile and then returned with the aid of the northern Hera to hold the watershed as opposed to the valleys. In short, the traditions of the Shawasha so far available are contradictory, and before we can even attempt to reconstruct Shawasha history we must discuss the sources.

Apart from a brief note of 1903, the earliest history was that collected by Fr. Seed in the 1930s. This is apparently a combination of a Mhembere-house version and a linguistic exercise, and focusses on the original migration and the civil war in the mid-nineteenth century. A much fuller and more detailed account came from Joshua Chidziwa in 1964 but this was marked by attempts to glorify the Shawasha and to stress the importance of his own Chidziwa house. Thus, whereas the Shawasha had taken Ditoti's *murehwa* praise-name,[97] Chidziwa tried to show that the *soko/murehwa* Rusambo and Chimoyo dynasties of Rushinga and Budya were offshoots of the Shawasha, which does not seem to be the case.[98] Similarly, Chidziwa hinted at a clash between the houses of Chayitezvi and Nyamare, but was vague as to the reasons for Chayitezvi's son Mhembere's move into exile among the northern Hera of Hwata and Chiweshe, who had moved into the upper Mhanyame valley at about that time, the early nineteenth century.[99] He gave a good account of the Hera-Mbare war, but was using it to explain why Mhembere acquired three wives who founded the houses of Nzvere, Chinamaringa and Chidziwa which supplied all later Chinamhora rulers.[100] This contradicted the 1930s traditions on the ancestry of Chinamaringa and Chidziwa,[101] and in other ways Chidziwa's history contains highly improbable elements, such as an encounter with some mysterious 'Mutoko Rozvi';[102] while in order to stress the idea that his ancestor was a ruler Chidziwa makes the Zwangendaba Ngoni appear on the scene twice in spite of the fact that in reality they passed no more than two or three years in the region.[103] Apart from this, Chidziwa's account does tally with Seed's and with other known facts of the nineteenth century such as the 1883 death of the Chaminuka medium and the coming of the Portuguese a few years later.[104]

So far, then, we have a Shawasha history that is both published and highly inconsistent. No field work has yet been carried out to resolve the problems involved, so what follows is a working hypothesis. The original settlement of Derere, the first Chinamhora, was probably a small affair for several generations: all the places where the rulers are said to have lived after Derere's first settlement are very close together, mostly where Tafara, Mabvuku and Chishawasha Mission are today, with later settlements north of the mission, at Rutombo on the modern main road east of Musasa and as far to the south-east as the Nora river border with Rusike.[105] The environmental boundary between 'valley' and 'watershed' Shawasha was particularly noticeable at the head of the Chishawasha valley.

On Derere's death the Chinamhora title may have gone to his son Chirimuhuta,[106] but the next important ruler was Chayitezvi who was probably Chirimuhuta's son.[107] During these reigns the Vambe and Rusere 'Nehambakamba' houses were excluded, and in Chayitezvi's time another division was developing: Nyamare, almost certainly Chayitezvi's son,[108] had built up a following in opposition to the Chinamaringa, Chidziwa and Mhembere houses. In due course he succeeded to the title, and the Mhembere house went into exile among the northern Hera, a little way to the west. Nevertheless, Nyamare was the first and last of his house to hold the title, and it is possible that he was expelled by a coalition of his enemies, perhaps with northern Hera support.[109] The price of this aid was the Shawasha goldfield which, by 1857, was under Hwata's control,[110] although the Shawasha probably regained it after Hwata was defeated by the Ndebele in 1864. The relationships between the members of this coalition as given in the available sources are so contradictory that it is difficult to be certain of what happened, though at least they largely agree on the order of the rulers: Chinamaringa succeeded Nyamare, and was in turn succeeded by Nzvere. In Nzvere's time civil war broke out between his faction and that of Chinamaringa. Nzvere survived this, but the ancestry of Charumbira, his successor, is not clear: according to the 1903 report and Chidziwa, Charumbira was the son of Nzvere's brother (which would imply that Nzvere's faction won the war) while according to Seed (who used an Nzvere source) and Broderick, Charumbira was a son of Chinamaringa, (which would imply that Nzvere's faction lost the war). Chingoma followed Charumbira, and again we have confusion: Seed's Nzvere source makes him another son of Chinamaringa, but Broderick makes him a much more remote relative four generations removed from Chayitezvi. Chidziwa, not unnaturally, claims that Chingoma's father Chidziwa was a brother of both Chinamaringa and Nzvere and had been a ruling Chinamhora himself, so that Chingoma's appointment was logical. Finally, all sources agree that Chigodora Kuvimadzama Mutoko of Nzvere house had gained power just before 1890.[111]

From the foregoing, it can be seen that rivalries among the Shawasha were probably severe. It also seems clear that it was in the last half of the nineteenth century that the Shawasha began to expand, either because their numbers were increasing, or because of civil wars, or both. Chidziwa carefully chronicles these settlements, some of which were made under other rulers and some of which expanded the Shawasha frontiers. As indicated above, by the 1860s-1880s the Shawasha were reaching Domboshava. Chidziwa also points out how the Shawasha got land rights from Musana and Masembura but, as Seed had explained earlier, the move of the Shawasha to the modern 'Chinamora' communal area was mainly a twentieth-century development and most of their present land once belonged to of Musana.[112] Just how far the Shawasha had expanded by the coming of colonial rule is not entirely clear.

v Movements from the north

a. Musana of Satwa

In the case of the Musana dynasty, we also have to carry out a reconstruction of its history.

We have already noted the Musana *gumbo/makuwapasi*[113] dynasty of the territory of Satwa twice in this chapter, once as the supplanters of the Tambi 'Rozvi' dynasty and again as a dynasty that lost land to the Chinamhora dynasty quite recently. Yet the history of the dynasty is very imperfectly known. After a few notes were collected — and largely forgotten — in 1903, it was not until 1958 that a genealogy was assembled.[114] By 1974 it had been realised that this was incomplete and confusing, with at least two generations missing,[115] and although an article was published in 1974 it was strongest on the early history of the dynasty but weak on the period between then and the twentieth century.[116] A genealogy of 1982 duly supplied the missing two generations, but a comparison of the 1903, 1958 and 1982 data shows that in the traditions of the people the relationships of the houses have been re-arranged over time.[117] The reconstruction that follows attempts to reconcile the different versions, but it is working off genealogies without much supporting narrative history from the traditions.

The dynasty began with Nyani *gumbo,* who emerged from the Mutapa state area and won the daughter of a ruler there by his skill as an iron-worker. They moved to the middle Mazowe valley and after Nyani's death his wife Nyarambi infiltrated the area of Tambi and, with the help of her sons, supplanted him. Nyarambi is said to have staked out her claim to Satwa by marching round it, a myth that also occurs in the Svosve dynasty and in Karagwe in Tanzania;[118] this covered all the land between the headwaters of the Mubvinzi and the Nyaure rivers, though the former point would place Musana's southern boundary in the Highlands suburb of Harare and it is unlikely that Musana villages were any farther south than Domboshava.

The traditions stress that the Madyira house descended from Nyani never held the title, which seems to be undisputed, and that the Chiveso Headmanship coming from the Chikare house was similarly excluded,[119] but they tend to be contradictory on the position of the two main houses descended from Chikare and Chikuva, sons of Nyani. In the 1958 genealogy, when the Nyamungasa sub-house of Chikare was in power, Chikuva was said to have had a son named Gahare, a grandson, Kawoko, and a great-grandson, Mutukwa. By 1982 Gahare had been shifted to the Chikare house and the Kangendarama Biza sub-house had been placed under him, virtually replacing his previously-noted descendants. The 1982 genealogy looks like a compromise worked out by people in the 1960s and 1970s by which the Gahare house was admitted to have a right to rule but any other descendants of Chikuva were excluded.

The dating of the foundation of the dynasty depends on the sources used, whether internal or external. If the Mudzimu *gumbo* dynasty on the middle Zambezi really came from Musana, then Musana must pre-date 1696;[120] the much more powerful and famous Gutu dynasty and its off-shoots in the southern plateau consistently claimed descent from Musana from 1903 onwards, which would establish Musana by the first part of the eighteenth century;[121] the longest Musana genealogy of 1982 would put Nyani seven generations before the early twentieth century, but the 1958 version gave only four. On the whole, I would tend to consider that the longer chronology is more likely to be correct.

This being so, I suspect that the least inaccurate dynastic history went as follows: two main houses, those of Chikare and Chikuva, gained power after those of Madyira and the emigrants to Gutu were excluded, and Chikare house supplied Nyamungasa (in spite of later disclaimers), Nyakurema, Nyongonhete and Kangendarama Biza as rulers up to 1900. Chikuva house must have supplied rulers, in fact as Mutukwa, son of Kawoko, son of Gahare, was ruling in 1903.[122] The title then went back to Chikare house with Gatsi Matenyoka Chirengwa, c.1904-18, this ruler belonging to the Nyamungasa-Ruredzo sub-house. The Kangendarama-Biza sub-house of Chikare then held power from 1925 to 1957, with Chirenga's sons ruling from 1957 to 1977. The Kangendarama-Biza sub-house then regained power in 1985, by what looks to an outsider like the ingenious device of borrowing the Gahare ancestor of the Mutukwa ruler of 1903, thus bringing all real interest groups of the dynasty under the Chikare house. (I would stress here that I doubt if this has been the result of any conscious effort by the people of Musana: the records of the pre- and post-Independence governments do not show any clearly remembered historical traditions to back up the genealogies after the first few generations. Just why this should be so is not clear. Apart from the Zwangendaba Ngoni invasion and settlement of c.1833-5, the Musana dynasty seems not to have had a very disturbed history and recent successions do not seem to have caused much debate.)

b. Chikwaka

Here, I have had to rewrite my own earlier work, redating the Chikwaka dynasty's history. What is really interesting is that the Gora group, expelled by Chikwaka before about 1800, was still trying to reverse the process as late as 1980, with the help of ZANLA.

When I wrote *The Shona and Zimbabwe* in the late 1970s I had already carried out detailed analyses of the Chinamhora, Seke, Nyandoro and Mangwende dynasties in what were in effect the first drafts of this chapter. I omitted to do so in the cases of the Chikwaka and Rusike dynasties that lay in between them, primarily for lack of time. Consequently, I tended to exaggerate the length of each dynasty's history, quite dramatically so in the case of Chikwaka. In *Shona and Zimbabwe*[123] I dated the establishment of the Chikwaka dynasty to 'about the same time' as that of Musana, which I dated to before 1696 for the reasons given in the previous sub-section. *Mea maxima culpa*. Granted, the history of the branch of the Gora dynasty that settled in the Matanha area of modern Chegutu seems to date back to before 1800,[124] but the Chikwaka genealogy itself only dates the death of its founding ancestor Benhura to 1840 ±24, whichever version is used,[125] if one works backwards from Bvunzawabaya who was ruling from before 1903 to 1927. The 1932 and 1965 genealogies each lengthen the lineage by one generation in the other main house, thus cancelling out the lengthening effect.[126] The legend of the ultimate ancestor Cheza *nzou* coming from the Mutapa state and his son Benhura marrying Gora's daughter, changing his totem to *mbano* and getting Rozvi approval for the ousting of Gora, may well refer to a longer process taking place in the late eighteenth century, but this comes from intuition (a polite word for guesswork) and is not supported by the length of the genealogy. In short, my early dating of Chikwaka was a good example of carelessness.

Having ousted the Gora dynasty, which scattered to Matanha and Mangwende, the Chikwaka dynasty secured the land in the triangle between the Nyaguwe, the Mubvinzi and the main watershed of the Mazowe and Mhanyame river catchments, losing most of the higher part of its territory (except the Chinyika enclave) in the twentieth century to white farmers. After the death of Benhura's son, Karimubute, the title was held by the Bungu, Mupakaviri and Chidya sub-houses of the same house before going to Bvunzawabaya of the separate Mwanza house, who ruled from before 1903 to 1927, after which the title has gone back to the three sub-houses mentioned above.

But the Gora houses of the *gwai* dynasty had not forgotten where they came from. During the Second Chimurenga, ZANLA guerrillas aligned themselves with the Gora faction and demanded not only the revival of a Gora Chieftainship but the expulsion of the Chikwaka dynasty from the territory. The DC in 1980 argued that on the latter point 'turning the clock back' to the pre-1800 situation (using *Shona and Zimbabwe,* he followed my theory that the conquest of Gora was c.1700, but judging by the number of Benhura's descendants it was probably pre-1800) would be disastrous if applied country-wide, and he seems to have won his point. The episode does show, however, that 'traditional' history dating back nearly two centuries is of relevance not just to remote parts of Zimbabwe but to what is practically a peri-urban part of the capital.[127]

c. Masembura of Matukutu

Masembura was yet another dynasty of the old Salisbury region that had practically nothing written about it. Once again, we have to start more or less from scratch in reconstructing even a genealogy.

The history of the Masembura *moyo/muzukuru* dynasty is in some ways like that of Musaná, in that both gave rise to much more important dynasties elsewhere. However, whereas Musana's off-shoot of Gutu was so far away that the memory of it tended to fade in the original territory, Masembura was much closer to the great Mangwende *moyo/muzukuru* dynasty of Nhowe across the Nyaguwe to the east. Strictly speaking, perhaps, Mangwende was not an off-shoot of Masembura, but they had a common ancestor in Sakubvunza and they were originally the same dynasty. Traditions about the Mangwende dynasty collected early this century indicated that it originated in Chidima in the lower Zambezi section of the Mutapa state, and moved to the Jeta area south of the Pote river. From there, Sakubvunza moved east to conquer Nhowe,[128] while apparently the Masembura branch remained in Jeta.[129] Traditions collected by David Chanaiwa in the late 1960s in Nhowe tended to suggest that Sakubvunza either died in Jeta (also called Matukutu) or died on his arrival in Nhowe.[130]

Leaving aside the ultimate origins of the Mangwende dynasty and its later history in Nhowe for the time being,[131] the Masembura dynasty was presumably made up of those members of the *moyo/muzukuru* group who stayed where they were. However, it is interesting to note that a number of the names of the Masembura dynasty are identical to those of the Mangwende dynasty. This need not be significant, as in several neighbouring dynasties there is a tendency for the same names in a genealogy to be repeated — Biza in Musana, Benhura in Chikwaka, for example — but it is also possible that refugees from civil wars and disturbances in Nhowe led to refugees going back to Masembura and mingling with what was, after all, the same *moyo/muzukuru* lineage. This might account for some of the anomalies in the Masembura genealogies, although in turn it should be noted that the Masembura genealogies are no more or less consistent than others in the region.

It should also be noted that in 1903 the NC when referring to the Nyamweda dynasty of Nharira, *moyo/ziruvi,* noted that it was 'part of

Mangwende's tribe' and had lived in the Makove hills near Jeta, but that in the same report when referring to Masembura he noted the Mangwende connection but wrote that Masembura's people 'were more or less mixed up with Nyamweda's people'.[132] Since, as was noted earlier in this chapter, the Masembura and Nyamweda histories do not suggest a connection, they were probably distinct, and if there were several small groups co-existing in the same broken area between the upper Mazowe and the Mubvinzi it would not be unlikely that there could be two separate *moyo* groups living there. However, a Shawasha source of the 1960s states that when Mapondera of the Negomo dynasty from north of the Mazowe raided Masembura in the 1860s or 1870s he used the Masembura-Mangwende group's alleged killing of an early *moyo* Rozvi ruler of the area as an excuse.[133] This 'Kanyenze' *moyo* ruler might have been an otherwise unrecorded Nyamweda ancestor or he might have been yet another of the *moyo* Rozvi 'earliest inhabitants' noted earlier.[134]

Jeta or Matukutu was a rather small area, and the Masembura dynasty was also small. Moreover, it included the Chiveso house of Musana *gumbo*,[135] and according to Shawasha sources Masembura granted land to Shawasha settlers from Ngomakurira to Makove.[136] Whether this was willingly or not, or before or after colonial rule, is still not clear. But Masembura was rather a backwater under colonial rule, whether coming under Goromonzi or Mazowe-Bindura, and although we know that Chiwara of Gwabada house was ruling in 1903,[137] there may have been a new appointment in 1905.[138] This must have been Mutsvanga of the Chirowodza house, who died in 1954. The succession since then has been shared by these two houses.

d. Rusike of Mpatwe

'Custom' was always a good argument for changing political succession, and one house of the Rusike dynasty allied itself to the Native Department to produce a most ingenious 'custom' that promised it power for a very long time. Unfortunately for its hopes, this 'custom' was committed to writing, and the house was 'hoist by its own petard' and had to surrender power in 1982. Out of all the sources on this, another 'reconstructed' history tries to show what probably occurred in the past.

Frequently, in the histories given above, we have cases of widely different genealogies being collected over time as the different houses of a dynasty presented their cases in order to gain the title from the colonial government. The Rusike *moyo/wadyagora* dynasty of Mpatwe in this and in other ways is refreshingly different: here we have a case where, with a few minor alterations, a single version of the genealogy was generally agreed to from the late 1940s to the early 1980s. What the Rusike dynasty could not agree upon was what it meant, in terms of succession to the title. Here we have to put the cart before the horse and look at the twentieth-century situation before trying to reconstruct the pre-colonial past.

In 1903, when Mandeere was Rusike, it seemed to be agreed that on his death the next ruler would be 'Nyangurwe' Chikomwe of the Chiviya house.[139] In 1912 Chikomwe duly succeeded, but he died in 1917.[140] In 1926 no Rusike had been appointed, so Chikomwe's youngest brother (but one), Musenda, was given the title by the NC, apparently without any particular enquiry.[141] Musenda died in 1942 and, as was normal, his son acted until 1946.[142] By 1942 the Chiviya house was so well established that the NC had only thought of a successor from that house,[143] but no immediate action was taken and by 1946 it was clear that two other houses, Nyabanga and Nyemba, and a related house of Nyabanga, Nerera, were involved.[144] The 1903 genealogy having been forgotten, a new one was drawn up during 1949-50. The NC of the day obviously wanted a younger Chief, after the fashion of the times, even though the Rusike title and indeed Chieftainship as a whole were expected to be gradually phased out and replaced by Councils. He favoured Muchemwa, a son of Musenda.[145] Clearly, this favoured Chiviya house, and it duly appeared in discussion that the Rusike dynasty had a practically unique 'system' of succession whereby each of the three main houses, Chiviya (Mutota), Nyabanga (Munyoro-Ngandu) and Nyemba (Mutonga), would hold the title for three times in a row before passing it on to the next. Thus, by the time the first house got access to the title again, six reigns would have passed. (A closer look at the genealogies showed that actually the Munyoro-Ngandu house had held the title *four* times, but this was glossed over at the time, as was the fact that Muchemwa's succession would be the fourth for the Mutota house.) The late 1940s was a period when the 'Rozvi revival' was strong, as explained below in Chapter Five, and much was made of a Rozvi 'appointment by ordeal' (by which the Rusike had to eat and keep down excrement), but it was not clear how this affected the issue. The Mutonga house was not unnaturally small after exclusion from the title for so long, its candidate was old, the Nerera sub-house complicated the issue and NC Cramer fairly obviously bulldozed the people into an election which Muchemwa duly won.[146] *But* the idea that all three main houses had a right to three turns at the title had taken root.

After Muchemwa's death in 1970 no Rusike was appointed until 1982. During this time the Mutota house evidently tried to ally itself with Munyoro-Ngandu house to exclude Mutonga house,[147] but having itself benefitted from the three-house 'rule' in 1950 it was not in a position to overthrow it in the 1970s and 1980s. Attempts to show that the Mutonga house was disqualified because of a case of incest failed, possibly because Mutonga house had plenty of scandal cases to level at the other two houses, and in 1982 Mutonga house duly regained the title after a very long time.[148]

Although I have indicated above that the idea of three Rusike houses taking three (or four) turns each at the succession emerged in the late 1940s at a very convenient time for Mutota house and NC Cramer, the genealogy showing that three houses *had* succeeded in the past has remained fairly consistent ever since (which is not in itself proof that it is accurate) *and* it fits the scantier evidence from the early part of the century which had been forgotten by 1950. Consequently we can now attempt to reconstruct the pre-colonial history.

In the section of this chapter on Chikwaka, I explained that Rusike was one of the dynasties that I had not investigated in sufficient detail before writing *Shona and Zimbabwe*. Consequently, I gained the impression that it was a very long-established dynasty, pre-dating 1700,[149] and was, in fact, one of the 'central *moyo* nuclear area' groups discussed in section ii of this chapter. A closer look at the evidence showed that this was not so, and that the dynasty dated from the late eighteenth century.

In 1903 a short historical note indicated that Rusike's people were descended from the Rozvi, which meant no more than a common *moyo* totem, and that they had come from the north, led by Mutota the son of 'Mkonokando'.[150] In 1949 the Rusike dynasty was said to have come from over the Zambezi with the people 'now under' (and not necessarily 'of') Mangwende and Masembura,[151] and a month later it was added that it had left 'the Korekore under Chief 'Muzarambani' in the Zambezi valley.[152] Muzarabani led a nineteenth-century branch of the *nzou-samanyanga* Mutapa dynasty,[153] but by 1950 'Muzarabani' had replaced the 'Mkonokando' figure of 1903 as a common ancestor of the Rusike houses and he has remained there ever since.[154] However, from the foregoing it seems probable that the Rusike dynasty was simply a *moyo* group from the Mutapa state and was not originally thought of as being descended from Muzarabani. Moreover, it is not clear from the 1949 note whether it 'entered the country' with the ancestors of Mangwende and Masembura or with earlier *moyo* or 'Rozvi' groups who had preceded each of these dynasties.

Part of the problems of Rusike history derives from the fact that the three main houses, Mutonga, Mutota and Munyoro-Ngande, never had a common ancestor actually *in* the territory of Mpatwe, but arrived there as allied houses. Consequently, the Rusike title emerged as a result of power-sharing from the beginning: the leader of the Mutota house may have led the migration, but it was the Mutonga house that held the title for three times in succession, from father to son, in the agreed genealogy of 1949-50. The title then went to Chikuyu of Munyoro-Ngande house who died without sons (possible, but unlikely) and then to his brother (?) Marambanyika.[155] Then Mutota house gained power under Chiviya. It was the Chiviya house that made the most of the 'Rozvi ordeal' story, but a note of 1949 states that 'when the Rozvi became powerful' the ordeal was used.[156] Even allowing for the fact that a generation or two may be missing from the Munyoro-Ngandu and Mutota genealogies, it is unlikely that the foundation of the dynasty was much earlier than 1800, so this rise of Rozvi power linked to the revival of Mutota fortunes was probably that which occurred after the Changamire Rozvi reached the upper Save in the 1850s, as similar Rozvi interventions in politics took place in the central plateau area at about that time.[157] However, by the 1890s Nyabanga of Munyoro-Ngandu house was ruling. Nyabanga helped to arrest two men who had killed the trader W. de Coy White in June 1896, whereupon they pointed out that he had also taken part in the killing and so he was arrested too. Nyabanga died in prison before he could be sentenced.[158] According to the 1940s discussions, Muchecheterwa of Mutonga house was offered the Rusike title but declined, so it went to Nyabanga's son (?) Mandeere, which brings us back to where we started.[159]

The Mpatwe territory of Rusike, allegedly 'uninhabited' when the dynasty arrived,[160] lay between the Nora and Nyaguwe rivers, with what may have been a rather ill-defined frontier along the watershed from the

Ruzawi headwaters to the edges of Seke's land.[161] The most important event in terms of territory in the nineteenth century was the loss of the northern part described above in the section on Nyandoro. By 1952 Rusike traditions put the best face that they could on this episode, claiming that Nyandoro sought 'refuge' and married off his daughter to Rusike,[162] but the sources of the 1880s and 1890s make it clear that Nyandoro's power vastly overshadowed that of Rusike, which is why, ironically, Rusike's remnant of his territories was called 'Kunzvi' after Nyandoro.

e. Mangwende of Nhowe

The Mangwende dynasty of Nhowe conquered and held its territory for two centuries with considerable success. This allowed it to spend a great deal of time in the struggle for internal power, with minor houses being eliminated and two major houses dominating events.

Shona dynasties usually claim that they came from somewhere else. So do European dynasties: the Spanish rulers claim to have come from France, as do the Swedish kings, while the British rulers claim to come from Germany. Unlike the Europeans, the Shona cannot easily prove their claims, and quite a lot of the first part of this book tries to evaluate them. The Mangwende *moyo/muzukuru* dynasty has claimed since at least 1898 to have come from Chidima in the Zambezi valley part of the Mutapa state.[163] In the early seventeenth century the Portuguese recorded a Mangwende, ruler of a land of Matandanduva, who was probably also the 'Maguende' recorded as the 'great medicine-man' of the Mutapa.[164] Given that Matandanduva was near Chikova in Chidima and that Mangwende is not one of the common titles or names that crop up in different dynasties, *Q.E.,* in this case, *D*.

However, by the 1960s the Mangwende dynasty, which until then had apparently been content to start with a founding ancestor named Sakubvunza who probably died in the mid-eighteenth century, a point on which their Masembura cousins agreed, began to add a few earlier ancestors. In 1965 one version gave Mahokorefu Sabiriviri as Sakubvunza's father,[165] while in 1968-9 David Chanaiwa, whose work has done much to strengthen this section, recorded an elder brother of Sakubvunza named Nyamamvimvi and the father of both, 'Mushavatu.'[166] Apart from the fact that other Mangwende informants have used "Mushavatu' for a son of Sakubvunza,[167] Chanaiwa's informants provided a history that can be questioned for a number of reasons. Firstly, they claimed that Mushavatu had lived in the far south-west under the Changamire dynasty and had married a daughter of Changamire Nechasike in the late sixteenth century. Modern historiography dates the Changamire dynasty in the south-west a century later, and the marriage may be an attempt by informants to explain the similarity of the Mangwende *moyo/muzukuru* totem/praise-name to that of Changamire, *moyo/mondizvo,* possibly using the writings of Posselt.[168] Secondly, they added a marriage to a daughter of the Mutapa Gatsi Rusere, who was by the 1960s known from documents but not Mutapa traditions,[169] after Mushavatu moved to Chidima. This looks like a case of feed-back from researchers to informants, though not necessarily from Chanaiwa, as Donald Abraham had previously worked in Mangwende.[170] Thirdly, if one took the implied dates given by informants, as Chanaiwa tended to do, then one has a father active in the late sixteenth century and a younger son dying in the mid-eighteenth century. Granted that the French kings, living in a climate that was no healthier if not worse than that of the Zimbabwean plateau, managed a father-son span from 1610 to 1715 and three rulers (but spanning five generations) from 1610 to 1774, the 'Mushavatu-Sakubvunza' sequence of Chanaiwa goes beyond the limits of probability. In short, whereas the Mangwende dynasty was in the Mutapa state in the early seventeenth century and had probably reached Matukutu or Jeta by the first half of the eighteenth, we know little more about it than that.

In the early eighteenth century the Changamire Rozvi had allocated lands to a number of rulers outlined in Section ii of this chapter. As we have seen, and will see below in the case of Svosve, many of these rulers were overthrown during the century, notwithstanding the backing that they were supposed to have from the Rozvi. This was what happened in Nhowe, where Nyamunga was ruling. He was driven out by Sakubvunza's people from Matukutu or Jeta, though whether this was done by Sakubvunza himself or by his sons, he being then too old to take part in the conquest, depends on which traditions are consulted.[171] Tsokoto, a territory just to the north of Nhowe, was apparently ruled by a branch of the Mutapa dynasty. Nhowe traditions claim that Chikomovi, the ruler of the Tsokoto, faced with invasion by Sakubvunza, secured the intervention of the Rozvi and was thus allowed to remain as sub-ruler of Tsokoto under the new Mangwende rulers. Tsokoto traditions, however, claim that Tsokoto resisted Nhowe attacks until the 1890s, when NC Edwards put the Murehwa house, an allied branch of the dynasty, in charge of Tsokoto.

In this and the preceding chapter, it has often been necessary to show how traditions have changed over the years before trying to show what probably happened in reality. In the case of the history of Mangwende it does not seem to have been the traditions themselves that changed, with a few exceptions, but rather that an initial series of mistakes by early recorders of traditions was compounded until, by the 1960s, the written version of the traditions varied considerably from what the traditions themselves had originally meant. The identification and discussion of this problem took so much space that they had to be accommodated in a separate article. What follows is Mangwende history based on the assumptions of that article.[172]

On the death of Sakubvunza, at least three houses were founded by his sons. One of these was headed by Bodyo, who was excluded from the succession without ruling and who established an autonomous ward around Bogoto mountain in the north. The succession then went to other sons of Sakubvunza, Gatsi I and Mungate I or Mushavatu, both of whom established powerful houses. After them, Monyera — a son either of Sakubvunza or of Gatsi I — took the title. After that, the succession becomes unclear, with un-named rulers between Monyera and Dembetembe, a son of Gatsi I. The Nhowe had survived the Hiya wars of the 1760s-1790s, but in 1833-5 when the Zwangendaba Ngoni were based in Satwa, west of the Nyaguwe, they raided the area. Thirty years of peace followed, but there may have been internal tensions, as Dembetembe was living near Bogoto in the north and not at his father's base in the south. During his time the Ndebele made a raid, probably in the early 1860s. Little damage was done, and Gatsi II — a son of Monyera's brother — then ruled, the last of the Monyera house or sub-house to do so. (However, it should be noted that the 1926 version of the traditions dated Gatsi II's reign to the 1830s, so the precise dating of his and Dembetembe's reigns by reference to invasions depends on contradictory versions of the traditions. Indeed, though it is difficult to see two years of Ngoni raids and one Ndebele raid as being enough to disrupt traditions about the succession so much in a short time, internal tensions may have done so, for Nhowe was getting closer to serious civil war).

The Gaza Nguni from the south-east raided in the late 1860s, and two years of drought followed.[173] Again, the 1898 and 1926 versions of the traditions disagree on exactly who ruled when, but it seems that, on the death of Gatsi II, Motani of Mushavatu or Mungate I's house took the title. Apparently no-one of that house had held the title for two generations, so it looks as though its return to power was by force, implied or applied. What could be done by one house could be done by another: Dembetembe's son Rota had not ruled, but his grandsons were ready to do so. These were Zinyemba and his younger brother, Hundungu. In gaining the title for their house they fought between themselves, and the Chinamhora dynasty and the Changamire Rozvi were involved on both sides. Hundungu duly came to power with Rozvi backing (whereupon the Mangwende rulers began to lay stress on the value of a Rozvi appointment). However, Zinyemba's son Gomwe headed a dangerous pocket of resistance near the southern 'capital' of Mahopo.

On Hundungu's death Katerere, the son of Motani, took the title, but he had to base himself in the north at Bogoto, and cross-raiding took place between the northern and southern factions. After only a year of Katerere's rule, Hundungu's son Mungate II took the title. Mungate II and his son Muchemwa proceeded to eliminate their main rivals, assassinating Katerere's son Chirowodza in the early 1890s and encouraging the police to kill Zinyemba's son Gomwe in 1892. Violence marked the career of Muchemwa until he himself was killed by the family of his victims, and his resistance to colonial rule in the 1896-7 rising was counterpointed by his violent career among the Nhowe themselves until 1909. Indeed, assassination was tried in Nhowe politics as late as 1940. The end result was that Hundungu's house dominated Nhowe — or, rather, the half of it that was left to them after the farmers came — for nearly a century until 1967, barring a decade of rule by Katerere's son in 1926-36. After that, Katerere's house returned to power.[174]

f. Svosve of Mbire

South of Nhowe, the Svosve dynasty of Mbire III had a history that was remarkably similar to that of Mangwende, in terms of the kind of territory occupied, the problems of external threats and the rivalries of its houses.

The history of the territory now known as Mbire, and the *soko/mondizvo vudzijena* Svosve dynasty that dominated it until the 1890s, is complicated by the fact that there have been three territories called Mbire. There were two lands called "Mbire' to the north of the plateau. One of these, numbered Mbire I for convenience, was also known as Dande, and consisted of the Zambezi lowlands between the Angwa-Mhanyame and the Musengezi. The second, Mbire II or Gore, was a small territory in the upper Ruya valley. Either could have been the territory referred to by Veloso in the early 1500s. The people of Mbire I were Tavara, Tandi and Korekore of the Mutapa, Matsiwu and other dynasties, but there is little evidence that *soko*-totem peoples lived there, except perhaps for the *soko*-totem Budya and Lower Zambezi Tonga dynasties of Chimoyo and Chidye-Mkota in the far north-east who claim to have come from there.[175] Nevertheless, there was a big *soko* group just south of Mbire I, the Chingowo dynasty of Guruve on the plateau. This was one of the 'Guruuswa' groups, apparently contemporary with the early Mutapa dynasty, and its traditions claim that its praise-name used to be *vudzijena* ('white hairs', a *dupo* or emphasis on *soko,* vervet monkey) before it was changed to *wafawanaka.*[176] The earliest known inhabitants of Mbire II were the *soko/vudzijena* NeMbire rulers, who claimed to have received their land from the Mukombwe-figure of the Mutapa dynasy, c.1600s-1700s.[177] This dynasty claims descent from 'Chipfene' 'baboon-like', also a verbal play on the *soko* totem, and the most reliable of its traditions of origin seems to put it in the 'Guruuswa' groups before it received the grant of Mbire II.[178] (There is a rival version claiming an origin in Mbire III, but as shown below this appears to be a recent borrowing.)[179]

Mbire III is by far the biggest and most famous of the three territories. It consists of the shallow Ruzawi valley running up to the main watershed in the north and west, and includes the Masikana and Wedza ranges in the centre and south. The effective southern and eastern boundaries appear to have been the Save, the Mutukwa and Devedzo hills and the Macheke river.

Mbire III lay on the southern borders of the central *moyo* nuclear area, and the most important of the *moyo* Rozvi south of the main watershed in the early eighteenth century was Gunguwo, who lived between the Nyatsime and Chivake rivers[180] Eventually, Mbire III extended into part of the central *shava* belt, and in the area around Mount Wedza there was a population of *shava* Hera.[181] The traditions of the *soko/mondizvo-*

vudzijena Svosve dynasty that came to rule Mbire III are clear that they came from the north, from the Mutapa state and probably from the vicinity of Mbire II or Gore.[182] The first definite reference to Mbire III was in 1794,[183] and by 1857 at the very latest it included Wedza.[184] Generational dating puts the death of the founder of Mbire III, Dendenyore, at *1740±36, and there is no hint that the dynasty dates from any earlier than the first half of that century.

The original centre of Mbire III was the upper Ruzawi valley, but the expansion of the dynasty, the threat of Ngoni, Gaza and Ndebele raids, land alienation and the development of the two major houses of Gahadza and Nyahuye have all thrown stress on the Masikana and Wedza ranges to the north and south of this river. In the early years, however, this north-south split had not yet emerged. Like some other dynasties, the Svosve rulers made use of the device of allocating land to a female member of the family. Thus Dendenyore's sister vaChikomba held the Masikana range in his lifetime, and in the next reign Dendenyore's grand-daughter held a similar ward west of the Ruzawi.[185] VaChikomba is also named as the one who opened up relations with the Rozvi, by marrying a prominent local Rozvi, probably Gunguwo.[186] This gained the Mbire the male praise-name *mondizvo* (while their women kept the old *vudzijena chidawo),* the Svosve dynastic title and Rozvi recognition of the Svosve occupation of Mbire III[187] The use of the *mondizvo* praise-name has led to a good deal of speculation about the connection between the Rozvi and the Mbire, but this seems to have been their first close link and, apparently, their last as Chihota overcame Gunguwo not long afterwards.[188]

The female-ward system kept the peace in Mbire III for two generations, as it had in Seke, but on the death of Svosve Mukanganise there was a civil war. His son Musora attempted to take the title, but was beaten by a combination of his brothers Nyahuye and Gahadza Mutsahuni.[189] The Musora house was forced into the border country, the Marondera subhouse occupying the land at the source of the Ruzawi,[190] while the Govha sub-house took the land around the Gova falls, downstream.[191] The Nyahuye and Gahadza houses shared power between them after this, and they came to be based on the Wedza and Masikana ranges respectively.[192] In Nyahuye's reign Wedza itself was captured from the Hera,[193] and by the 1880s Mbire villages such as Goto's were established well beyond Wedza to the south-east.[194]

A combination of famine, Zwangendaba's Ngoni and the ambitions of Chigodoro Shamuyarira led to Svosve Chotongurwa Charamukwa and his house taking refuge with Chirimuhanzu, 130 kilometres to the south-west, in the 1830s. However, the defeat of Zwangendaba by other Ngoni in c.1835 led to his reinstatement.[195] In spite of later wars with Makoni and Nyandoro and a serious raid by the Gaza Nguni in the late 1860s in which Svosve Chikungwa Guzha Tiya was killed,[196] the Mbire did not suffer badly in the nineteenth century. They had an interest in the Wedza iron industry, which was flourishing by 1857,[197] trade routes to Tete, Manyika and the southern plateau met in their land,[198] and by 1888 they were notably rich in cattle and guns.[199] One of Nyahuye's sub-houses, that of Makwarimba, bought immunity from Gaza raids with tribute, but these ended in 1889 with the shift of the Gaza state to the south.[200]

A more serious menace was that of the Rozvi. As mentioned before, the Changamire Rozvi became a major local power on the upper Save after 1857, and did their best to influence politics in the central plateau area. When Svosve Chikungwa was killed, they joined with his son Choto Mututa Chidyausiku in an attempt to make him the next ruler, but the threat of war by Chikosha of Gahadza house prevented this.[201] (Once again, this shows how fragile a 'rotating' succession 'system' could be, and it is interesting to note that in 1872 the Svosve — almost certainly Chikosha — was living with his following in the Nyahuye area near Wedza, while his brother Gambiza was claiming that he would be the next Svosve.[202] It looks rather as though 'rotating succession' was failing to work, and if Posselt's story, that Chikungwa's brother Chibonore was responsible for his death, was true then there were severe stresses within Nyahuye house itself.[203]

Rozvi raiders remained a menace, and as late as 1888 they were feared.[204] The Mbire took guns from the Portuguese in 1889, faced the economic threat of labour exaction and cattle raiding by the Native Department in 1894-6 and used the guns to deal with the problem. Svosve's people, though off the main road, were fairly prominent in the 1896-7 rising and fought until late in the second year. Chikosha died in prison of old age in 1897.[205] Chibonore of Nyahuye house succeeded him. Nyahuye house held the title until 1927, breaking the old 'system'. By this time Svosve's people had lost the main part of Mbire III to the farmers, and were divided into three groups in the Wedza, Svosve and

Chihota reserves. The split of the dynasty into two main Chieftainships in the early 1970s was a logical result of this.[206]

As we will see in the next chapter, many Mbire pushed on south of Mbire III and established their own dynasties there. Another group went to Jindwe in the eastern highlands and established the Zimunya dynasty.

g. Mudzimuirema of Chirimuka

Often, when very little is known of a dynasty's history, it is possible for a single article to reverse completely the links that had been previously assumed with other groups. This was the case with the little dynasty of Mudzimuirema.

As was pointed out in the section above on the history of the Shawasha, the fact that there were two *soko* dynasties in the central plateau area, that of Chinamhora of Shawasha and that of Svosve of Mbire, has led to writers assuming that there was some link between the two. This appeared in the 1970s in the literary work of Aron Hodza,[207] and as early as 1903 there was a suggestion that Chinamhora had broken away from Svosve,[208] but on the whole the 'southern' origin of Chinamhora appears to be as strongly based as the 'northern' origin of Svosve.[209] It is just possible that the Mudzimuirema *soko/gumene* dynasty has, unknowingly, added to the confusion. The Mudzimuirema dynasty, though with a different *chidawo* to Svosve, tended to identify itself as 'Mbire', which was logical as it seems to have been closely allied to Svosve in the past.[210] Consequently, in *Shona and Zimbabwe* I assumed from the scanty evidence available that it was a collateral branch of the Mbire.[211] However, in 1980 Dawson Munjeri published an article in which it was indicated that the Mudzimuirema dynasty was actually an off-shoot of Chinamhora, though indeed closely associated with Svosve.[212] Strictly speaking, therefore, Mudzimuirema should be mentioned in Section iv of this chapter, as having come ultimately from the south. But, as its known history has far more to do with Svosve than with Chinamhora, it will be dealt with here after the immigrations from the north.

Essentially, the Mudzimuirema dynasty began with Mutsahuni, who entered Svosve's territory and was ultimately given the small territory of Chirimuka, south of the Save headwaters and reaching the lower part of the Mbowa tributary stream. In effect this was a kind of bridgehead of *soko* migration to the south-west of Mbire III, facing the *shava* Mutekedza dynasty. As the Mbire only took Wedza in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Mudzimuirema is unlikely to have taken Chirimuka until then. The available genealogies are contradictory, but it looks as though power has tended to be shared between two houses, with Chokurongerwa ruling from before 1890 to 1927 and Muchechese for a remarkable half-century from 1928 to 1978. Given the longevity of these two Chiefs, it is not surprising that our knowledge of Mudzimuirema history has not been sharpened by much debate. The house lost Chirimuka to land alienation and moved to the congested Chihota reserve.[213]

vi Movement from the east and north-east

a. Chihota

Chihota's little dynasty provides yet another example of a group that suffered from extreme internal disorder, but this time we have a case of a group unable to stand up to external threats.

Having seen how the Nyandoro, Samuriwo, Chinamhora, Rusike, Chikwaka, Mangwende and Svosve dynasties became established, we have also moved in a circle around the highest part of the plateau, where the Gunguwo Rozvi dynasty was based. The Rozvi in general and the Gunguwo branch in particular had confirmed the settlement of Nyandoro, Samuriwo and Svosve, even though the rise of Seke, Chinamhora and Mangwende had represented an upsetting of the Rozvi organisation of the central *moyo* area. We now see the end of all direct Rozvi control of the area, with the movement into the centre of the circle described above of still more new groups who wiped out the Gunguwo dynasty as a political force.

The first of these two groups was fairly small, judging from the traditions, consisting of Chihota Chivazo, the son of a Manyika sub-ruler (the story that he was the son of a Manyika ruler is a later addition), his sister Banyemba and some followers, who settled under Gunguwo north of the Chivake river. The arrival of a second group of Manyika under Chihota's brother strengthened Chihota's position, and the story of

Gunguwo's rape of Banyemba could be a symbolic account of an attempt by the Rozvi to weaken a dangerous group of subjects. In the event the Manyika, perhaps with support from their homeland, defeated Gunguwo and took the territory. This *coup* was confirmed by the Changamire Rozvi without any attempt to reverse it.[214]

Nothing disturbed this small territory until the early nineteenth century. After a great famine at that time, power in the dynasty was beginning to be shared between Chihota Tuna's sons and successors Bindu and Mudzudzu. In the late 1820s or early 1830s Mudzudzu was succeeded by Bindu's son Chiputire. Mudzudzu's son Chishambwe conspired with the Rozvi to have Chiputire murdered at Nyandoro's capital, where he went to be installed officially as ruler of Chihota. Chishambwe succeeded to the title, only to be killed in his turn by Chiputire's brother Mutenda. Mutenda's early death — possibly assisted by Chishambwe's brother Zineni, who was remembered to have ruled for a while — left power in the hands of his brother Chikudza, who was in turn killed in a raid by Zwangendaba's Ngoni, c.1833-5. This raid forced the people to take refuge in the west for a while, but under Manjenga, another son of Bindu, the people reoccupied their land. Manjenga's death brought more civil wars. Chiputire — either a descendant of Bindu's murdered son or of another house that had never succeeded — was made the ruler, but was killed by Chihunga of Mudzudzu house. Chihunga died shortly afterwards and Bindu house gained control until 1925.

Living as they did in open, exposed country, the Manyika of Chihota were unable to defend themselves very effectively, and their past history suggests that they were not a very united group in any case. Two Ndebele raids, probably part of the major Ndebele offensive of the 1860s, forced the people to abandon their land as they had done in the great famine. They scattered to Svosve's and Nyandoro's countries, and by 1888 Chihota's land appeared to be deserted.[215] Certainly the dynasty did not figure in the treaties with the Portuguese in 1889, which otherwise often involved quite small groups, and it is probable, as NC Morris noted, that the rulers did not return until after 1890.[216] The Chihota dynasty seems always to have been limited in strength and to have ruled only a relatively small area. Nevertheless, at least two groups of Manyika broke away from Chihota to found new dynasties in the north and west, the Bushu dynasty in the middle Mazowe valley and the Mujinga sub-dynasty under Nemakonde on the Sanyati.[217] Given their past history, it is understandable why they should have wished to move.

b. Nenguwo of Maringari

Since this note was written, B. Graaff's *Modumedi Moleli* has been published and has supplied most of what is known of Nenguwo history.

The second dynasty to move into the central country on the watershed was apparently part of a much more numerous migration to the south, which was to lead to the foundation of the Mhari.[218] The deathdate of *1793±36 for Mukwata, a member of the *shumba/nechinanga* ruling dynasty of Budya who founded the Nenguwo dynasty, would agree with this linkage. Mukwata was given land on the outskirts of Mbire III, near that of the exiled Marondera house of the Mbire, by the ruling Svosve. Later, however, the Nenguwo dynasty became independent and either Mukwata's son Makumana Svisva or his grandson Chakadini was the first independent ruler. Nenguwo's territory of Maringari does not seem to have had very well-defined borders, and there was at least one war with Seke's people.[219] In a process in which at least three individuals, including one ruler, were 'banished as witches', power in the dynasty came to be shared between three houses, while the related Sadza house took up a position in the east of the territory.[220]

vii Movement from the south: the northern Hera

Relative latecomers to the modern Harare area, the northern Hera of Chiweshe and Hwata became powerful in the nineteenth century.

The process of politics that led to the end of the Mbiru dynasty in Old Buhera also led to the departure of a group of Hera for the north. Led by three brothers named Gutsa, Shayachimwe and Nyakudya, they went to Seke's territory of Harava in the last half of the eighteenth century. Across the Mhanyame river lay the lands of the *shumba/gurundoro* Mbare dynasty and, a little to the east, the *soko/murehwa* Chinamhora dynasty. Seke is said to have introduced Gutsa, the most prominent of these northern Hera, to Mbare as a useful iron-worker, and Mbare allocated him land on Barapata hill. In retrospect it seems likely that Seke had ulterior motives and there may well have been a territorial dispute. For a while, Gutsa, Shayachimwe and Nyakudya lived under Mbare, but friction developed. With the implicit backing of Seke, the Hera killed the Mbare ruler and took his land.[221] (A Shawasha claim to have supplied the necessary aid both in this battle and in an attempted come-back by Mbare's sons aided by Chivero would be more convincing if it did not supply a great deal of the rationale for the monopoly of the Chinamhora title by Mhembere's house, and if any other source mentioned it.)[222] Gutsa, the youngest brother, was recognised as being the best fighter of the three, but he did not succeed to the land or to a title. Instead, his spirit became influential in northern Hera politics.[223]

These northern Hera did not form a single dynasty, but instead made up a small confederacy of two units, the Hwata dynasty founded by Shayachimwe and the Chiweshe dynasty begun by Nyakudya's son Nyamangambiri. The 'confederal' term appears to be justified in view of the fact that, although the Hwata group rapidly became the more powerful the Chiweshe unit was regarded as being senior and was one of the factors that played a part in the confirmation of Hwata rulers.[224] The two *shava* groups abandoned their old praise-name of *museyamwa* and assumed the new praise-name of *mutenesanwa* for Chiweshe and *mufakose* for Hwata. Tradition stated that this was done so that the two groups could intermarry.[225] This is a fairly stereotyped explanation for such a change. In 1898 Hwata's people were regarded as being the biggest 'tribe' in the Salisbury-Mazoe area,[226] while in 1974 in the Chiweshe reserve, with five major dynasties present and ten Hwata villages having gone farther north, 47 households out of 218 were directly descended from Hwata and Chiweshe.[227] In other words, it looks as though the Hera migration into the Mhanyame valley may well have involved more migrants than usual.

The original territory taken from Mbare seems to have been the relatively shallow and open north bank of the Mukuvisi, with occasional hills that were not much good for defence, but in time the Hera moved northwards into the hills at the heads of the Mazowe, Tateguru and Murowodzi valleys that were occupied by the *shava/mufakose* of Zumba and, possibly, the outliers of the *shava/nyakuviruka* of Nyavira.[228] The former were overcome by the Hera expansion, but Nyavira held onto most of his land. The reason for this move, which left the original Mbare territory more or less unocccupied, was probably the lack of good defensive sites. According to NC Kenny, Chiweshe's group were pushed out of the Mukuvisi lowlands by the Matema *dziva* (or Hiya), probably in the 1760s-1790s. By the 1860s Hwata was based at a large hill complex on the lower Murowodzi.[229]

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a considerable rise in the prosperity of the northern Hera. Chiweshe may have been credited with the supply of aid to Mhembere's house of the Shawasha,[230] but it was Hwata who got the benefit, in the form of the control of the Shawasha goldfield.[231] The Hwata rulers — a succession of the sons of Shayachimwe — began to dominate the trade of the lands to the south-west, buying goods and re-selling them to 'Portuguese' traders from Tete. They fought the people near the site of Maramuca *feira* in order to prevent trade from taking place outside their control, and appear to have succeeded in their object.[232]

This prosperity, among other factors, attracted the attention of the Ndebele, and in 1861-4 a series of raids on Chiweshe and Hwata reduced the latter to subjection. Hwata Gwindi was taken to the Ndebele state and returned as a tributary ruler. The Hwata rulers remained subordinated to the Ndebele until 1887.[233] It seems possible that the Gwindi house used the link with the Ndebele to maintain itself against the other houses of Shayachimwe's sons, for when Gwindi died in c.1887 there was a dispute in which several rulers, including a nominee of Manuel António de Sousa named Mtumumwe, each ruled briefly.[234] In about 1892, perhaps slightly later,[235] Chiripanyanga emerged as the Hwata ruler. He was noted as a son of Gubangombe, one of Shayachimwe's sons who had not ruled,[236] and it was said that his appointment was a 'mistake' made by the then Chiweshe and Major Forbes in 1892.[237] This judgement was made after his defeat and execution in the 1896-7 rising and its aftermath, and seems to have been influenced by that event. The whole period needs further research, for apart from the influence of Chiweshe (whatever it was) and the roles played by Forbes and the Native Department it had become customary for members of the Kaviya or Shutu house of Hwata to be possessed by the Nehanda spirit, and Charwe, the medium of that spirit in the 1880s and 1890s was closely linked to Chiripanyanga.[238] After his execution, the other houses began to take the title.

The defeat of Hwata and Chiweshe in 1897 led in the end to the loss of all their lands, and they were shifted into a crowded reserve which, although named after Chiweshe, was actually an oblong of Makope's, Negomo's and Nyachuru's territories. It may have been this overcrowding that led to the Hwata dynasty moving to the lands north of Guruve in 1961 (leaving some members behind), thus completing a march to the north that had begun in Buhera some two centuries earlier.

viii Flight from the south: the Changamire refugees

For the Rozvi of the Changamire state, its conquest by the Ndebele was a catastrophic event. Out of the Rozvi refugees who gathered on the upper Save in the 1840s and early 1850s evolved a number of dynasties, of which some became Chieftaincies. Colonial officials had some trouble understanding the history of such refugee groups, but twenty years of research by several historians has helped us to get a clearer idea of what happened.

In dealing with the north-central plateau region, we have seen the Changamire Rozvi as the people who moved out of the area to conquer the south-west at the end of the seventeenth century, leaving behind a political and territorial settlement that was then upset by fresh immigrations. We then saw them as playing an occasional role in local politics up to the 1830s, and then we came across them intervening in central plateau politics from then until the 1890s. The crucial distinction between the three phases is that in the first they were at the height of their power and were dominant over most of the Zimbabwean plateau; in the second, they were established in the far south-west and were operating at long range; but in the third they were much closer at hand, on the upper Save, but as refugees from the Ndebele. However, there was also a fourth phase, in which many of the Changamire Rozvi emigrants to the upper Save and to Bikita in the southern plateau area were recognised as Chiefs by the colonial government; and a fifth, in which unsuccessful attempts were made by some of these Rozvi to revive the Changamire title, as we will see in Chapter Five. In this section of this chapter we will be looking at the third and fourth phases, but questions of evidence relate to all five phases.

External evidence consists of Portuguese documents from the 1680s to the 1850s, which supply evidence obtained at a long distance on the movements and characteristics of the Changamire Rozvi; Native Department files on the ex-Changamire Chiefs from the 1890s; and traditions about the Changamire Rozvi collected from non-Rozvi groups *and* from

Rozvi dynasties that had never been part of the Changamire state in the south-west. *Internal* evidence comes from traditions collected from the Changamire refugees and their descendants. It covers the whole span of Changamire history, not just the histories of the exile Chiefdoms of the upper Save and Bikita. Thus a single interview may refer to the earliest origins of the Rozvi in the north-east, perhaps with links with the Great Zimbabwe state thrown in, the Changamire state in the south-west, the flight from the Ndebele to the upper Save and Bikita, the establishment of the refugees into groups that eventually became Chiefdoms (and the complaints of those who failed to get a Chiefly title from the government) and the Rozvi 'revival' movements of this century.

Before we examine the fortunes of the upper Save Rozvi, it is well worth while going over their flight from the Changamire state in the 1840s and 1850s. A fuller version of the evidence on the Changamire state is given in *Shona and Zimbabwe,*[239] and what follows is a summary. In the first third of the nineteenth century, the Changamire dynasty was divided into several houses, with Chirisamhuru holding the title. Apart from his house, there was that of Mutinhima, which held outlying parts of the state and which had already given rise to a migration to Venda; other *moyo/mondizvo* houses; the *moyo/mitombo* Tumbare sub-dynasty and similar sub-dynasties of Mavudzi *shava/mondizvo,* Nerwande *soko/simboti* and others, all 'Rozvi' but not of the same lineage as the Changamire.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, the death of Chirisamhuru at the hands of the Ngoni left the Changamire Rozvi in a weak position, and when the Ndebele arrived many Rozvi co-operated with them. However, by the early 1850s Rozvi resistance to Mzilikazi had begun under Tohwechipi, probably a son of Chirisamhuru, with the aid of the Mutinhima house. The result was a slow, fighting withdrawal through the hills to the east of the old Changamire and new Ndebele state, and although the Rozvi claimed a tactical victory by using guns there was no doubt about the strategic outcome in the long term. By 1857 the new Changamire, Tohwechipi, had reached the upper Save, and there he held out until 1866 when he was forced to surrender, brought to Mzilikazi and allowed to return to die in Gutu.[240]

Virtually every Rozvi house took part in this retreat, including the non-*moyo/mondizvo* houses, but it is also probable that virtually every house left members behind, to be absorbed by the Ndebele or to be sub-rulers under them[241] If Tohwechipi had managed to repulse the Ndebele from the upper Save, it is quite possible that a new Rozvi territory, if not a state, would have emerged there. As pointed out elsewhere, the Changamire chose a good spot to which to retreat, for it lay between the territories of Makoni, Nyashanu, the Njanja and Svosve, or, at least, on the edges of their territories, and the existing population was unable to resist the newcomers. Given the good communications of the time and the information passed along the trade routes, it is likely that this spot was deliberately chosen. It also had defensible hills, in the Mavangwe, Bepe, Dombwe, Nyamupara, Maninga and Muswawu ranges.[242] (The fact that today this area is divided into three different Districts should not obscure the fact that this was a quite large area, under Changamire 'refugee' control). As we have seen in this and the previous chapters, it was at about this time that the Changamire Rozvi began to re-assert their power over the central plateau by intervening in dynastic politics.[243]

However, the final defeat of Tohwechipi put an end to the chances of a Rozvi revival by conventional means. Nevertheless, throughout this area from Mavangwe and Bepe to Nyamupara there were leaderless Rozvi houses, and it is from these that the upper Save Rozvi dynasties emerged. When we look at their histories, it is worth remembering that, for once, we have quite accurate dating for their beginnings: if their ancestors had arrived on the upper Save by 1857, they can hardly have done so much earlier than the mid-1840s and, although their traditions go back farther than that, they are then referring to the situation in the Changamire state in the south-west. If the traditions are often confused about the pre-1857 period, or even the time between then and the coming of colonial rule, it is not surprising, for the retreat from the south-west and, indeed, the situation after 1866, must have been a confusing time. It has often been suggested, when discussing non-Rozvi dynasties earlier, that the conquest of territory and the establishment of hereditary titles in the past may not have been nearly as neat a process as traditions suggest, and in the case of the upper Save Rozvi the establishment of titles and territories as a process had not always been completed by the coming of colonial rule. Indeed, to some extent it was colonial rule that decided just which of these Rozvi houses got Chieftainships and which did not.

The upper Save Rozvi are aware of the fact that they have only been in the area for less than 150 years, and sometimes they like to give the impression that they have been there longer, as it gives them more status in terms of seniority and land rights *vis-`a-vis* their neighbours, whether

Rozvi like Tandi *moyo/chirandu*[244] or non-Rozvi like Makoni. However, when the Chiduku Rozvi dynasty claimed that it had been in its area before the arrival of Makoni and that it helped get the Makoni dynasty established, it was taking this tendency to extremes, as the Makoni dates from well before 1633![245]

a. Chingombe muRozvi

After the defeat of Changamire Tohwechipi 'Chibamubamu' (as he was called because of his use of guns) in 1866 and his removal from the area by the Ndebele, Rozvi communities continued to live in the Mavangwe hills, south of the upper Save and north of Nyashanu. Their leaders were evidently Tumbare, Chiwundura and possibly Deka, but the first two at least were not *moyo/mondizvo* and there seems to have been no-one of the Changamire lineage in the area able to assume control. In December 1896 the three sub-rulers mentioned joined with Mbavha, senior ruler in the Save-Ruzawi angle, Chiduku from the lower Macheke valley and the Mavudzi who lived under Chiduku, as well as a son of Gambiza of the Njanja, and went to Chisiana in the Duma confederacy. At Chisiana the Mutinhima house of the main Changamire dynasty was living among the Duma. At that time the senior living member of this house was one Chikohore Chingombe, who had succeeded to the title of 'Muteveri' from his dead brother Gwerengwezhe Jirivengwa. This deputation of high-ranking Rozvi installed him as 'Mambo' at Chisiana and carried him off to Mavangwe in a litter. At the time the Native Department thought that this was a plot to put a Mambo of the Rozvi at the head of the First Chimurenga, which was then in progress, and in March 1897 they arrested him, only to release him when they found out that there was no danger. In fact, what was surprising was that a member of the Mutinhima house was being made Mambo, but it seems likely that Tohwechipi's defeat in 1866 had discredited his descendants (later known as the Gumunyu Rozvi) and raised the prestige of the Mutinhima house, which had now given rise to Chingombe's dynasty and that of Jiri at Chisiana in Bikita.

However, although Chingombe lived until 1904 and was unofficially known as Mambo by the Native Department, perhaps because suspicion had fallen on him in 1896-7, actual control of the Mavangwe Rozvi was given by the government to the Tumbare, from 1899 to 1914. (Chingombe's age may have been another factor). In 1907-8 one Mandu was installed by the Bikita Rozvi as 'Mambo' over the Mavangwe Rozvi, but he lived only two months after that. However, by 1918 Chingombe's son Mudavanhu had succeeded to the Mambo or Chingombe title, and after he died in 1933 two of his brothers followed him until 1965. By this time the succession had to go to Chingombe's grandsons, and the Mavangwe Rozvi had decided that, as Chingombe had had eight wives, each house should have a turn at the title. If it took 72 years for four houses to succeed from 1904 to 1976, then it would take about one and a half centuries for each house to get a turn at the title, but the Rozvi have a long history so perhaps they can afford to think in the long term[246]

b. Rozani or Mbavha

In dealing with this dynasty it is best, in view of the traditions involved, to look first at the earliest written records. In1888, Knight Bruce found that the Mbire south of Wedza, the Goto house, were said to have had their cattle raided by some Rozvi to the south. Although Chiduku was then just west of the Ruzawi at Nyamupara mountain,[247] Mbavha was also in the area, and was subordinate to Chiduku. In 1891-2 Chiduku's people had raided Magaya's Njanja three times for women, and Magaya had replied with his own raids. Cross-raiding in the area was common, with the Mbire fearing Njanja and Makoni's raids (and probably committing their own), but although Shona names and titles should not necessarily be taken literally it is perhaps significant in this case that *mbavha* means 'thief'.[248] Mbavha himself took no part in the First Chimurenga, though his son Chikwava got twelve years' imprisonment for aiding a man to kill 'Rukwata' Basson for stealing his daughter.[249] From the trial evidence, it looks as though Mbavha's village was established in the 1850s.

Who was Mbavha? The first man noted as having that name was Furaunye, who died at a fabulous age in 1927, having ruled his section of the Rozvi since at least 1891. He had arrived in the area in the 1850s, having settled first among the Mbire.[250] When he died, the Musinganete house put in a claim to the Mbavha title, Musinganete having been a brother of Furaunye's father Makambamate, but NC F.W.T. Posselt had a leaning towards Nguni custom in general and Furaunye's son Ruote Nyenye in particular, so the latter succeeded and the Musinganete house was fobbed off with a Gonesu Headmanship.[251] The title was changed to Rozani, so that Musinganete could not succeed. When Ruote died in 1924 the Musinganete-Gonesu house tried again, and another pro-primogeniture NC managed to push Ruote's son Changu into the title. (Changu's appointment also fitted the current policy of appointing young Chiefs.)[252]

In 1948 Roger Howman carried out research that tried to solve the problems raised in earlier enquiries. Back in 1941 ANC Kerr had made 'Salilo' the father of Makambamate and Musinganete, and had noted that two holders of the title (whatever it was) named Wasungu and Timbidziri had been sons of Shambare, son of Mushawanjara, whose relationship to 'Salilo' was not given. Thus the succession had gone Musinganete-Wasungu-Rozani-Timbidziri-Furaunye. With Wasungu and Timbidziri conveniently dying without issue and the change of the title to Rozani excluding Musinganete house, this left the field clear for Rozani Makambamate's house[253] Howman's research, a combination of field-work and *NADA,* shifted Mushawanjara over to be a father of Makambamate; Mushawanjara and Shambare became brothers, sons of Saridyo son of Dyembewu son of Togwa, the latter bits being borrowed from *NADA*. He also assumed that every ruler from Saridyo to Furaunye had been Mbavha I-VIII, with Makambamate being both Mbavha VI and Rozani I and Furaunye being Mbavha VIII and Rozani II.[254]

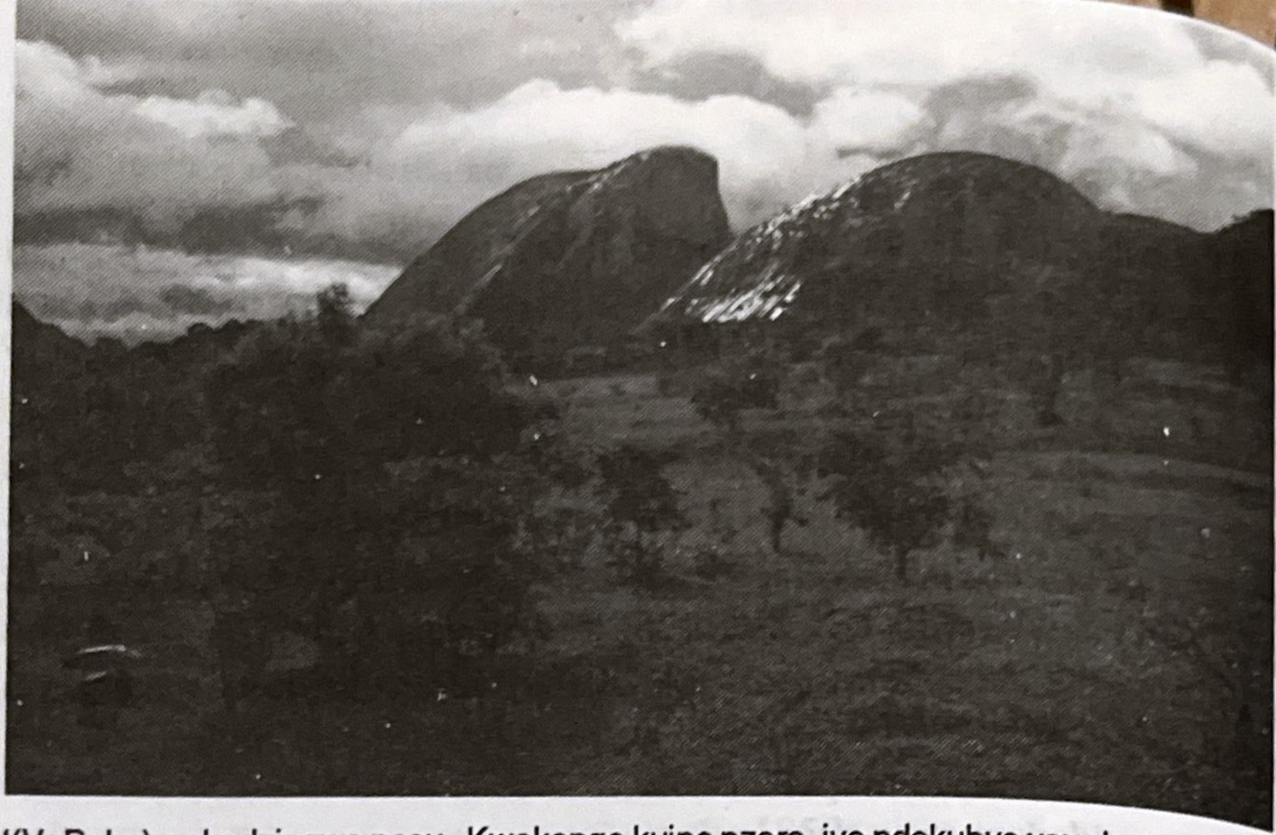
Howman left his report in the files and Rozani politics continued. Changu died in 1955, and this time there was no question of primogeniture applying, as his sons were too young and the primogeniture fad had died out in the Native Department. Once again Musinganete house tried its luck, once again it failed and Furaunye's grandsons Masindi (son of Chikwava) and Pfumo (son of Ruote Nyenye) held the title between 1957 and 1982. In 1984 Musinganete house finally succeeded in getting the title, only to have their Chief die a year later.[255]

Howman can hardly be blamed for being ignorant in 1948 of the historical knowledge of the 1980s, but the fact was that he had lost sight of the problem of dating in Mbavha-Rozani history. He was assuming three generations of rulers, and five actual title-holders before Furaunye. (Like the rest of the upper Save Rozvi, the Mbavha-Rozani dynasty was not keen to draw attention to the fact that it had only been in the area since the 1850s, though unlike the Chiduku rulers they did not try to fake their history). But the time factor cannot be ignored, and what follows is a reconstruction of the evidence pending more detailed research.

Furaunye may have been over 100 years old in 1927, but even so he would have been fairly young when he arrived on the upper Save. His father probably made the journey from the Changamire state, but it is unlikely that his grandfather and great-grandfather did so. Consequently, the origins of the dynasty with Saridyo (Dyembewu and Togwa can be safely excluded)[256] lie somewhere back in the Changamire state in the south-west before the 1840s. (There may be a connection between the Rozani dynasty and the Ndebele-speaking Rozvi dynasty under Lozani, but coincidence is not impossible.)[257] But the point is that the Rozvi who ended up in the Save-Ruzawi angle in the 1850s were probably not in any coherent grouping at all. Indeed, as we have seen, they were loosely under Chiduku, who held the Dombwe-Nyamupara hills until at least 1892. They had found the Negombwe *shava/mizha* Hera already there, but it is unlikely that there was any quick establishment of a dynastic title. Wasunga and Timbidziri, the sons of Shambare, were more probably rivals to Saridyo's descendants — indeed, until Howman's report no-one definitely linked them to his lineage — and although Musinganete may have been briefly prominent it is unlikely that any strong figure emerged until Furaunye rose to power by the methods that earned him the name of *mbavha*. His long reign established a dynasty, the change of the title to Rozani cut out the Musinganete house, and so affairs proceeded as we have already seen.

c. Chiduku

The history of the Chiduku dynasty is refreshingly simple. It claimed descent from Dyembewu, as practically any Changamire house could, Chirume and Gumunyu,[258] but in practice it started with Mupeti and his brother Muvongwe, who held the Dombwe-Nyamupara hills until the 1890s. After 1892, at the earliest, the Chiduku dynasty expanded its holdings into Maungwe at the expense of the Mutambirwa house of Makoni. Consequently, as noted above, by the 1960s it was claiming to have been in the area before the coming of Makoni, which was palpably untrue. The Chiduku dynasty gained a lot of prestige because the Mavudzi and Nerwande houses lived in its territory, the Mavudzi being in the position of a go-between from the upper Save Rozvi to the Goronga spirit in Nemakonde's territory. This probably was a survival from the time when the Changamire state existed, for the Ndebele also took great pains to stay on the right side of spirits in the Nemakonde area such as Goronga. However, the precise relationship between Chiduku, the upper Save Rozvi in general, Mavudzi and Goronga seems to have varied considerably over the decades.[259] Mupeti seems to have been much more important than Muvongwe, who left the area, and it was Mupeti's sons who dominated the succession until the 1970s, when the next generation began to succeed.[260]

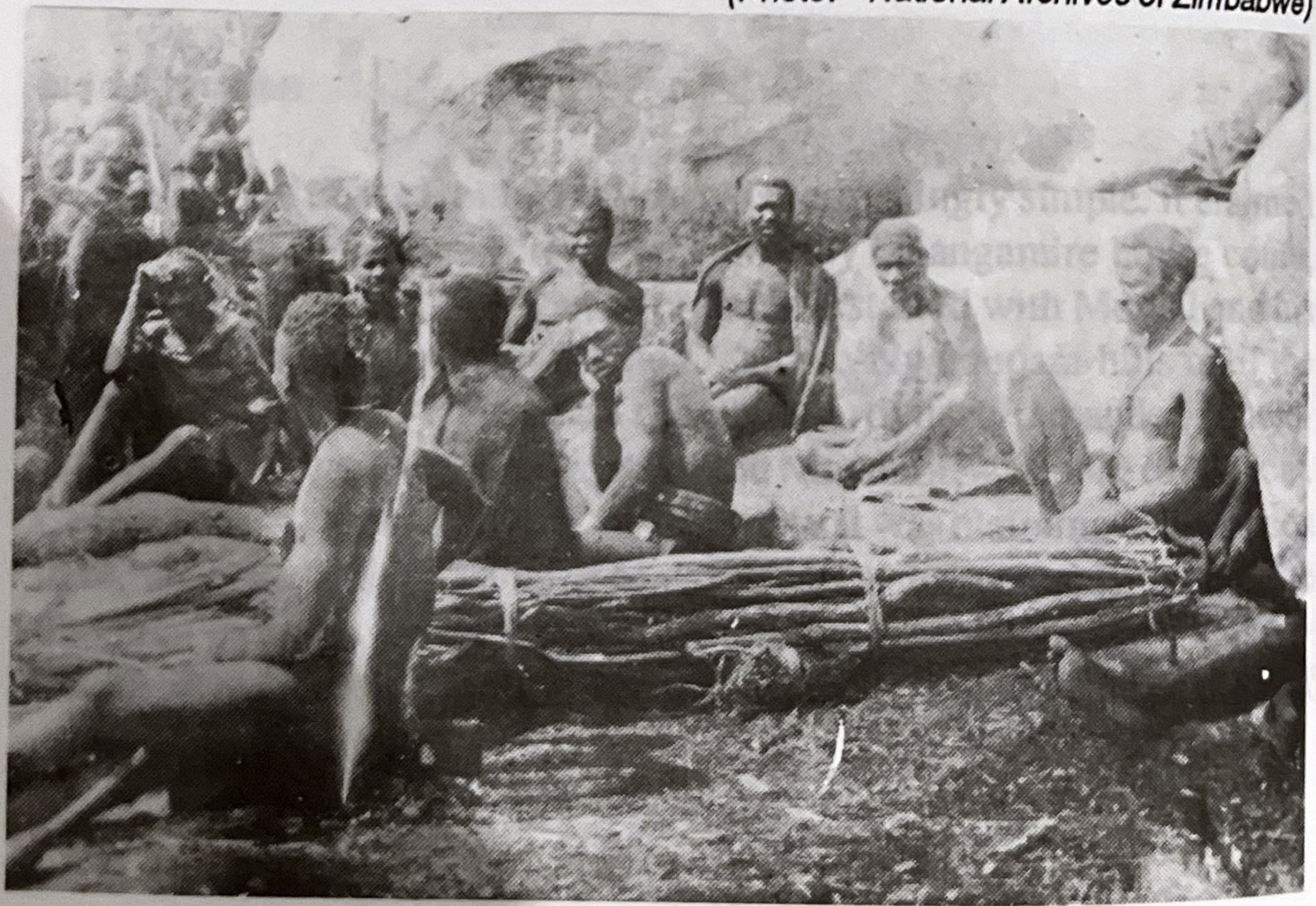


'(VaPako) vakadzingwa nesu. Kwakange kuine nzara, ivo ndokubva vave kugara kuMu-Naka vachitsvaga zvekudya. Isu ndokubva taona kuti gomo harichisina munhu isu ndokubva vanhu tagaramo,' 'The vaPako were chased by us. There was starvation, they were living at Naka, while looking for food. We found out that the hill had no-one and so we occupied it.' : UZHD Text 22 Chivi. Such minor land-grabs were typical of the Karanga expansion in the south in the 19th. century, in country like this Great Crescent scene near Naka.

(Photo: Author)

'Ivo vese havana kugara kwenguva yakakura nokuti vaingoti apiwa obva afa. Zvino vakati toita sei kuti tive vasingafi, vakati handei tino shopera,' 'All these did not reign for a long time because it so happened that whoever was installed would die quickly. So they started wondering what they could do to stop this catastrophe and decided to visit a diviner to find out how they can remedy the situation': UZHD Text 49 Chikomba-Charter. This rare photograph of a Shona council in 1891 shows some of the actùal people recalled in Mutekedza oral tradition in 1969.

(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



CHAPTER 4

The Southern Plateau

i Introduction

If the 'central *shava* belt' of Chapter Two had as its background the idea of a continuous strip of *shava* dynasties with a possible common origin, and if the examination of the 'north-central' plateau of Chapter Three started with the question of whether or not there had once been a concentration of *moyo* dynasties in the area, at first the 'southern plateau' of this chapter seems straightforward. According to the traditions, we have a series of migrations, nearly all moving from the north-east to the south-west, which overcomes very nearly all of the original inhabitants of the area in the period 1700-1850. This, one could say, is practically the stereotype of Shona historical traditions. Yet there are some odd features about the southern plateau history. Although it is most unusual for Shona genealogies to go much further back than 1700, even without the help of the Portuguese documents it is possible to see that some dynasties in the centre, north and east, have genealogies starting at about 1700 but are in fact older; Mbiru, Gwenzi, Rwizi are examples of dynasties of this kind, with vague traditions of origin elsewhere and hints that the first remembered ancestor was only one of many now forgotten. The southern plateau traditions are rather different: traditions of migration are crisp and clear, dealing with real places, while only the eastern dynasties in this region pre-date 1750 and in the west the history is even more recent. In short, if the southern plateau traditions had been like those of the lands to the north and east, we would have had a much more complex pattern of old and new dynasties. Yet, intrinsically the traditions of the south are no different in their nature from the others. The implication is that there really was a significant migration or series of migrations into the south in the 1750-1850 period.

At this point I would like to remind readers of what I wrote in the first chapter about the state of research into pre-colonial history in Zimbabwe in the 1970s: around the central and southern Zimbabwean plateau there were a number of other projects going on at the same time as mine. Thus, between 1971 and 1976 Richard Mtetwa completed his doctoral dissertation on the history of the Duma. Duma, the people and territory between

Great Zimbabwe and the Save, Gutu and the lowveld, had received virtually no attention until then, and Mtetwa was virtually working from scratch. His study, which unfortunately remains unpublished, covered not only the history of the Duma but those of many of their neighbours as well. In *Shona and Zimbabwe* I summarized his work in four pages, hoping that it would soon be published. Here, I simply refer the reader to his work on the Duma, and will concentrate on the non-Duma dynasties of the southern Shona.[1] Similarly, no attempt, is being made to discuss the history of the Hlengwe of the south-eastern lowveld. Again, the reader must look to the work of other researchers,[2] though in the lowveld the historians of the Hlengwe, southern Shona and Venda so overlap that the southernmost Shona reach the Limpopo. These two semi-'ethnic' limits to the chapter in the east and south are joined by a rather arbitrary line from the Kwekwe river to the middle Mzingwani. This line represents, approximately, the eastern limits of the area covered by Julian Cobbing, in his dissertation on the Ndebele, in which he carried out detailed research on dynasties, whether Ndebele, Shona or other.[3] Finally, the northern boundary of the chapter is the southern boundary of Chapter Two, though there are inevitable overlaps.

The environment of Chapter Four is very easily described: but for a few minor dynasties living in the Kwekwe valley, and thus to the west of the watershed, and on a few settlements on hilltops in the lowveld, everybody was living in the 'Great Crescent' described earlier. Most of this chapter is about people moving from one minor watershed to another, between the big river systems flowing into the Save and Limpopo.

ii The Early Inhabitants

Across the northern, central and eastern Zimbabwe plateau it is possible to find dynasties whose traditions claim either that they came from those regions or that they have been there a very long time. In the entire southern plateau there are two, perhaps three, of this kind.

In *Shona and Zimbabwe* nearly thirty early dynasties were named in the area covered by this chapter, named as those who had previously lived in the territories of the recent rulers, in the traditions of those rulers.[4] (In other words, if we have dynasties A, B and C in a certain district, they have traditions to the effect that before they came the lands were held by dynasties X, Y and Z). These thirty-odd dynasties seem to have no traditions of having come from outside the southern plateau. Indeed, for many of them we have no traditions of any kind because no descendants of them can be located and they are simply remembered as names by those who supplanted them. In view of the fact that this chapter is compiled largely from official files — and thus from sources that tend to ignore the politically unimportant — and from limited field work, one might assume that the descendants of these dynasties are in fact still around and that therefore histories can be collected from them. However, in his large research area Richard Mtetwa found the same phenomenon, and in repeated field trips over four years in which he carried out over 170 interviews he too was unable to find the descendants of many of the groups conquered by the Duma.[5]

In this section of this chapter, we will be dealing with those very few dynasties which appear to have originated within the southern plateau whose histories can be traced. These are very few indeed, and in one case it is quite possible that in fact it did come from outside the southern plateau and was one of the group of small dynasties that preceded the main migration. This category I have called "forerunners" and the rest of them are discussed below, in the fourth section of this chapter. (Rozvi dynasties on the southern plateau are put in a section on their own.)

a. NeManwa and the Pako

The first dynasty, whose status in this category is uncertain, is that of NeManwa. Its history gives a clue as to the fate of the other early dynasties whose traditions have not survived: it was defeated and driven out of its territory by the Duma in the 1820s, and if this territory had not included the ruins of Great Zimbabwe and thus attracted a lot of literate visitors, the NeManwa dynasty's history would probably have been forgotten entirely as the people scattered.[6] Even so, the traditions are vague. In 1951 a member of the group claimed that the *shumba*-totem Manwa had immigrated from the Mutoko or Budya region,[7] but although one other researcher confirmed this, by the early 1960s the Manwa had rejected any immigration and were claiming that they had been in the area since the

Creation.[8] Such a claim is unusual among the Shona, and it seems likely that it was a later invention used to stress the claims of the Manwa to the land taken by Mugabe's Duma.

The history of the Manwa since their arrival has been dominated by their loss of the fields around Great Zimbabwe to Mugabe, and Richard Mtetwa gives by far the fullest account of the seventy-year war between the two dynasties, the involvement of Charumbira's Nini, other Duma, the visitor Adam Render, the B.S.A.Company, archaeologists and missionaries, and, in the end, the loss of most of the land in question to the Dutch Reformed Church and the government, from 1892.[9] By the 1940s about a third of the men of this small group lived under Charumbira, the rest having scattered,[10] and it is not surprising that the genealogies available are contradictory.[11]

The Pako, of the Munaka range between the Runde and the Turwi, had an experience similar to that of the Manwa. So far, nothing is known of their origins or history, but in the mid-nineteenth century they were living in the Munaka range under the Chinaka dynasty. They also held Chirogwe hill slightly to the north, from which they were ejected by the house of Masunda, a Mhari house-head who died in the 1860s.[12] In 1892 the Pako hired Duncan, the field-cornet at the Turwi crossing, to recapture the hill. Duncan's friend Promnitz duly hired some Afrikaners from the passing Moodie trek and took the hill for the Pako —and then double-crossed them by allowing the Mhari to recapture the hill in return for some cattle.[13] The Pako waited a few more years and, while both the Mhari and the government were preoccupied by the 1896 Chimurenga, the Pako and the Ngowa — enemies of the Mhari — retook Chirogwe. Once again they were forced to abandon it when the Native Department assisted Masunda house.[14] The fragments of Pako history are all that we have at the moment, and if Chirogwe had not been close to the main road in the 1890s we would not have even these.

b. The Southern Shawasha

We have already seen how a dynasty of *soko* people, the Shawasha, set out for the central plateau area in the beginning of the eighteenth century.[15] Their territory continued to be known as 'Mashawasha' right down to the twentieth century.[16] In the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century it was conquered by the Shumba dynasty, a branch of the Duma.[17] Nevertheless, there was another Shawasha dynasty in the southern plateau, but this was founded by a break-away from the northern Shawasha of Chinamhora, led by Vambe. Vambe, who is remembered in the traditions of Chinamhora as well as in those of the dynasty he founded, came south with the main migrations of the eighteenth century. His group made no attempt to return to the old territory, but instead moved to the Ngezi-Shashe angle. There they defeated three minor rulers, and the Hama dynasty was founded with a praise-name, *mutadza* — a reference to the incident that led to the separation from Chinamhora. The Hama dynasty was a small one and was apparently not involved with the Rozvi or anyone else until the time of the Ndebele raids. In the meantime there had been a civil war in which the Guruzwa house was expelled, and it was a member of this house, Mutindi Mbavare, who was captured by the Ndebele and joined their *amabutho*. After 1893 he returned to the Hama area and, with the help of Chirimuhanzu (whose daughter he married and who had himself come to power by such means) and Govere *ngara*, became Hama in the face of opposition from a Gutu-backed candidate. An attempt to enlist the aid of CNC Brabant to break free of Chirimuhanzu was frustrated by the latter, who called in NC Weale to flog Hama into submission.[18] Mutindi Mbavare was succeeded by his son Mbavare in 1910, and after his death in 1955 the traditions had come to confuse him with his father.[19]

c. Chingoma *dziva*

One other dynasty of southern plateau ancestry, like that of Hama, survived the changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by moving to a new territory. The *dziva* Romwe dynasty of Chingoma apparently started at Romwe hill in the lowveld east of the Mutirikwi river. Sicard has speculated about earlier origins and connections, but these are not enough to be built upon.[20] The dynasty seems always to have had a rain cult in the charge of one of the houses, though not always the same house. The Zezhou house seems to have been supplanted in this function by that of Dunda.

There are different and not entirely contradictory accounts of the reason for Chingoma's departure from Romwe hill. On the one hand there was the threat of raids by some *nzou* Rembetu — inaccurately termed 'Shangaans' later — while there was also a major drought. One tradition said that the Romwe were invited into the mountainous country on the southern edge of the plateau by the Rozvi, another that they moved anyway and were then granted settlement rights by the Rozvi. In either case the Romwe were welcomed on account of their rain cult. This cult was still important well into the twentieth century, acting as an additional source of rain to the Mwari cave-cult of the Matopos as far as the local Ngowa were concerned. The Chingoma cult, however, recognised the superiority of Mwari. This movement seems to have taken place in the lifetime of Zimusi, at the end of the eighteenth century.

The new territory of Chingoma was based on the mountain of Imbahuru between the Mundi and Mwenezi rivers, south-east of Mberengwa peak. Chingoma was tributary to Lobengula through Mposi, the Lemba ruler who was the Ndebele sub-ruler over the local southern Shona, and this system continued for some time after the coming of colonial rule in 1894. With the spiritual role being taken by the Dunda house, secular power tended to be held by the Murindikwa house, but this was contested by the Maungudzi house. It is said that it was the opposition of the Maungudzi house that led to the odd behaviour of Chirume, who would have succeeded to the title but was consistently absent and allowed it to be taken by his younger brother, his nephew and — in an acting capacity — by his son. Consistent refusal to take office is not common in dynastic history, and there may be more to it. Maungudzi house began to rule from 1960.[21]

iii The Southern Rozvi

As in the central plateau, in the south there were Rozvi groups that did not have any special rôle to play in the Changamire state's relations with the rest of the Shona. Seven of these, with a Kalanga group from the south-west, were to be found strung along the southern edge of the plateau, living alongside the Karanga.

So far, in this and the previous two chapters, terms that are used today to indicate dialect clusters, such as 'Zezuru' and 'Korekore', have been avoided whenever possible. This is because they had different and more limited meanings in the pre-colonial period, and because it is possible to get by using terms like 'central Shona'. In the southern plateau's dynastic history, however, it is necessary to use the term 'Karanga', which today refers to the dialect cluster of most of the people of the area. The term 'Karanga' was originally used to mean the ruling dynasties of the northern and eastern Shona before about 1700, when it began to drop out of use and be replaced by other terms. The term 'Kalanga', identical in meaning, was being used to describe the south-*western* Shona by at least 1727. We simply do not know what the inhabitants of the *southern* plateau called themselves before the arrival of the immigrant dynasties of the eighteenth century from the north and east, though those of them who survive as communities today, such as Hama and Chingoma, call themselves 'Karanga'. But, for the purposes of this study, 'Karanga' is taken to mean 'non-Rozvi, non-Duma immigrants from the north and east into the southern plateau region.'[22]

As shown in *Shona and Zimbabwe*, the Changamire *moyo/mondizvo* dynasty and its allies, all called 'Rozvi', migrated into the south-western plateau at the end of the seventeenth century, overthrew what was left of the Torwa state and set up a state of their own based on the Danangombe capital centre. It seems clear that the majority of the Torwa population within the Changamire state itself also came to be called 'Rozvi', though those farther south-west were known as 'Kalanga'. This would account for the tendency of the Karanga immigrants to refer to 'Rozvi' predecessors and 'Rozvi' stone buildings, which much more probably belonged to the Torwa state.

Not all of the immigrant Changamire Rozvi settled in the state itself. Some settled along the southern edges of the plateau along with the surviving Torwa, and formed a rough belt of 'Rozvi' settlement from the Insiza to the Turwi. This was in no way the result of Changamire policy, but rather that of a series of independent moves, such as the Nebwine ancestor fleeing justice. By the late nineteenth century this belt had been broken into three parts by migrations from both north and south, and the survivors are dealt with here as the 'southern Rozvi'.[23]

a. Bankwe

The Bankwe dynasty was in fact Kalanga in origin, and as they were from outside the Changamire state, from the Manzamnyama river area, they are included in this section because they fit no other. It is true that they claimed a maternal relationship with the Rozvi, but probably half the population of the south-west could claim that. This *shumba*-totem dynasty — possibly of the *tembo* totem in the beginning — was led by Bankwe into the land east of the middle Mzingwane. This territory was under the Rozvi, and a relative of the Changamire named Mbavu lived there. On his death Bankwe took over the area. This was before the fall of the Changamire state in the 1840s. Under the Ndebele, Bankwe's people were tributary, and until land alienation they held their lands east of the Mzingwani. Bankwe was moved into the Belingwe reserve and it may be, as Sicard hints, that it was only then that his dynasty emerged as anything more than a minor political unit set over others.[24]

b. Chizungu and Murove

One of the most unusual totems found among the Rozvi was that of *chuma*, which in effect appears to have been a *dupo,* (emphasis) on *gwai*, sheep. This totem was used by two Rozvi dynasties which, though living on the same river, had no common tradition of origin. Chizungu's dynasty claims 'always' to have lived in the area of the Changamire state, whether or not it was always based on its territory on the upper Mwenezi, west of the Doro range. Conflicting accounts of the Chizungu dynasty's relationships with the Changamire Rozvi have been given, and it seems that the most that can be drawn from them is that it was derived from the people of the Torwa state. Significantly, Chizungu's people recalled the name Chihunduro as the 'Rozvi' leader, and it was apparently normal for a Chizungu representative to stay at the Changamire capital in order to prove the loyalty of the Chizungu leader. The Rozvi connection with the Chizungu dynasty was reinforced by the Rozvi refugees who fled from the fall of the Changamire state in the 1840s, but Chizungu then fell under the influence of the Ndebele and became tributary to them.[25]

The other *chuma/gwai* Rozvi lived on the middle Mwenezi, being led by the Murove dynasty. Apart from claiming descent from the well-known Rozvi ancestor-figure Sororezhou, calling themselves Rozvi and claiming origins somewhere in the northeast, Murove's Rozvi were just like any other Shona group settling in the modern Karanga area. They took some land on the north bank of the Mwenezi, in the lowveld, driving out some *ngara*-totem Dumbuseya under Neruwindi. This was probably in the early nineteenth century, and for the rest of that century Murove's Rozvi lived on the borders of the Tsonga Hlengwe country without any major upsets.[26]

c. Nebwine

A third non-*moyo* Rozvi group to settle on the edges of the plateau was that of Nebwine. Driven from the Changamire state, a Rozvi sub-ruler named Nechuru, of the *shava-mhara* totem, settled in the mountains between the middle Turwi and Runde rivers. The Nebwine dynasty that he founded remained there for two generations before being driven back to the Changamire state by a neighbouring ruler.The fall of the state in the 1840s sent Nebwine's group, led by Shindi, back to the Turwi-Runde area, where it settled under the rising power of Nyajena, an associate of the Duma confederacy. Following a period when all of the groups near Nyajena were conquered by Wedza's Dumbuseya, the Nebwine dynasty was allocated land south of the Turwi, not far from its old area, by Nyajena.[27]

d. Nyamhondo, Negari and Negove

The Changamire dynasty had the *moyo* totem, but not all Rozvi with the *moyo* totem were closely connected with the Changamire. Not only were there *moyo* dynasties, from within the *moyo* nuclear area, which were only vaguely related to the Rozvi overlord, such as Samuriwo or Nyamweda, but one of the prominent associates of the Changamire, the Rozvi *moyo* Tumbare house, actually originated in the old Torwa state. In the case of Nyamhondo the dynasty almost certainly came from the *moyo* nuclear area: beyond the upper Save, 'in the direction of modern Moçambique'. But the Nyamhondo rulers were *moyo/zariro*, not *moyo/mondizvo*, and were descended from Nemakase, not any well-known member of the Changamire line. Nemakase led his people south of the Runde, and took up a wide territory between that river and the Mwenezi, in the country between the mountains and the lowveld.

Like many of the Karanga in the strip of land along the edge of the lowveld, Nyamhondo's Rozvi faced the threat of Ndebele raiding in the years after the fall of the Changamire state, as well as that of the Tsonga Hlengwe. Ndebele raids continued up to 1892. But Nyamhondo's Rozvi were probably involved in such activities themselves: in 1897 a sub-ruler of the neighbouring Rozvi ruler Negari was complaining of raids by 'Rozvi' whom he called the 'big people of the country'. Nyamhondo's people, the most numerous of the local Rozvi, were probably responsible. The division of the country into eastern and western provinces in 1895 led to the arbitrary division of Nyamhondo's land along the line of the old Tuli-Victoria road, which led to the growth of an independent Mawarire dynasty in Chivi-Mwenezi under the Mamanje sub-house.[28]

A Rozvi *moyo/zariro* dynasty of similar status to Nyamhondo's settled just to the north, under the name of Negove. This dynasty had a relationship with the Changamire that was even vaguer than that of Nyamhondo, having only the totem and a tradition of origin in the *moyo* nuclear area in common. Negove's Rozvi claimed to have arrived in the area after the Changamire conquest of the Torwa state, but before any of their surviving neighbours. This would agree with tentative generational dating, which puts the arrival of Negove's Rozvi in the first half of the eighteenth century and Nyamhondo's in the second half, well before the Ngowa or other Karanga crossed the Runde. They passed by Chishanga hill and took the land south of Buhwa mountain, between the Runde and Chingwezi rivers. Their leader Matevere was said to have been killed by the Rozvi, but the exact group of Rozvi concerned is not known. On the one hand this shows the lack of solidarity among the Rozvi as a whole, while on the other the fact that Negove's Rozvi continued to occupy their land in the face of 'Rozvi' opposition and Ndebele raids shows that, although this was a small group, it had some cohesion.[29]

Of the Rozvi who occupied the lands of the southern plateau-edge, only two dynasties appear to have had close links with the Changamire state. One of these was that of Negari, which was descended from a brother of the well-known Rozvi leader Mutinhima. In the late eighteenth century this *moyo/mondizvo* dynasty took a block of land on the edge of the lowveld, south of the middle Runde river. The Sunga people who lived there were gradually eased out, under the threat of attack by Negari's Rozvi, who were in turn conquered by the Ndebele and made tributary. Negari's group was a small one, and although Negari tradition claims that Negari was the superior of the Nyamhondo rulers, who ruled a lot more people, it seems more likely that this was simply one more small, independent Rozvi group.[30]

e. Mtubayedzi

The second Changamire Rozvi group to found a dynasty on the edge of the lowveld was that of Mtubayedzi. This *moyo/mondizvo* group has claimed to have 'always' occupied its territory north of the Mweza range in the valley of the upper Mwenezi. This claim, however, was probably inspired by the overcrowding of the Belingwe reserve, and it is far more probable that Mtubayedzi's Rozvi were some of those who fled from the Changamire state in the middle nineteenth century as it fell to the Ndebele. The Mtubayedzi leader Marira built a fortification against the Ndebele, probably during the Ndebele-Rozvi wars of 1840-66. Mtubayedzi's people suffered severely during one of the periods when the Ndebele feared an attack by the Transvaal Afrikaners, but later they became tributaries of the Ndebele state.[31] Other refugees from the fall of the Changamire state included a branch of the important Tumbare family and the Wani and Mbongolani groups, but none of these emerged as real dynasties.[32]

iv The Forerunners

According to the traditions, the first groups of northern and eastern Karanga to move into the south founded small dynasties that were nearly all overshadowed by the larger groups that came slightly later.

By grouping some of the eighteenth-century population movements according to their origins, this chapter tends to make them look rather more ordered than they were. It is quite true that, given the generally good communications of the southern plateau, many separated groups with a common origin retained a knowledge of that origin. The Hera traditions discussed elsewhere show how detailed this knowledge could be, and suggest that the Hera, wherever they were, knew about and took interest in the progress of their relations far away.[33] If groups were widely scattered over a large area, such a sense of kinship would be of very little practical use in the problems of the resettlement: Mapanzure's Hera in the south, for example, could not rely on the help of the Hera of Buhera in the same way that the nearby Duma could look for assistance from the confederal centre in Bikita. In other words, a small community, even if it belonged to a major group such as Mbire or Hera, was very much on its own in terms of politics. It is therefore interesting to see how some of the small and isolated groups fared during the resettlement. Some of these can be regarded as 'forerunners', small communities that moved out into the thinly-populated south well ahead of the major groups. Others, though slightly larger in terms of numbers, were the only representatives of clans which otherwise did not go south in this period.

The conquest of the south eastern highlands by the *moyo* dynasties in the seventeenth century had repercussions west of the Save. We have already seen that the weaker elements, even of the conquering groups such as the *moyo* Muwushu dynasty, were pushed into the uninviting lowlands and across the river in the Save valley.[34] One such group belonged to the *shumba-bumphi* Mutambara dynasty, which although not of the *moyo* totem was part of the main *moyo* movement into the highlands. This Nesongano family went to the upper Devure valley, where Chasura's *shiri* dynasty was already ruling, and settled. This happened after the *moyo* conquest of the southeast in the late seventeenth century, but before the *gumbo* Rufura settlement in the mid-eighteenth century, and involved only a few people: it did not threaten Chasura's position, nor was Nesongano able to resist the Rufura.[35] Another family from the southeastern highlands belonged to the defeated *dziva* people of the Musikavanhu complex. These Zvidzvi people went first to the people of the Beza range north of Great Zimbabwe, and then further north in the Pokoteke valley, to Mazambara hill, which was said to be unoccupied. The area, as we have seen, was rather thinly populated, and the arrival of Chirisa's Zvidzwi probably made very little difference at first. In the end, however, Chirisa's dynasty, which used the title of Gurajena, succumbed to the mounting pressures of the century: when Zimuto's *ngara* people arrived, probably before 1800, they drove the Zvidzvi from Mazambara, and forced them to take refuge, some going as far as the Beza range, others west to the banks of the Shashe under Zimuto's rule.[36]

Two dynasties from the Ndau area, which crossed the Save well before the Gaza arrived, had the rare totems of *beta*, python, and *shuro*, hare, and so they regarded themselves as having a common origin even though they had no known ancestors in common. The first of these dynasties, led by Sarampudzi, settled between the Turwi and Runde rivers, in the hilly area where both rivers move off the plateau into the lowveld. Sarampudzi's son Nerubanga gave the group the name of Rubanga, and his grandson its final title of Gororo. A second group left the southeast later, and settled under Nyajena, the powerful *moyo* Jena ruler who was by then established east of the Turwi. In a complex sequence of events, this second group under Madzivire first came to the aid of the Rubanga against Shindi's *shava* Rozvi, who arrived from the Rozvi state at about that time, and then fought the Rubanga for land to the southwest on the Runde. Nyajena was recognised by both groups as their overlord, and the Nyajena rulers exacted tribute, mediated in quarrels and supplied protection in the nineteenth century. Yet both Gororo and Madzivire were evidently tributary rulers rather than Nyajena's ward heads, probably because the Turwi river made closer control difficult.[37]

These peoples from the southeastern highlands shared some of the most common experiences of small groups at this time, absorption as a subject group (Nesongano), expulsion by a superior force (Gurajena) and semi-independence as a tributary, (Gororo and Madzivire). Other small groups that came down from the north fared similarly. One family of forerunners was that of the Rundwe — allegedly from the Zambezi valley near Chirundu — under Nechipani *zhou/siwani*. His Nemarundwe dynasty arrived in the Pokoteke valley opposite Gurajena, and found Dewe *shumba* and Chikede *gumbo* on Manyora and Bara hills and drove them away. Unlike Gurajena, who was the first fore-runner to settle on Pokoteke, Nemarundwe survived the arrival of the Zimuto dynasty, and even gave shelter to Gurajena refugees.[38]

Two more of these small groups that arrived from the north, who were not part of a larger movement of clans, survived as independent units up to the beginning of European rule. Since they settled in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the great resettlement was well under way, this achievement was probably a result of their choosing places to live that were some distance from the centres from which the more numerous dynasties were already expanding. Both of these families left their home areas as a result of a civil war or the threat of one; Gonye *shonga* came from Maungwe, home of the Makoni dynasty, while Muzvarira was one of the Zvimba dynasty of Chipata. Neither of the groups in question went directly to their places of eventual settlement. Muzvarira's people first went to Maungwe, but evidently the same conditions that led Gonye's group to move changed their minds about settlement, and they cut back across the upper Save to the area just north of the Devure source. Chirimuhanzu was to the southwest, Gutu to the southeast and Gunguwo's section of the Njanja to the north, but the part between them was dominated by no-one, and here Muzvarira founded what came to be known as the Serima dynasty. Most of the subsequent history of Serima involved a balancing act between the larger units.[39]

Unlike all the groups mentioned above, the *shonga* dynasty of Gonye was involved with the Rozvi in the course of their resettlement. One of two brothers fleeing from civil war in Maungwe, Gonye settled first at Muzvoma near the Muteo forest on the upper Shashe, but it was his son Wozhere who went west and contacted the Mutinhima house of the Rozvi. Mutinhima at this time needed supporters in his long-standing rivalry with the main Changamire dynasty, and he allocated Wozhere the land around Hwanyanda, a place where the Great Dyke range crossed the watershed of the plateau. Wozhere then became the local leader of the Maungwe people in the south. Hwanyanda was near some iron deposits, and further down the Kwekwe river there were a great many more. In the first of the nineteenth century, under both Rozvi and Ndebele rule, small families moved into the Kwekwe valley, partly to exploit the iron ore. To a limited extent Wozhere acted as a intermediary between these incoming people and the overlords of the time, but this was only a temporary situation that lasted until the people had settled.[40]

v The Rufura of Gutu and Ndanga

The Gutu dynasty was one of the most important political units of the southern Shona, with a fairly typical history of successful warfare and diplomacy against outsiders, and struggles for power internally.

We now turn to the larger groups of the Karanga proper, those who left the north and east to settle in the lands of the former state of Great Zimbabwe. One of the earliest of these movements, and also one of the shortest in terms of distance, involved the *gumbo/madyirapazhe* Rufura people of the Gutu dynasty. These were descended from the Musana *gumbo* dynasty of Satwa already covered in the last chapter.[41] The group which founded the Gutu and Ndanga dynasties, which called themselves Rufura, appears to have moved south in about the middle of the eighteenth century. They crossed Old Buhera, then in the throes of the re-organisation and fission that we have already described,[42] and arrived on the upper Devure river.

As we have already seen, this area was on the southern border of Old Buhera, with the nearest major power that of Mbiru-Nyashanu north of the Nyazvidzi. There were Hera along the north bank of the Devure, as well as *shiri*-totem people at Gona and Rasa mountains, under Chasura.[43] By the time the Rufura arrived in the area, Nesongano's *shumba*-totem group and Mukaro's *moyo* from the Ndau area across the Save had already settled south of Chasura.[44] The area was not under any single ruler, and the influence of both Mbiru-Nyashanu and the Changamire Rozvi was recognised. The latter had a settlement at Ndarikure, not far to the west, and claimed the right to allocate land.[45]

Traditions differ as to the details of the Rufura conquest of the area but tend to agree on the essentials. Whether or not it is true that a *gumbo* leader named Nyahope carried out a reconnaissance of the area first,[46] the traditions agree that there were four or five Rufura leaders with their following who moved through Buhera. The names usually given are Chisvino, Munyikwa, Nyamashakwe, Ndanga and Mabwazhe Rinamatande, and Munyikwa is generally said to have been the eldest.[47] According to one account, Nyashanu allocated land and wives to the Rufura leaders, which could have been logical in view of their value as *torwa* supporters in the Hera power struggle, and as guards over the southern Hera and against the Rozvi in the southwest.[48] But there were other factors involved. The original area of settlement chosen had been the lowveld area of the Devure-Nyazvidzi confluence, and such lowland areas were less desirable as settlement areas than the middle and upper courses of the major rivers of the Great Crescent. The senior houses of Nemashakwe and Munyikwa did take up these lands, while Ndanga went on to found the dynasty of that name in the lands of the Duma, but it was the junior house of Mabwazhe that founded the Gutu dynasty.

This occurred partly because the Chasura *shiri* dynasty was weakened by civil wars at this time. Part of this group seems to have left before the Rufura advance, and the remainder were in no position to resist strongly.[50] In tradition, Mabwazhe is said to have used poison to drive out the *shiri* people, but still earlier traditions make it fairly clear that more forceful means were used, and very few of Chasura's people remained: most fled to the southwest over the Turwi, in the same general direction as their relatives who had fled after the civil war. Mabwazhe's generational death-date was *1757 ± 36, but the conquest of Chasura's *shiri* at Gona could have extended into the reign of his son. The policy of the Rozvi with regard to this conquest is not entirely clear. A tradition that Mabwazhe won the favour of the Rozvi and the dynastic title of Gutu is well-known, but it is not certain whether this happened before or after the fall of Chasura, whether the Rozvi connived at the replacement of one of their tributaries beforehand or simply acknowledged a *fait accompli*.[52] In either case it is clear that the Rozvi made no attempt to support their tributary. From then on the Rufura paid tribute to the Changamire, but the fall of the Changamire state seems to have coincided with an increase in Rufura power,[53] and when the defeated Rozvi leader known as 'Mushayavanhu', ('you lack people'), came south from Buhera after the Rozvi defeat by the Ndebele in 1866 there were clashes, and most of the Rozvi moved into the Duma country.[54] Nevertheless, the Washaya section of the Rozvi remained influential in Gutu, and an installation by the Rozvi occurred in the twentieth century.[55]

To return to the fall of Chasura and the beginning of the Gutu dynasty, the exact stages by which Gutu became powerful are not known, nor is the internal history of the dynasty clear. It is not entirely certain whether it remained a single unit, or whether the Gutu Chiefdom of the early twentieth century was partly a creation of the European government. This latter allegation could be true as far as the Munyikwa house was concerned, for it remained in its lowveld area largely unaffected by events further west on the plateau, and its genealogical seniority may have ensured its independence up to the 1890s, when the junior Gutu dynasty became paramount. But there is little doubt about the importance of the Gutu title itself; indeed, the dynastic title has come to name the territory as well. By the 1890s, Gutu's western boundary was the Munyambi river,[56] and his power reached all the way to Nyazvidzi and down that river to Munyikwa's area. The Munyaradze *shava* dynasty which, as mentioned earlier, was founded at around the same time as — or a little later than — Gutu, was surrounded by the Rufura houses and made tributary.[57] On the south, Gutu reduced the Nesongano dynasty to subjection, and arrived at an irregular frontier with the rapidly expanding and powerful Duma confederacy, whose sub-dynasties of Chikwanda, Chiwara and Makore were all neighbours. By the mid-nineteenth century Gutu had emerged as one of the most powerful of the southern Shona political units.[58] It does not seem that Gutu was ever a regular tributary of either the Ndebele or the Gaza Nguni, but it managed to remain independent by virtue of its position between them. This does not mean that there was a state of war the whole time: when the Ndebele were raiding Serima to the northwest, probably in the early 1850s, Gutu refused to help on the grounds that intermarriage with the Ndebele had taken place.[59] On the other hand, the Ndebele raided Gutu in 1873, and although the main target may have been the Rozvi refugees, many cattle were taken.[60] In c. 1880 there was a major Gaza raid on Gutu, which was defeated at the battle of Rasa where, in spite of the fact that Gutu had few guns, the Rufura suffered few casualties.[61] In this period, Gutu became a place of refuge for many Ndau leaders who for one reason or another preferred not to live under the Gaza.[62] The removal of the Gaza in 1889, however, left the Ndebele as the only nearby power, and therefore it is quite likely that Gutu was, as was alleged, prepared to take guns from the Portuguese in 1889-90.[63]

We have already seen that the descendants of Mabwazhe had made the Gutu title superior, in terms of practical politics, to the houses of Munyikwa, Nyamashakwe and Chisvino. In internal politics, we see power being taken by series of ambitious sons of previous Gutu rulers, each one in each generation excluding his brother from the title, until the sons of Chawurura, who died in about 1878, began to share the title between them. This was done by any means that seemed appropriate, including calling in outsiders to ensure victory in civil wars, and it was only in the 1890s that actual fighting for the title ended. Those houses, other than that of Chawurura, that did not sink into obscurity, like that of Chisvino, or accept wards in compensation, like that of Goronga, had two choices under colonial rule. They could try to get access to the Gutu succession, which became easier after the last of Chawurura's sons died in 1938, or they could aim at getting their own Chieftainships. (Chitsa and Chingombe houses combined both these aims, and the former was successful in 1947-55).[64]

Given the foregoing, it is practically impossible to be sure which members of the dynasty, other than those in direct line from Mabwazhe to Chawurura, actually held the Gutu title. Musarurwa, for example, probably held the title, and so probably did Murwiti Chitsa, but Ndawi and Makwarimba are less certain.[65] It seems agreed that Rutsate Chingombe never held the title himself, but this did not stop his house from trying to gain it in 1892,1919 and even later. After the death of Chawurura, his sons Rwodzi and Denhere succeeded in turn, the latter dying in early 1892. At this point, the Chawurura house split on the issue of succession: three sub-houses joined Chingombe house, itself bitterly divided, in opposition to Makuvaza. Clever, possibly illegitimate and occasionally insane, Makuvaza had the aid of both the BSA Company and Lobengula, while the Chingombe faction had only that of a local trader, and he gained recognition as Gutu and held the title until his death in 1919.[66] The Gutu succession of this time is comparatively well documented and has been the subject of a number of studies, yet it is still not entirely certain what forces were decisive: 'custom' seems to have been trampled under foot by practical politics, assuming that 'custom' had ever been important. Whether the dynasty did decline in power in the 1890s, and, if so, just how important internal and external factors were, remains to be decided by further research.

The Ndanga off-shoot of the Rufura went on and settled inside the Duma confederacy, and thus only a genealogy is supplied here. The Mahlebadza branch settled in the modern Mberengwa area and will be dealt with further on in this chapter.

vi The *dziva* migrations : the Hiya and the Ngowa

A century ago, 'hordes' of African people who moved about, raiding, were very much in vogue in the 'history' of the time, but by 1975 they were thoroughly unfashionable. Unaware of this, the Hiya chose this moment to appear on the scene of Shona history, raiding in the old style in the eighteenth century Zimbabwean plateau. Fifteen years later, after the evidence has been re-examined, they still appear to have existed, but only their more peaceable relatives survived the nineteenth century to found new territories and dynasties.

It has already been pointed out that there is no evidence to show that all people of the same totem are related. The Chingoma *dziva* dynasty has already been dealt with in an earlier section of this chapter for precisely that reason. Nevertheless, there do seem to be grounds for treating the *dziva*-totem dynasties of the Hiya and Ngowa as being part of the same group. The best-known *dziva*-totem group among the Shona was undoubtedly that of Musikavanhu of the territory of Dondo in the drylands and highlands of the Ndau side of the middle Save valley. In the eighteenth century, Musikavanhu was threatened by the advance of the *moyo* Ndau led by Mutema of Tsanga, and when even the Ndau of such groups as Mutambara and Muwushu found it necessary to cross the Save to found such offshoots as Nesongano, Chamutsa and Chiwadzwa, it should come as no surprise to find that the *dziva* peoples did likewise. Indeed, the Zvidzvi of Gurajena had already begun this process.[67]

One such group evidently moved from Dondo across the Save and up the Nyazvidzi to Rutanga hill, an otherwise obscure place in Buhera. At this point there was apparently a settlement long enough to be remembered in tradition, but then, upon the death of a ruler named Denedza, a split occurred. One group, known as the Danga, remained on the spot under the *dziva/pakuru* Nerutanga dynasty. Another, known as the Nobvu, went up to the main watershed to the headwaters of the Sebakwe, and founded the *dziva/pakuru* Chitaura dynasty. Neither of these constituted very more than small units that were just big enough to preserve their independence. In the case of the Danga, this was only done with the help of adroit diplomacy in the face of the advance of the Njanja. Chitaura's Nobvu similarly made use of Rhodesian support in return for aid in the 1896-7 Shona rising, but in the end land alienation forced their return to the Nerutanga area.[68] The third group of *dziva* people to leave Rutanga, the Ngowa, will be dealt with below, for it is the fourth group that is the most interesting in terms of eighteenth-century history.

According to Posselt, 'a third party, under a man named Matema, moved to Hartley and later, under Matabele rule, to Shangani, Gwelo District. They are at present (1904) known as Mgunde's people'.[69] This tradition is confirmed by traditions from the modern Chegutu area, where a man named Matema of the *dziva* totem is remembered as the leader of a group of very destructive people, who were threatening Chivero's territory when they were defeated by Koroka, *1792±28, founder of the Mashayamombe dynasty.[70] The Matema wars also figure in the traditions of the upper Mazowe valley, where they are associated with the expulsion of the Chiweshe *shava* dynasty from the Mukuvisi lowlands,[71] and with the rise to independence of the Negomo dynasty, which, like Mashayamombe, fought off Matema.[72] A tradition of Chwaya, the land of the *shava/murehwá* Neuso dynasty of the Munyati-Mupfure confluence area, recalls that, when the Tonga of Rimuka under their Ngezi rulers seized part of the borderlands between them, 'we appealed for help to Chief Mugunde of the Charter/Belingwe country. His *mutupo* was *dziva*. Many battles were fought until the position was stabilised. Mugunde and his people returned to their own country when the battles between the Matabele and the vaRozvi became too numerous.'[73] Just to the north of the Neuso area, 'Mahiya of the vaKorekore' intervened in Nemakonde politics, killing a Nemakonde and installing a successor. As 'Korekore' groups did play a part in local politics, the assumption that the Hiya were also Korekore is understandable.[74] The Matema were remembered in Nhowe for the effect of their battle-axes.[75]

These separate traditions from the central Shona country appear to confirm Posselt's tradition from Buhera, to the effect that there was, probably in the middle-to-late eighteenth century, an aggressive movement of *dziva*-totem people under Matema or Mugunde. Turning to the Shangani-Gweru area, we find that one of the political groups there was that of the Hiya. At the end of the nineteenth century some of these people, who were of the *dziva* totem, were settled on the Kwekwe river,[76] while another group had lived at Shone hill, between the Gweru and Ingwenya rivers.[77] We have, then, a certain amount of confirmation of the Buhera and Chwaya traditions that there was a *dziva*-totem dynasty in the Gweru river area. Moreover, we have confirmation from Portuguese documents of the existence of a powerful group known as 'Hiya' in the eighteenth century.

In 1768 the Changamire was faced with both a civil war over the succession, and with the 'Mahias', who made 'many disturbances and robberies in his lands'. This affected Changamire's communications with Zumbo, and the Rozvi ruler sent out four war-leaders to push the Mahias entirely out of his lands.[78] This war, since it affected the route between the Rozvi capital of Danangombe and Zumbo, probably occurred in the eastern lands of the Changamire state around the Gweru river, where the Hiya were living in the nineteenth century. Certainly, although the Changamire apparently defeated the Hiya in the 1760s, they were still a menace in 1795.[79]

It seems, then, that we have a reasonably coherent set of traditions suggesting that the *dziva*-totem Hiya split off from a larger *dziva* body at Rutanga in Buhera, and went north to the upper Mazowe, Nhowe and the middle Mupfure valley, only to be fought off by the inhabitants and their allies. They then retreated south, to come into violent contact with the

Changamire, whose state they invaded. Defeated in the late 1760s and again in the 1790s, they settled on the Gweru river, and it may have been at this time that they took part in the Chwaya-Rimuka war. Overall, this seems a reasonable hypothesis, but it must be pointed out that the traditions of the main *dziva*-totem Hiya community to survive into the twentieth century in the Gweru river region do not support it. This community, led by the Gambiza dynasty, claims to have come from the Save river, and therefore possibly from Musikavanhu's land of Dondo, but this journey is said to have been made through the territory of Chirimuhanzu to the east, where the *dziva* group settled and intermarried. By the time the *dziva* people arrived in the Gweru region, the Ndebele were already established, and through the mediation of Wozhere the *dziva* Gambiza dynasty was settled on the Kwekwe river, where the Ndebele were encouraging settlement.[80]

This tradition does not square with the other evidence cited above, but possibly this can be explained by Stuart's statement of 1906, to the effect that 'the AmaHiya occupied the country about the Shone hill in this District, their chief being Nyandoro, who was killed by the Swazis, his children and a portion of the tribe fleeing to Mashonaland and the rest falling under Mzilikazi.'[81] In other words, if a *dziva*-totem Hiya group led by Matema or Mugunde settled on the eastern borders of the Changamire state in the late eighteenth century, but were then dispersed by the Ngoni of the *mfecane* and partially absorbed within the Ndebele-speaking people, this would account for the adoption of the name 'Hiya' by a *dziva*-totem group of similar origins which settled in the same general area later. It will be noticed that this reconstruction is notably sketchier than that of the history of most of the rest of the Shona, but this must follow where, for one reason or another, no direct political descendant of such groups as the *dziva* Matema-Mugunde of the traditions, or the 'Mahias' of the documents, has survived.

The most important of the surviving *dziva* groups that spread out from Rutanga hill was that of Ngowa, whose history as researched by John White is the basis of the following pages. 'Ngowa' was probably originally the name of a *dziva* leader, who took land beyond the Turwi which became known as 'Bungowa' and thus became known himself as the ruler of that land, 'Nebungowa'. The vagueness of Ngowa traditions concerning this man seems to suggest that 'Nebungowa' may have been a dynastic title held by two or more successive rulers. Thus the *dziva*

Ngowa occupation of Bungowa may date back to before the well-remembered reign of Kuvirimara, who died in the early nineteenth century.[82] Kuvirimara was only one of a number of Ngowa and their in-laws and followers, and thus it is understandable that when the Ngowa crossed the Turwi they were able to take the land between there and the Runde by the threat of force. The *moyo* Mazhe people who lived there were subordinates of the Changamire, but they either did not turn to the Rozvi rulers for help or were refused assistance: they surrendered the country around Nyaningwe hill to the Ngowa and fled over the Runde, where they started a new settlement.

The Ngowa were thus in possession of what was to become the land of Chivi in later years, but whereas Chivi's expansion was to be mostly up and down the Turwi and Runde rivers, the much more modest Ngowa expansion was to the southwest, leaving such rulers as Chinaka of the Pako in possession of the Munaka range and Chirogwe hill to the southeast. Thus Kuvirimara's son Mazvihwa had already crossed the Runde and settled at Jeketa hill by the 1830s, when he was raided by the Maseko Ngoni.This expansion of the Ngowa over a wide area was to weaken the overall cohesion of their political structure, as fresh immigrant groups settled under the rule of Kuvirimara and his son Zengeya. When refugees from Gutu Mabwazhe's conquest of the Chasura dynasty reached the Turwi, they were accepted as *torwa* subordinates of the Ngowa and given land on which to settle. However, other *shiri* who had moved after *shiri* civil war in the old Chasura territory had already set up their own independent dynasty up the Runde under Ndanga, and it seems possible that the Chasura group in Bungowa were thinking in terms of doing likewise. Thus there is a tradition to the effect that one of the Chasura subleaders was negotiating for land with some Rozvi west of the Runde, when an event occurred that forced a *shiri* move in any case. A marriage alliance between the *shiri* and the Ngowa broke down in violence, and although the *shiri* left Bungowa, the aged Kuvirimara died of a heart attack.

This seems to have weakened the Ngowa, for at about this time a member of the Chivi dynasty of the Mhari, who were then established in the Mashava hills north of the Turwi, led a group into Bungowa. He was Tavengerweyi, who had previously married a daughter of the Ngowa ruler. He led a group of followers, and as he belonged to a rapidly-expanding dynasty his presence in Bungowa was a threat to Zengeya, even though he was theoretically a *torwa* subordinate. In due course, a predictable political change occurred: Zengeya was assassinated by the Rozvi overlords of the country, and Tavengerweyi, who had succeeded to the chief Mhari title of Chivi, became the ruler of what had been Bungowa. It has been suggested that the Rozvi were in this way avenging the ousting of their Mazhe subordinates by the Ngowa,[83] but it should be remembered that the Changamire state was at that time — c. 1830-1850 — hard-pressed by the successive attacks of the Ngoni and Ndebele, and whether or not the Rozvi ruler was in possession of or in retreat from his capital, it made sense that he should court the rising power of the Mhari.

This political revolution did not at first affect the population of what was now the Chivi territory: the Ngowa were still there in some numbers under Zengeya's brother Masvina, now a subordinate himself. But the pressures around Nyaningwe rose, and shortly after Tavengerweyi's death in the 1850s the crunch came. In alliance with the Dumbuseya of Wedza, who were then on the move in the area, the Mhari attacked the Ngowa and forced them out of the district, in an event remembered — perhaps with exaggeration — as a bloody massacre. Some Ngowa fled east to the Pako and Nemavuzhe, but most of them across the Runde into what was now known as Bungowa. Masvina having committed suicide, Mazvihwa who had pioneered the settlement of that area emerged as the Ngowa leader. Nevertheless, some residual Ngowa influence remained in Chivi, for some natural disasters were taken as an indication that some of the Ngowa should be allowed to return. Zengeya's son, Musipambi, emerged as the leader of the Ngowa in Chivi, and although his position was that of a subruler under the Chivi rulers, his people held their land against the Mhari, who remained as forceful within their land as they were on its borders.[84]

Meanwhile, in the new Bungowa over the Runde, the Ngowa settlement was strengthened by the refugees. Although not all the land was occupied, Mazvihwa claimed the whole territory between the Runde and the Ngezi up to the line of the Shabi and Masebi, ruling from a number of hills, Jechete in particular. The Mazhe who had preceded the Ngowa were ejected once again, as were most of one of the few Duma groups to leave Duma and settle in the west. Mazvihwa and his sons continued to rule this triangle of land directly, but while they claimed supremacy over those Ngowa who went over the Ngezi and moved towards Mberengwa peak, some of them began to form their own dynasties. This was an informal process that was partly 'frozen' by the onset of European rule, but what it meant was that houses of Mazvihwa's brothers, such as Maziwofa and Musifari, or his sons, such as Muchembere and Bvute, occupied the trans-Ngezi lands more or less as autonomous rulers, while at the same time some of the members of these houses continued to succeed to the Mazvihwa title.The coming of European rule meant that the Mataruse and Maziwofa houses evolved into separate Chiefdoms, as did that of Bvute, which was actually made up of two houses.

In the reign of Mazvihwa, the Ngowa came under Ndebele rule. As in most of the rest of the future Belingwe district, this seems to have been in the reign of Lobengula rather than Mzilikazi. Nevertheless, the payment of tribute to the Ndebele was not a foolproof safeguard against raiding — the Dumbuseya of Wedza, defeated on the edges of the Duma confederacy and on the lowveld, were moving to the middle Ngezi valley under the sponsorship of the Ndebele when they spent about a year conquering Bungowa. They moved on, however, and it was not until the late 1880s that the Ngowa at Chamakuwa hill in the trans-Ngezi lands were attacked by the Dumbuseya — the third war between the Ngowa and Dumbuseya in half a century. This time, however, an Ngowa-Lemba alliance won the day, and the Ngowa kept their territories until the twentieth century.

vii The *shiri*-totem Bonda

Most oral traditions either have the rulers of the land emerging from obscurity, or those that they displaced also vanishing into an unknown area. In the case of the *shiri* people who were driven out by Gutu, however, we find them rebuilding their dynasties beyond the Runde in the early nineteenth century. Thus we have fairly accurate accounts of both ends of a migration.

We have already seen how the Chasura *shiri* dynasty was evicted from its base at Gona in the upper Devure valley by the *gumbo*-totem Rufura led by Gutu Mabwazhe. This appears to have occurred in the mid-eighteenth century. It should now be made clear, however, that the story was a little more complex than this: the details of *shiri* history were not of importance in the account of the rise of the *gumbo*. Essentially, the Chasura who is recalled in Gutu traditions as the last *shiri* leader was only the latest of a number of *shiri* leaders, including Nemato, Mashandure and Vambe. The original *shiri* dynastic title may have been Nemato, since a ruler of that name is remembered by the *shiri* people of the Chasura dynasty and of the Chirwa dynasty of the land of Bvumbura on the Mwerihari in Old Buhera.[85] In the event, the *shiri* people fought between themselves before the *gumbo* takeover of the district, so that when they left it was in scattered groups. White, whose reconstruction of *shiri* history provides the basis of this section, has suggested that it was the ultimately Valley Tonga origin of the *shiri* people — who were also called vaBonda — that led to this state of affairs, but it seems equally likely that the combination of civil war and external attack led to the same result: the Changamire Rozvi, who were not of Tonga origin, reacted in exactly the same way when faced with the same threats on a grander scale in the following century.[86] In any event, the consequence of all this was that the *shiri* broke up into small groups each led by a minor leader, and only reformed themselves into normal dynasties as a result of the pressures of the nineteenth century. One of these dynasties came of the house of Sakunara and the other from Chasura's house, but in the settlements that they made it happened that each ruler included among his followers some members of the other house.

Sakunara's house seems to have moved in two directions. Some of his sons, notably Mambamba, Musinaimba, Mashara and Chifashu, went south to the Turwi river and entered the territory newly settled by the Ngowa under Nebungowa and Kuvirimara. Some of the descendants of these leaders claim that they lived at Ngorobwe hill in Bungowa — as it was then — with the approval of the Ngowa.[87] But this may be a borrowing from their Chasura-house neighbours, and in any case they cannot have remained under the Ngowa for long before they crossed the Runde. This was in the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century, and the Rozvi — although weakened — were still ruling the area. These houses took up various hilltop sites west of the Runde, mostly north of the Nyagambu stream. For the time being, they had no leader.[88] Meanwhile, Sakunara himself had moved in a different direction from the old *shiri* base at Gona. He went southwest to Guruguru hill on the upper Runde, and accepted land from the leader of the Mutinhima house of the Rozvi. His son Ndanga emerged as the leader of these northern *shiri*-

totem Bonda, with a base around Bogayi mountain. The Ndanga dynasty that was thus founded held land as far north as Senga mountain, and as far south as Guruguru. This latter mountain, however, was held by the Mpakame branch of the Chasura house, which came north from the general area of Chasura settlement. After fighting off an attempt at domination by another Chasura-house leader, Watungwa, Mpakame fell under Ndanga's rule. Ndanga's Bonda, having accepted land from the Rozvi, were rather over-shadowed by the advance of the Mhari under Nhema, and all of these groups fell under Ndebele control in the 1850s.[89]

Meanwhile, the Chasura house had arrived in Bungowa at about the same time as, or just after, the Sakunara-house members. Kuvirimara, the Ngowa leader, allocated further land to the *shiri* people, on hilltop sites east of the Runde. A well-known account of a war between Kuvirimara and Chasura, caused by Chasura's violent refusal of a marriage alliance and leading to the deaths of both leaders, is usually held to account for the *shiri* crossing the Runde to found Bushiri.[90] It is possible, however, that the tradition of Chasura's son Mavuna having crossed the Runde to negotiate for land from the local Rozvi and having attacked the Ngowa with Sakunara-house aid after his father's death is in fact correct in its essentials. Mavuna may have faded from the scene after this, but the possibility that the Chasura house as a whole had been planning to break away from the Ngowa and settle new land before the deaths of Chasura and Kuvirimara is a strong one.[91]

The Bonda-Ngowa war and the death of Chasura, then, led to the foundation of Bushiri west of the Runde. This, however, was a very disorganised process. Not only were there Sakunara-house *shiri* houses already living there, but the death of Chasura probably divided the *shiri* of his house even further. The various houses settled south of the Nyagambu stream, with hilltop outposts as far south and west as the Shabi, though not all the land was effectively occupied.[92] Out of this confused situation one house, that of Masunda, rose to prominence. It did so by making use of the war that was then — c. 1840-57 — in progress between the Ndebele and the Rozvi. Various Rozvi houses resisted the Ndebele advance in the mountains of the Great Dyke area during this period, and Ndebele *izinduna* were active in the area. In a dispute with the Mambamba house, in which local Rozvi were involved, Masunda solved his problems by telling the local *nduna*, Nkomoiyapi, that Mambamba was a Rozvi leader. The latter's death as a consequence of this led to

Masunda becoming the Ndebele tributary leader over all the southern *shiri* peoples, including the Watungwa house east of the Runde.[93]

Rule by the Ndebele had the effect of uniting many houses under the rule of one, with power being shared — more or less unevenly — between the houses of Masunda and Mbungani, his accomplice in the *coup* mentioned above. Thus the Bonda *shiri* dynasties were in effect reforged out of broken parts.

viii The Mhari

Often in this book we have seen a patriarch and his many sons carve out an empire on a small scale in the valleys of the Great Crescent. Because the evidence comes from traditions relating to the eighteenth century or earlier, we are sometimes unsure whether this picture is correct. In the case of Tavengerweyi and his sons, refounders of the Chivi dynasty, and their relations and their dynasties, we are in very little doubt. These Mhari groups did conquer a large area, and the last of the ruling sons of the patriarch Tavengerweyi, Madhlazivi, died in the year Lindbergh flew the Atlantic.

There is some confusion about the origins of the Mhari people, for whereas most traditions state that they came from a point beyond Mbire III, in Budya,[94] a version which claimed they once used the unusual *tsiwo* totem has led to suggestions that they came from the Zvimba area.[95] However, whatever their original totem was, there is little doubt of their northeastern origins or the fact that from their arrival in the modern Karanga area they used the *shumba* totem typical of Budya.[96] There is a persistent tradition that the Mhari left the northeast as a result of their notoriety as cattle-thieves,[97] and while this is much like other Shona explanations of migrations, it is possible that the rapid expansion of the Mhari after they arrived in the south was connected with their building up of herds by one means or another.

The fact that the Chivi dynasty now lies between the Turwi and the Runde and has done so since the mid-nineteenth century should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the original area in which the Mhari built up their power was north of the Turwi, in the hills around Mashava. The traditions variously name Chikanga, Murarapavi or Chivunguvungu as the Mhari leaders at this time, and while it is not certain in which order they ruled or which of them actually accomplished the move south, it seems that the Chivi dynasty in the south was established at least one and possibly two generations before Mudzungairi, who died *1829±20. The base of the dynasty was Mungudza hill, and here the Mhari expanded rapidly. In the same generation as Mudzungairi were Chidzudzu Nhema and Samwene Rera, while his sons included the founders of the Madamombe, Bere and Banga dynasties as well as Tavengerweyi who refounded Chivi south of the Turwi.[98] Moreover, as has been stressed before but needs repeating, these individuals of the Mhari dynasty were merely the focal points of larger groups composed of their relations by marriage and companions of other lineages who were not generally recalled in tradition. The rapid growth of the Mhari might possibly have received economic stimulus from the iron ore resources of the area, but neither the Mhari nor their predecessors in the area, Garanyanya *soko* and Chadokwenda, are remembered as being iron-workers of any note.[100] Given the other Shona dynasties which expanded rapidly, a more general explanation is probably required.

It is in the context of this expansion that the traditions of the contacts between the Mhari, their neighbours and the Changamire Rozvi must be examined. Modern Chivi-oriented traditions lay stress on the way in which the local founder-hero Tavengerweyi entered what was then Bungowa to become a subordinate of the local Ngowa ruler, only emerging as the founder of what was to become the modern Chivi dynasty by the efforts of his sons.[101] The traditions of the northern Mhari, and the earlier Chivi traditions, give a different emphasis. Firstly, it is clear that the dynastic title of 'Chivi' was not created by Tavengerweyi: the earlier traditions show that it goes some way back before him, and the repeated emphasis of the Nhema dynasty on descent from Chivi confirms this.[102] Secondly, Tavengerweyi's group's retention of the Chivi title led to its being regarded as senior within the Mhari, while its control of the Chikanga and Murarapavi spirits had a similar effect, though it must be understood that these links did not amount in any way to an effective Mhari unity.[103] In short, if Tavengerweyi's line was merely inheriting an existing title, why did he enter Bungowa as a subordinate rather than as a conqueror, as the Mhari and Ngowa traditions agree?

The answer probably lies in a civil war among the Mhari with the presence in the background of the influence of the Changamire Rozvi.

That this civil war took place in the old territory of Chivi rather than the new, as the earlier Chivi traditions claim, seems possible.[104] The lack of any reference to Tavengerweyi's relatives in Ngowa tradition or any occupation sites of these relatives south of the Turwi would suggest that if Nhema, Banga and the rest did live under the Ngowa at all, it was for a very brief period. It seems, therefore, that the civil war arose when the Mhari were based north of the Turwi, and that the Mhari dispersal resulted from it. One tradition claimed that it was caused by a quarrel over the inheritance of one of the Chivi rulers, and that as a consequence Chidzudzu Nhema took the important relic of Chikanga's medicine horn.[105] Another, with more realism, refers to land pressures.[106] The Mhari thus broke up as a single unit, and although they did retain the religious and kinship links referred to above and were to occupy a great deal of the Runde and Turwi valleys, it would not be correct to refer to them as a confederacy. Indeed, the main political orientation of the Mhari in later decades was to depend upon their attitudes towards — and proximity to — the Ndebele.

The civil war, however, occurred before the *mfecane*, and the Changamire Rozvi were still ruling from Danangombe at this time, though they were having difficulties with civil wars and the overall advance of the dynasties of the modern Karanga over a wide area. The first Chivi, probably Chikanga, had taken over the Mungudza hill area from Garanyanya after five years. If Garanyanya had been a tributary of the Rozvi, and he almost certainly was, they made no attempt to support him.[107] Tavengerweyi's move to Nyaningwe in Bungowa did not at first affect the Rozvi, since the Ngowa ruler was himself a tributary.[108] When Chidzudzu Nhema's group moved north up the Turwi, they found a *soko* Mbire group under Mazivisa at Shamba hill, which had recently broken away from the Mbire who were going south to Mberengwa.[109] The local overlord, however, was Boroma, a Rozvi of the *tembo* or *shumba* totem, based on Svika hill.[110] According to Mhari traditions the 'Mambo' decided to replace Boroma by Nhema, and invited the latter to drive him out.[111] The Rozvi version of this was that the Rozvi themselves killed Boroma, and installed Nhema as their new subordinate.[112] A great deal depends upon the identity of the Rozvi 'Mambo' involved: it is noticeable that whereas the Mhari of both Nhema and Chivi claimed general approval of the Changamire for their replacement of Boroma and Zengeya of Bungowa respectively,[113] the Rozvi who supplied the tradition given above were of the Mutinhima line which was powerful in the east of the

Changamire state at that time.[114] This house, which was often opposed to the main Changamire line, also supplied the detail, which is not mentioned at all by Mhari tradition, that there was a war between the Changamire Rupandamananga and the Mhari in which the Rozvi betrayed their ruler, who was then killed by the Mhari. It was even said that the Mhari recommended the successor to the Rozvi people.[115] This tradition of a Rozvi defeat from a Rozvi source — albeit biased — suggests that the Mhari expansion up the Turwi was as violent as that in Bungowa and the land to the southeast.

Another Mhari group that went to the north was that of Banga, Tavengerweyi's brother. He had married the daughter of Debwe, an Njanja who had settled in the lands between the Shashe and the Ngezi. Debwe's people were being pushed by the rising power of Chirimuhanzu,[116] and Banga was originally attracted north by Debwe's appeal for help, but soon carved out his own territory between the Ngezi and Turwi rivers.[117] A third brother, Bere, settled under Chadokwenda on the upper Mushandike, and then took the land in the familiar way.[118] At the same time as these moves, Tavengerweyi's house was founding the new Chivi dynasty south of the Turwi, as will be detailed below. Since most of the land between the northern and southern Mhari was taken up by the Mhari dynasties of Madamombe and Rera, (with only the Watungwa *shiri*, Matenda *shava* and Shiku *tembo* dynasties east of the middle Runde that were of other lines), there was in effect a vast block of contiguous Mhari territory from the upper Turwi down to the Munaka range and beyond. Had this come under the rule of one dynasty, it would have been a formidable force in Shona politics, but as has already been made clear there was never this kind of unity among the Mhari. Nevertheless, the limited evidence on the rise of the northern Mhari of Nhema and the much greater body of evidence on Chivi's Mhari in later years shows that the northern and southern ends of this block had some vitality.

The foundation of the new territory of Chivi took place when Tavengerweyi crossed the Turwi with a considerable number of followers. He had previously married a daughter of Zengeya, the Ngowa leader, and as suggested above he had probably just been fighting in the Mhari civil war. As a subordinate under Zengeya he took Chitonje hill, but the rapid expansion of his sons and followers soon led to his taking the lead in the area. The Ngowa were weakened already by the death of Kuvirimara,[119] and a clash between Zengeya and Mazvihwa led to the departure of the latter and the further weakening of the former.[120] In the end the Changamire murdered Zengeya and made Chivi Tavengerweyi the ruler of the area.[121] This was almost the last act of the Rozvi in this area, for this was at the height of the *mfecane,* and it seems possible that the Changamire hoped for aid from the Mhari, who were more powerful and numerous than the Ngowa. In the event, the Mhari devoted more effort to securing themselves in what was now 'Chivi', and in an expansion to the southeast, than to any aid to the Changamire, who fled past Nyaningwe towards Great Zimbabwe and the upper Save in the 1850s.[122]

The next step in the Mhari conquest of Chivi was the acquisition of the important stronghold of Nyaningwe: a ritual battle — according to tradition — with Nechivavarira, a sub-ruler under the Ngowa, won it for the Mhari.[123] The problem of land shortage which characterized politics in Chivi was probably behind the clash with the Ngowa that followed. The Ngowa leader Masvina, worried by the Mhari expansion, tried to make an alliance with the Dumbuseya, who were then moving through the area. He was out-manoeuvered by the Mhari, who made their own alliance with the Dumbuseya. An attack upon the Ngowa followed, and the Ngowa leaders were scattered, some joining Mazvihwa in new Bungowa, others eventually reassembling under Musipambi, who was allowed to return.[142] Meanwhile, houses such as that of Masunda were moving towards the southeastern mountains, gradually taking Chongokwe from Mawisiri, Chirogwe from Chinaka and further hills from the Nemavuzhe people and others beyond the Munaka range. This was a continuous process that went on right up to the 1890s, a process that was only partly reversed by European rule.[125] Indeed, Mhari attempts to take over even more Ngowa land persisted up to the 1890s.[126]

Against this background of expansion and land seizure the Chivi succession struggles took place, with periodic intervention by the Ndebele and even Venda mercenaries. Tavengerweyi died before Mzilikazi's Ndebele had entered this part of the country, probably in the late 1850s.[127] He had had many sons and, of these, some emerged as personalities — each backed up by a following — that made them powers within the dynasty. The first son to succeed to the Chivi title was Matsweru, and it was in his time that his people were raided by the Ndebele. He began to pay tribute, but according to tradition he died during another Ndebele raid.[128] The reasons for this are not known, but after his death there was war for the succession between his son Makonese and his powerful brother Masunda, and while Masunda had the aid of Venda mercenaries,[129] it has been suggested that Makonese had Ndebele backing and that he may even have tried to depose his father.[130] Whether this was true or not, this conflict was over by the early 1870s,[131] and another brother, Mazorodze, was made Chivi with Ndebele support.[132]

Mazorodze's position in Chivi history is marked by his obscure position while alive and his spectacular death and the events that preceded it. Of Tavengerweyi's elder sons, he had the fewest sons himself, being credited in tradition with only three, as compared with Matsweru's nine, Mazarire's eleven or Masunda's thirty.[133] In Shona politics, sons meant power, and when the Franco-Sotho missionary expedition arrived in 1877 and stayed for nine weeks Mazorodze was not very much in evidence. It seems that the missionaries only met him once, and they gained the impression that the senior Mhari leader was Madhlangove, Mazorodze's younger brother, who held the important stronghold of Nyaningwe.[134] Madhlangove's acquisition of this hill with its caverns after the death of Tavengerweyi was only the first step in his rise to power. Although he was only the ninth son of his father, he was the third to succeed, and there is a strong implication in the traditions that there was something unnatural in the way in which two of these brothers older than him were dissuaded from succeeding. Until his death in 1907, he and his son Tarwireyi built up a formidable power base.[135] It is thus possible that Matsweru's and Mazorodze's residence on smaller hills not far from Nyaningwe was not entirely a matter of free choice.[136] It also follows that if Madhlangove was becoming the leader of Tavengerweyi's sons in the 1860s and 1870s, then he may have had more to do with the war of 1879 than is generally assumed.

The 1879 war is said to have been caused by the build-up by the Mhari of cattle herds guarded by a force of fighters. The Mhari had also been increasing their armoury of guns, from practically nothing in the early 1860s to a much greater amount, most of them coming from the Venda country.[137] This, in terms of Shona-Ndebele relations, could be a justification for war, especially when Lobengula happened to require cattle for his impending marriage to the daughter of Mzila the Gaza ruler. The raiders set out on 8 October, and converged on Nyaningwe to surround it in the night. The next day they attacked and failed to take it by assault: although it was possible to climb the outside of the hill in pursuit of cattle, like most Shona strongholds Nyaningwe's strength lay in its caves, and the Ndebele could not take these in the face of Mhari gunfire. Twenty Ndebele were killed and about the same number wounded in return for only ten Mhari killed. Although some 200 cattle and sheep, goats and children were taken, the main part of the Mhari herds escaped as the women moved them to safety at Chishawe and Chirogwe hills, which were not attacked: the Mhari had not been taken by surprise. The only other Ndebele 'success' occurred when Mazorodze, who had been living at Rusinga hill and had fled to Gongwa hill, came down and allowed himself to be taken. By 13 November he had been skinned alive at Bulawayo.[138] The fact that he was not prominent within his own dynasty suggests that from the point of view of the Mhari — especially his brother Madhlangove — this was not an overwhelming loss. By 1895 Chivi boasted at least 2,500 head of cattle, and by 1890 both Ndebele and Shona regarded this as an Ndebele defeat, with the inference being drawn that the Ndebele failure to take Nyaningwe implied Chivi's independence.[139] (The main sources claiming the reverse in later years were those who wished to assert BSAC claims through Ndebele rule, or to justify the 1893 attack on the Ndebele.)[140]

Under Madhlangove, the situation was somewhat different: the Ndebele still raided on occasions, and sometimes tribute was paid to buy protection, but although Nyaningwe was attacked in 1888 and 1892 the southern Mhari did not become full tributaries again, and the Ndebele were not able to conquer them.[141] This, considering the proximity of Chivi to the Ndebele state, represented a surprising degree of independence at a time when dynasties as far as Hwata and Nemakonde were still regular tributaries to the Ndebele. It should also be remembered that the expansion of the Mhari to the southeast was largely accomplished after 1879. Thus when, in 1893, the Mhari of Chivi joined the BSA Company in invading the Ndebele state — and did so again in the 1896 rising — it was the logical culmination of a policy pursued for over a decade.[142]

The northern Mhari under Nhema and Banga, on the other hand, remained within the orbit of the Ndebele state from the time of their conquest, probably in the 1840s, right up to its fall in 1896.[143] The Nhema, line, led by Nhema Chidzudzu and his sons, was dominant in the area, with all the northern Mhari reporting through him to the Ndebele.[144] In 1898 there was still a theoretical subordination to the Chivi line, [145] but as has been seen the overall relations between Chivi and the Ndebele had made this a dead letter. Under the Ndebele, Nhema's Mhari herded cattle, in part of the Ndebele system that governed herding. In 1896 they joined in the Ndebele rising, identifying themselves with the Ndebele.[146] Banga's group became the next best-known of the northern Mhari, with the line of Banga's brother Munikwa assuming a very prominent position — so prominent, in fact, that when the Native Department started taking a serious interest in such things, Banga Tendepi asked for the Munikwa leader to be given equal status to himself.[147]

Another group of Mhari that fell firmly under Ndebele control was that of Mapanzure, who left Chivi after taking his father Tavengerweyi's wife, after the latter's death. He obtained land from Pxere, a Rozvi in the Great Dyke ranges north of the Mchingwe, and settled at Hlomcheka hill. His settlement became the core for a small group of Mhari, who were under the Ndebele after a short period of independence.[148] As for the 'middle Mhari', Rera and Madamombe, their exact status in the period of the last half of the nineteenth century is uncertain. They were raided by the Ndebele, but since claims by Chivi that they were his actual — as opposed to theoretical — subordinates are suspect, they may or may not have been under Ndebele rule.[149] The remaining major Mhari group, that of Bere, suffered severely from Ndebele raiding during the peak period for raids in the 1860s, and experienced raids after that, but as far as is known it was never regularly tributary. It was a joint Bere-Zimuto raid on the herds of the Ndebele at Guruguru that sparked off the 1893 war.[150]

The very varied history of all these Mhari groups shows how even a large block of land dominated by branches of the same dynasty could not be regarded as a single unit: for that, something like the confederal system of the Duma was required, and as pointed out before, the Mhari never reached confederal status. On the other hand, the histories of the northern and southern Mhari, taken separately, do suggest a real impetus in terms of population growth that made itself felt in the wars with the Rozvi and Ngowa. The rise and survival of Chivi's Mhari in the middle of the *mfecane* and in the face of the rise of the powerful Ndebele state is the most spectacular indication of the establishment and expansion of the modern Karanga during the very period when older histories depicted them as being at their weakest.

ix The Manyika-Govera and the *ngara*-Govera

It is not always easy to find a special feature of a group that can be mentioned in these little notes, which are intended to tempt the interest of the reader. In the case of the Govera, both Manyika and *ngara*, their main characteristic seems to have been political skill that makes the princes of the Italian Renaissance look like amateurs.

Coincidences of name are common throughout the world, and much of the diffusionist writing of Sicard depended on similarities between words in widely differing languages, even languages of different continents. Among the very similar Bantu languages, similarities of names are common and not surprising, and when one comes across the Chingoma dynasty mentioned above and a ruler called Chingoma in the Zambezi delta there is no need to assume, as Sicard did, that there must be a connection.[151] Sometimes, however, coincidences can be quite striking: in the southern Shona region alone, there are two Mapanzure dynasties, two Masunda houses, two Madzivire houses, two Nhema dynasties, two Ndanga dynasties and two Chikwandas![152] Sicard could have built a wonderfully contorted article around these apparent links, but in fact there seem to be no factors other than coincidence to explain them. This being so, it is not too hard to accept one more southern Shona coincidence, the fact that two neighbouring groups of southern Shona each called themselves 'Govera' and yet were unrelated. The Manyika Govera called themselves that after a title used by three eighteenth-century rulers in Manyika proper, and claimed to be a branch of the *tembo-shumba* Chikanga-Mutasa dynasty of that territory, [152] whereas the Govera of the *ngara* totem apparently came from Buhera and claimed either that their 'Govera' name came from their allocation *(govera)* of land to others or — as Mauch was told — from *mukova*, the doorway of a house.[153] We will look first at the *ngara*-Govera, who seem to have settled in the south a little before the Manyika-Govera.

Today there are three main *ngara*-Govera dynasties, Zimuto, Nemavuzhe and Govere. The two northern *ngara* dynasties, Zimuto and Govere, have developed a tradition that they are of Swazi or Sotho origin.[154] There is nothing in their history or genealogies to support this, but there are two possible explanations for the tradition. One is that, in the nineteenth century, a 'southern' origin like that of the Ndebele, Gaza and

Ngoni was somehow fashionable and prestigious: the other is that, as Sicard pointed out, southern Shona-speakers often used terms like 'Sotho' for other Shona-speakers from still farther south,[155] and that this 'Swazi' or 'Sotho' origin arose among those members of the Zimuto dynasty who thought that they were an offshoot of the Nemavuzhe dynasty, which was indeed in the south but only a short distance away, between the Turwi and Runde rivers.[156] A far more probable place of origin for these three *ngara* dynasties is the Shava range in Buhera, for two traditions from Zimuto claim 'Neshava' as an ancestor, and the Neshava dynasty of Buhera, holding a ward under Nyashanu, is of the same *ngara/wamambo* totem and praise-name as the three main *ngara*-Govera dynasties.[157] There is, however, one small problem with this interpretation: the Neshava dynasty claims that it came from Zimuto![158] Thus we have a kind of 'loop' in the traditions, like that among the Mbire, where the Svosve and Nembire dynasties seem to have branched off from each other.[159] As with the Mbire, it seems most likely that the bigger and more famous dynasties derived from the more obscure ones: it is easier to envisage the Neshava branch forgetting its real origins in the vicinity and inventing the story of a wandering hunter from the well-known Zimuto dynasty getting land from Nyashanu, than to have both the Zimuto and Nemavuzhe dynasties forgetting *their* origins and making up a tradition of origin in the very obscure Neshava group.[160]

Although they share the *ngara/wamambo* totem and praise-name, the *ngara*-Govera dynasties have no ancestors in common, though they claim to be related. Indeed, although it seems to be generally agreed that the Zimuto dynasty was older than that of Nemavuzhe, the latter's genealogy goes back for seven generations from the late nineteenth century, compared with only three for Zimuto,[161] and it seems possible that some kind of disturbances within the dynasty led to part of its early history being forgotten. As it is, not all of the claims of the Zimuto group can be accepted, but then neither can those of their rivals. For example, in the 1960s the Zimuto group claimed that its praise-name of *wamambo* meant that it had had a special role as allocater of land (*mugovera*) under the Rozvi, while its Gurajena rivals claimed that the name showed subordination to Gurajena in the past.[162] As the *wamambo* name was used by all of the *ngara* dynasties, neither claim can be true. As we saw earlier when looking at Nemarundwe and Gurajena, the claim by these two that the Zimuto dynasty was not ruling east of the Mashagashe-Makoholi until the creation of reserves is demonstrably untrue: by the 1870s at least, the whole Shashe-Pokoteke-Munyambi region was under Zimuto houses, and it is possible that the names 'Mandu', 'Zimuto' and 'Govera' on Mauch's map represent ancient wards.[163] But actual Zimuto history remains a little thin, with the main features being the succession of three sons to their fathers up to about 1903, and the creation of three non-succeeding houses of Madzivire, Makumbe and Makamure.[164] Zimuto was not remote from history, far from it: Ndebele raids from the 1850s to 1893, clashes with Afrikaners in 1883, visits by Buysvolk missionaries, Fort Victoria begun on its southern borders in 1890, collaboration with the Rhodesians in 1893 and 1896, and so on, yet the personalities of Zimuto rulers in the nineteenth century remain very vague, and even the dates of their deaths are uncertain before 1920.[165]

With the Nemavuzhe dynasty, our knowledge of its history is on a much firmer footing, because its wars and quarrels have been recorded since 1904, with some differences but a basic agreement. The 1904 history tells of how five men and a woman came as hunters and took up an unoccupied tract of land south of Chirogwe mountain, ruled by one Chigwe. Getting wives from the Ngowa, and attracting followers, this small band eventually became a dynasty.[166] The 1965 version claims that a large number of the important members of the Zimuto dynasty left the Zimuto area and came south of the Turwi, where one of them, the ambitious Vambe, seized power and founded the Nemavuzhe dynasty, nearly all of the rest returning to Zimuto.[167] On the early part of Nemavuzhe history, it is the later version that seems more probable: the 1904 version presents the usual stereotype of a tiny band of wandering hunters in a deserted land, which might or might not be true, but the names of the first two 'rulers' are simply titles, (Ne)mavuzhe and Neshava. On the other hand, the 1965 version helps to explain why some Zimuto people think that their dynasty came from Nemavuzhe, while the idea that all the important Zimuto houses spent a while south of the Turwi, before returning to Zimuto, fits the impression given in Zimuto history that some disturbance took place in the eighteenth century. But in neither dynasty's history is there any hint as to what that disturbance might have been, and if the Zimuto group as a whole did come south of the Turwi it is odd that the 1904 history does not mention it, as it was not shy about recording some fairly bloody events within Nemavuzhe history.

The history as recorded in 1904 and 1965 deals with the right to control a diamond-shaped piece of 'Great Crescent' country about 35 kilometres by 40, and in general the two versions agree on the essentials. If we accept the 1904 history's first two rulers as real, then we have a straight father-to-son succession for four generations. In the first two, the brothers of the dead ruler are said to have simply not succeeded or to have predeceased him, but in the third generation a younger brother who claimed the title was killed, along with his sons, 'as he was constantly robbing the people', by the fifth ruler in the direct line, Makovere. Makovere was killed by Zwangendaba's Ngoni in the 1830s, being succeeded by his brother Maradzanye, but these two had an elder brother, Handizive, who 'predeceased' Makovere. Handizive's son Mawadzi may have had his suspicions about how his father died, for he went to Maradzanye's home, while his people were out keeping elephants out of the fields, and threw him over a cliff. However, Makovere's son Maringire killed Mawadzi and drove his people into the neighbouring Madzivire and Chivi territories.

So far the bloodshed had largely been kept within the *ngara* lineage, and the Nemavuzhe history would appear to confirm the truism that in Shona politics almost anybody was likely to be more trustworthy than one's fellow-members of the ruling male lineage. Frequently, Shona dynasties got over this problem by giving a special position — and sometimes a ward — to a house of a different lineage, which would aid the ruler but which could not succeed to the title itself and thus in theory should be loyal. Alternatively, diplomatic marriages to neighbouring dynasties could have the same effect. Nemavuzhe's history demonstrates the difference between theory and practice. The 1904 history points out how the original settlers were accompanied by a non-agnate, and the 1965 version mentions a *garabwe* group — possibly a branch of the Ne-Manwa? — which acted as a counsellor but was sometimes feared by Nemavuzhe. However, the first real trouble seems to have arisen with Chimembe, leader of a *soko* Mbire house whose founder had married a Nemavuzhe's daughter. Chimembe wanted to rule his part of the country as an independent ruler, so Maringire hired a white hunter — probably one of the Afrikaners from the Transvaal who visited the area from the 1860s — to arrest him and hand him over for execution. The Mbire remained where they were, in the 'Makovere' ward, for the time being. Maringere's uncle Makotose then succeeded, and he too took action against a non-agnate, a Lemba called Ruwita whom he called a witch.

Ruwita called in Venda raiders from the south at about the same time as a serious Ndebele raid, and the losses in cattle and women were heavy. Finally, the Mhari of Chivi began to invade: Nyengera of Masunda house captured the hills of the Nemavuzhe himself, while Matsweru house drove out both the *soko* 'Makovere' and the returned Mawadzi houses from their wards. (Ironically, the latter two took refuge with the Ndebele, while Nemavuzhe Masukume went into exile in another part of Chivi's land. Even more ironically, both the Matsweru and Masunda leaders claimed that they had a 'right' to conquer Nemavuzhe because they were descended from the Nemavuzhe on their mothers' side. Some might consider this a vestige of former matrilineal descent; others might claim that, where good land was concerned, any excuse would do.) Finally, in about 1892-3, a band of white mercenaries was hired to drive out the Mhari — probably the Duncan-Promnitz gang from the Turwi — and the Nemavuzhe dynasty returned to its domains.[168]

At the beginning of this section I pointed out that Shona dynastic histories rarely contain all of the possible elements that occur in general, but that of Nemavuzhe comes very close to it. To complete the coverage of the *ngara*-Govera, the Neshava group in Buhera led a relatively quiet existence under the Nyashanu dynasty, while the small Govere house moved from Govera territory east of the Shashe into the reserve dominated by Hama and Chirimuhanzu and, by the 1960s, was claiming that it had a special relationship with the Rozvi and that it had preceded both of the others in the area.[169]

The civil wars in Manyika that occurred in the last part of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth centuries were probably responsible for the departure of the Manyika leader, Mhepo: the story of a hunting accident that precipitated the move was almost certainly a myth.[170] The result was the foundation of the Manyika-Govera dynasty of Chirimuhanzu. Mhepo's group travelled into the Changamire state, towards the end of the eighteenth century, and unlike the rest of the modern Karanga they went right into the state and settled near Manyanga. They were then allocated land near the outlying Rozvi centre of Ndarikure, east of the Shashe river. It followed therefore that there was a much greater element of Rozvi initiative in this settlement than was usual, and a close relationship grew up between the Manyika-Govera and the Rozvi at Ndarikure.[171] It seems possible that this settlement occurred before the split between the main Changamire dynasty and the Mutinhima house, or alternatively that the two factions could co-operate in such matters as land-allocation, for the Manyika-Govera were in effect moving from the territory of the Changamire to the eastern lands of the Mutinhima house.[172] One of the first acts of Mhepo's group was to drive out Debwe's Njanja, who had previously settled in the area, and who in turn went to Banga's Mhari for support. There was thus an alignment of Mhari and Njanja on the one hand against the Manyika-Govera and Rozvi on the other, and it will be recalled that there was a Rozvi tradition of hostility between Rozvi and Mhari at this time.[173] In the end, however, Debwe's group was pushed west towards the Ngezi, and the Chirimuhanzu dynasty of Mhepo became supreme in the area. Many of the Njanja and other groups thus overshadowed claimed that they were not actually made subject until the 1890s and the alliance between Chirimuhanzu and NC Weale.[174]

Traditions differ very considerably on the succession after Mhepo's death, and while there is no doubt that Simba was the ruler in the early years of Ndebele domination, a number of rulers have been named as having reigned in between. One of these was said to have been killed by the Rozvi, and it seems most likely that Simba was either the son of one of Mhepo's sons, or his youngest son.[175] Once Simba was in power, however, he initiated a policy of collaboration with different external power groups that led to his house dominating Chirimuhanzu politics for a century. Indeed, with only two brief intervals, power passed directly from father to son for four generations.

With the coming of the Ndebele, Chirimuhanzu Simba joined the Changamire Rozvi in resisting them, and his son Chizema raided them. But the Ndebele were too strong, and killed Simba's younger brother Mabotsa in a raid that was part of the general Ndebele offensive of the time. Simba then changed sides, and surrendered in 1857.[176] The Rozvi of Ndarikure having been driven eastwards, the Ndebele became the new supports of the Chirimuhanzu rulers in return for tribute. Simba died shortly after this, and his son Bangure came to power.[177] It was probably no coincidence that the Mabotsa house moved from Ndarikure to the north[178] — the Serima dynasty having come under Chirimuhanzu rule while seeking protection from the Ndebele, previously[179] — while the Chizema house joined the Ndebele who raided Buhera, in the hope of getting fresh land there. Chizema was defeated by the Njanja and Nerutanga people but did not return to Chirimuhanzu.[180] This tendency of brothers' and uncles' houses to move away from the central area of the dynasty in Bangure's time was to be repeated in the reign of his son.

On Bangure's death in the late 1880s, there was a very brief period of rule by his brother Chatikobo. This was not sanctioned by the Ndebele, and Chatikobo was said to have had Rozvi support.[181] In practical terms, however, the Rozvi had no way of backing up that support, and it is highly likely that Chatikobo was in contact with the Portuguese, who were supplying guns to the Shona at that time.[182] This was justly regarded as a revolt against Ndebele overlordship, and in 1891 Bangure's son Tsvingu Chinyama used his influence with Lobengula to drive out Chatikobo, who took refuge in Gutu.[183] He then turned on his other uncles, Chaka and Gwatizo, and after a day-long battle in the Mteo forest, he drove them to the northern edges of the forest.[184] By 1895 his relative Gobo had moved away to the northwest,[185] and his brother Huchu had gone north to the Sebakwe by 1899.[186] This left Chinyama as ruler, but in danger from his uncles.

Chinyama co-operated with the Ndebele throughout 1891-2, but when in 1893 the BSAC column advanced towards him he abandoned his overlord Lobengula and sent men to aid the Europeans.[187] A European who had helped in this deal was M.E. Weale, who had begun farming near Victoria in 1891 and who had begun to trade into Chirimuhanzu's area shortly afterwards. Between then and 1897 he married two of Chinyama's daughters, and when he became the local NC in 1895 he was able to help his father-in-law in several ways, such as telling the CNC that the usual succession rule in Chirimuhanzu for seventeen generations had been from father to son.[188] After the 1896-7 war, in which Chirimuhanzu fought for the Europeans rather than see the Ndebele win, Weale made sure that his father-in-law's interests were served by driving Chaka and Gwatizo into Charter district in his own private war, and making sure Chatikobo stayed in Gutu.[189] He also subjected the Hama dynasty,[190] and by 1899 he was paying his father-in-law's tax. A 'rising' scare led to Weale's dismissal in 1899.[191]

Chinyama died in 1902, and in a three-cornered struggle, between his uncle Chaka, his brother Huchu and his son Jumo, Chaka became the next ruler. However, his dismissal in 1914 for connivance at stock theft left Jumo free to take the title. By the latter's death in 1954 the Manyika-

Govera had lost most of their eastern and northern land to European farmers, but Jumo had carved out a wide tract of the Chilimanzi reserve for Chinyama house, and when Chatikobo's son Jaravaza succeeded him his power base was slender. Lacking European support, the Chinyama house turned towards the nationalist parties.[192] Thus in four generations the Chirimuhanzu dynasty in general and the Bangure sub-house of Simba in particular progressed from relying upon Rozvi support to that of the Ndebele, Weale and the Native Department, and the nationalists.

Mhepo's Manyika-Govera were not the only people from Manyika to emigrate to the modern Karanga area. There was the minor Mapiravana *tembo/samaita* house, which moved west of Chirimuhanzu as part of a separate movement, but in the end fell under the rule of its Manyika-Govera relatives.[193] Another Manyika dynasty was that of Shiku, of the *tembo* totem but only remotely related to the Mutasa dynasty, with a tradition of having come from the lower Zambezi and only passed through Manyika on its way to the south. This group arrived on the east bank of the Runde near Masunda's *shiri* group, and was allowed to occupy the Runde-Musavezi angle. Shiku's people were raided by the Ndebele, and then paid tribute,but even so there seems to have been a raid upon them and some scattered. Colonial rule and the drawing of district boundaries put Shiku under the general control of Chivi until well into the present century.[194] From the perspective of this chapter, which deals with the whole southern Shona area west of Duma, the history of such groups as the Mhari, the Rufura, the Ngowa and the Govera (of either kind) is comparatively simple, and even the inclusion of such groups as that of Shiku, numbering maybe a thousand by 1900, does not unduly complicate matters. But it must never be forgotten that these ruling lineages were never more than a small majority of the people they ruled, often a minority, and that there were many subordinate groups of different lineages. Some of these groups may have been to all intents and purposes independent in the nineteenth century, but they were not big enough to become Chieftaincies under colonial rule, and thus they were placed under other dynasties which thus became larger under colonial rule.

x. Hera, Rufura and Mbire-Zumba settlers in the south

Here, we are dealing with the 'left-over' groups that do not fit into any previous category. However, it is interesting to note that the widespread belief of the southern Shona that all *soko*-totem people are 'Mbire' can be explained by the fact that nearly all major southern *soko* dynasties do happen to have come from Mbire III, as this section shows.

The fact that many of the settlers of the modern Karanga area had common origins in such areas as Buhera or Mbire did not make them into effective groups as far as co-operation was concerned. Even the great Mhari lineage was centred on its northern and southern ends, rather than upon one point, and the Hera, Mbire and Rufura groups described below were to all intents and purposes on their own.

Three Hera groups left Buhera for the south and west, after the break-up of Old Buhera which has been described earlier.[195] The most important went south in the late eighteenth century, led by Mutuna and Mutizira, and received land from the *soko*-totem NeChishanga dynasty southwest of Great Zimbabwe. There is no indication of what happened to the NeChishanga group, but Mutuna's line became the Mapanzure *shava/museyamwa* Hera dynasty of the south, based on Zhou mountain and ruling the land between there and the Turwi. Politics in the southern Hera territory centred around a successful attempt by a succession of fathers and sons to keep the power to themselves. Only under colonial rule were the younger sons of the powerful Mazorodze, son of Mapanzure, able to share the title among themselves.[196]

Two small Hera groups that managed to resettle without losing their independence were those of Matenda and Chiwundura. Nowadays, Matenda's Hera have traditions that associate them with the Rozvi in such a way that the two groups are almost seen as equals in a mythical time when the Rozvi had not yet settled permanently. In fact, Matenda's Hera had a much less distinguished history. Another Matenda account claimed that Matenda was driven out by the Ndebele in an attack on Buhera, an attack which possibly echoed a Rozvi attack in Nyashanu Matema's reign. However, a much more convincing version depicts Matenda's people as having left Buhera in the normal way, to resettle for a while under a minor Duma sub-ruler called Suwure in modern Ndanga. Probably in the mid-nineteenth century, the Matenda group moved to the east bank of the upper Runde, in an area lying between the *shumba* Mhari of Chivi and Nhema and the *shiri* people of Ndanga and Mpakame, being directly ruled by Shiku.[197]

Chiwundura's people can only be regarded as Hera in a general sense: their totem was *shava* and they came from near Mount Wedza, which was within the old area of Hera dominance, but their praise-name was *nyakudirwa* and they were also known as Chamaya. Chiwundura's people were iron workers, and at the time when the Njanja were expanding their own iron industry and their occupation of what had been Hera lands, Chiwundura Garaibenyu and his people set out for the southwest. By this time, not so many lands were left unoccupied, for the resettlement was almost over. In the valleys of the Kwekwe and Bembezana rivers, however, were lands that, not of prime quality as agricultural lands, were only thinly populated. In addition, there were good orefields on the Kwekwe. At this time the Ndebele had replaced the Rozvi as the chief power in the southwest, but it was a Rozvi, Lozani, who acted as an agent for the Ndebele in resettling Chiwundura on the Kwekwe. Chiwundura was in return expected to produce iron weapons and tools for the Ndebele.[198] This may well have occurred in the 1840s and 1850s, when for a while the Ndebele were on the verge of replacing the Rozvi by peaceful means.[199]

We now turn to the single Rufura *gumbo*-totem group to be dealt with. We have already seen how the main body of these people settled in Gutu, founding the important Gutu dynasty, and we have noted a secondary Rufura line that became established inside the Duma confederacy: Ndanga.[200] Mahlebadza's Rufura formed a tertiary settlement, since they broke away from Ndanga, and they are still known as vaNdanga as a result. The *shumba*-totem local Rozvi ruler Chikomba, who ruled the land on the edge of the lowveld between the Mwenezi and the Insiza rivers under the last Changamires, is said to have had some daughters married to the Mahlebadza section of the Rufura while it was still in Gutu or Ndanga. Lacking sons of his own, he ceded the land to Mahlebadza, who took it over on his death.[201] This rather improbable tradition clashes with the scanty notes collected by Sicard,[202] but the two versions agree on the salient points that the Mahlebadza group came from Gutu or Ndanga before the arrival of the Ndebele, but probably not very much earlier. This settlement of Rufura on the edges of the lowveld marked the tip of a tongue of settlement by Karanga of north-eastern origin that was thrust through a strip of settlement along the plateau edge by Shona of southern or Rozvi origin. It was backed up by *soko* settlements that connected it in terms of territorial occupation with the main body of dynasties from the north and east such as the Mhari and Ngowa. Another such tongue that broke up the 'Rozvi-southerner' strip further east was also tipped by a *soko* settlement, but, at this juncture it is wisest to define the label of 'Mbire' once again.

As pointed out in Chapter 3, 'Mbire' originally referred to two parts of the northern Shona country, and neither Mbire III in the central Shona country nor the *soko/vudzijena* Mbire people who lived there appear to have been established any earlier than the eighteenth century, following the Changamire Rozvi shift from the central Shona country to the southwest towards the end of the previous century.[203] Yet by the twentieth century the idea that most if not all *soko*-totem people were 'Mbire' had become widespread: as far away as the Matobos, one of the leaders of the Mwari cave-cult at Wirirani, Simon Chokoto, was prone to identify himself as a *soko* Mbire, and claim descent from the earliest occupants of the country.[204] This claim, which has had profound repercussions in the historiography of Shona religious history,[205] is not supported by the facts, for Chokoto was a *ncube/shoko* of Venda-Rozvi descent, but it is easy to see how it could have arisen.[206] Firstly, Chokoto was keen to stress his — ficticious — Karanga origins to a largely Karanga clientèle.[207] Secondly, the saying *'Mwari akabva Mbire,* Mwari came from Mbire' is well-known,[208] though it almost certainly refers to a cult of Mwari that had no connection with the cave-cult, but which was closely linked to the Changamire Rozvi, who were anachronistically regarded as originating in Mbire III — actually, the central *moyo* nuclear area.[209] Thirdly, whereas pre-Karanga dynasties of the *soko* totem *had* been common enough in the southern Shona country before the Karanga re-settlement, perhaps the best-known being the *soko/watinaye* Shawasha, they were no longer much in evidence by the nineteenth century, except for the minor Shawasha dynasty under Hama and some *soko*-totem Lemba near Mberengwa.[210] On the other hand, there were six Mbire or quasi-Mbire *soko* or ex-*soko* dynasties scattered widely across the Karanga country, almost all of them in contact with the Mwari cave-cult from a relatively early date. Thus although the history of these groups is in no way remarkable in itself, it is of considerable importance to the development of Shona historiography, in that the label of 'Mbire' has thus been traced from its earliest uses in the north of the plateau to its latest adoptions in the south.

One of the first Mbire groups to go south was that of Neshuro — not to be confused with the founder of the Shindi dynasty. He was a member of Svosve's *soko/vudzijena* dynasty, and moved all the way down to the lowveld, where he took up a large area between the Runde and the Mwenezi. Because this was on the lowveld fringe, of course, the size of the territory mattered less than the number of inhabitable hill areas it contained. This was before the establishment of the Negari and Murove Rozvi dynasties, and the previous inhabitants were only recalled in symbolic terms as a man and his wife. As the nineteenth century wore on, Neshuro's people were attacked in succession by Zwangendaba's and Ngwana Maseko's Ngoni, some Dumbuseya, the Hlengwe, the Gaza Nguni and the Ndebele, the latter continuing to raid until the 1890s. Given the fact that Neshuro's Mbire were a small group, it is surprising how well they survived the century: the main losses were two men, seven women and some stock, and they succeeded in driving off the Dumbuseya and the Hlengwe.[211] This settlement, taken as an extension of the Ndau Madzivire-Gororo groups and the Mhari, Govera, Hera and Jena north of them, constituted the second of the two southern extremities of Karanga settlement by people from the north and east that were mentioned earlier. The first, it will be recalled, was tipped by Mahlebadza's Rufura and backed up by the Zumba *soko* dynasties of Mapiravana and Mudavanhu.

Uzumba was — and is — a land between the middle Mazowe and the Nyadire dominated by the *soko/nyadawa* dynasty of Nyajina. This had no known connection with the *soko/vudzijena* Mbire,[212] and the *soko/mayedza* brothers Mudavanhu and Mapiravana did not claim to be Mbire, but Zumba. Nevertheless, they did refer to the leader of the small Mazivisa *soko* Mbire group, with which they travelled as far as the upper Turwi and Runde, as 'uncle'.[213] But whereas Mazivisa remained in that area and became subject to Nhema's Mhari when they arrived, the Zumba continued, and reached the Mwenezi valley near the Great Dyke. This area was dominated by the Rozvi, with the local ruler Gambe who had been associated with the stone buildings in the area having been driven away by the Changamire.[214] The incoming Zumba claimed to have found the land empty, and Mapiravana took up land on both banks of the Mwenezi. Difficulties of communication are said to have led to the junior line under Mudavanhu taking control of the land south of the river.[215] Like the settlement of Mahlebadza just to the south, this seems to have occurred not long before the arrival of the Ndebele.

The remaining Mbire settlements were around Great Zimbabwe, and although clear traditions of having been Mbire remained, both of the dynasties involved adopted the *shumba* totem, one of them calling itself 'Nini'. The easternmost of these claimed to have come south with Charumbira's Mbire, which is possible, and with Chirimuhanzu's Manyika-Govera, which is not so likely. A man named Swazi founded what was to become the the Nyakunhuwa *shumba* dynasty east of the Mutirikwi river inside the Duma confederal area. This dynasty was subject to the Duma.[216] The other dynasty, that of Charumbira, also claimed Mbire descent, having had the *soko/vudzijena* totem. (It also claimed to have come from Budya, but this may have arisen out of the common connection of Budya with the *shumba* totem later adopted by this group.)[217] In the early nineteenth century, this group of Mbire under Sinamanhu moved into the area northwest of Great Zimbabwe, where the NeManwa rulers were trying to drive out the pre-Karanga inhabitants. (This early nineteenth-century dating by generations is in fact suspect, since it is probable that NeManwa was established rather earlier, and since it is possible that the Charumbira tradition that claims that Sinamanhu was the first local ruler of the dynasty is intended to prevent claims by the descendants of his brothers, who received land and ritual positions but were excluded from political power. These brothers' houses, especially that of Bika, are seen as having gradually lost power to the main Charumbira dynasty, at the same time as it was gaining control of a wide area north-west of NeManwa, who was eventually forced into exile in Charumbira's land by the advance of the Duma.)[218]

xi Settlers from the south: Pfumbi, Twamamba and Lemba

On the southern frontiers of the Shona world the special environment of the lowveld meant that groups travelled far and remained relatively distinct. Thus Shona migrated into the Venda country, and Venda moved north to settle among the Shona. Even when they were eventually acculturated, their special origins were recalled.

Thus far in this chapter, we have been dealing with peoples living on the southern plateau, or moving over its edge to settle on the fringes of the lowveld. Some, like the pre-Karanga Chingoma *dziva* dynasty, moved along the edges of the lowveld to take up a new position on the plateau edge, but the majority were moving over the plateau itself from the north or east. We have also been dealing with immigrants who were coming from other Shona-speaking areas. The lowveld area was the scene of a major immigration of the Tsonga-Hlengwe from the southeast. These Tsonga-Hlengwe, under Chitanga, Mpapa, Vurumela and Sengwe, conquered the existing Shona-speaking population of the lowveld and converted it to their own language and culture. In this chapter we are seeing the history of certain groups that were mostly Venda-speaking and came from the Venda area south of the Limpopo, to settle on the northern edges of the lowveld, and to become Karanga-speakers in the course of time.

The general history of the Venda-speaking country has already been given,[219] and here it is sufficient to remember that the Zoutpansberg mountains had long been inhabited by Venda groups known as Ngona and Mbedzi, while the Limpopo valley and the courses of its tributaries such as the Shashi or the Mzingwane had been the equally long-occupied area of the southwestern Shona, the Kalanga. These Kalanga — or more accurately, southern Kalanga — had been cut off from the northern Kalanga of the Torwa and Changamire states by the immigration of the Sotho-speaking Birwa, such as Hwadalala. One of the groups of southern Kalanga south of the Limpopo was 'Twamamba', and whereas some in the Brak River-Saltpan area continued to speak Shona, those who lived in the Zoutpansberg range itself came to speak Venda. The arrival in the Venda-speaking area in the eighteenth century of a branch of the Changamire Rozvi led to the foundation of a short-lived Venda state under the Singo dynasties. These, however, broke up into a number of units, notably the western group under Ramabulana and an eastern group under Tshivhase — to use the best-known names. The civil wars among the Venda are quite enough to explain the Venda migrations over the Limpopo and up the Mzingwane valley. Most of these Venda continued to speak Venda, and we are only concerned with those who became Shona-speakers.

One of the salient facts about the southeastern lowveld is that it very much resembled a dryland 'ocean' as far as human settlement was concerned, with people living along watercourses or around hills. The people were forced to travel very long distances in order to reach new living-sites, or even to raid or trade. Thus the lowveld in the nineteenth century was crossed by raiding parties of Ndebele from the west, Gaza Nguni from the east and Venda from the south, not to mention the clashes of Shona and Tsonga-Hlengwe from more local points.This special geography of the lowveld meant that the boundaries of a major dynasty such as that of the Pfumbi, if drawn around all the places occupied, would enclose a vast area, whereas a more accurate map would show a number of widely scattered points occupied by Pfumbi, with a no-man's-land in between.

The original Pfumbi appear to have been based on the great Marungudzi mountain in the lowveld near the Limpopo-Bubye confluence, under the Chikada dynasty of the *zhou* totem. According to Forrestall. Chikada ruled the land north of the Bubye river, so that he, like the later Pfumbi rulers, had his power based on two widely-separated points.[220] Chikada's Pfumbi were conquered by a Venda-speaking group from south of the Limpopo, led by a ruler of the *mbedzi* totem named Mafukanoro.[221] Mafukanoro's origins in traditions have varied widely: in the 1900s it was said that he was one of the Singo rulers of the Venda and therefore linked to the prestigious Changamire Rozvi, and in the 1960s he was said to have been a brother of the first of the famous 'rain queens' of the Sotho-speaking Lovedu of the far south.[222] It is far more likely, however, that the *mbedzi*-totem Pfumbi dynasty derived from the original, Venda-speaking Mbedzi of the eastern Zoutpansberg, since connections with the district of Thengwe on the Mutale river, with the Venda cult of Raluvhimba and other exclusively Venda features are recalled. The *mbedzi*-totem dynasty of the Pfumbi also maintained its own rain cult.[223] The bulk of the evidence, therefore, would indicate that the *mbedzi* Pfumbi dynasty was originally Venda, and became Shona-speaking by conquering an earlier Shona-speaking Pfumbi population. Those Pfumbi living on the northern shores of the lowveld today, not surprisingly, speak Karanga: the dialect of the Marungudzi Pfumbi does not seem to have been definitely analysed.[224]

Mafukanoro probably lived in the first part of the nineteenth century, and it was in the reign of his son Muchira that the *mbedzi* dynasty pushed north from Marungudzi and took the hills north of the Bubye, the outliers of the plateau. Lasa was one of the main centres of the Pfumbi in this northern area, but there were other strongholds.[226] Once the *mbedzi* people had secured their hold on Marungudzi after attempts by the earlier Pfumbi dynasty to recover it,[227] the main pattern of Pfumbi politics had become established: the religious cult remained at Marungudzi, and the *mbedzi* rulers moved between their northern and southern bases according to the pressures of droughts, warfare and other factors. It became 'customary' for the rulers to live at Marungudzi towards the end of their lives.[228]

Sicard's reference to the Pfumbi dynasty as 'mighty' is an obvious exaggeration: the extent of the territory was indeed great, but in the lowveld this meant little, and it was the number of hill-strongholds that counted. Nevertheless, the Pfumbi dominated most of the smaller Shona rulers between the middle Mwenezi and the Limpopo.[229] The first serious development occurred when Vurumela's Hlengwe took the important hill of Chirumwe. The Pfumbi ruler Matibi called in the Ndebele, and Vurumela was forced back to the Bubye: the price was tribute paid to the Ndebele ruler.[230] By the 1880s, however, this relationship was breaking down. In 1888 Matibi moved from Lasa to Marungudzi in the lowveld, against the wishes of Lobengula, and was only forced back by drought. From then until 1893 Matibi was regularly raided, and in the end such a raid provoked a joint counter-raid by a Pfumbi-European force.[231] This presaged the similar action against the Shona and Ndebele of Mberengwa in 1896.[232] The Matibi dynasty, as it had become known, received recognition from the colonial government for this service,[233] but the division of the Pfumbi territories by the arbitrary lines of the Bubye river and the Tuli-Victoria road, in the pattern of administration, led to the Pfumbi splitting into three factions, the Matibi of Tuli-Gwanda-Beitbridge, the Machetu-Mketi of Mberengwa and the Maranda of Mwenezi.[234]

Another group of immigrants from the south included the Twamamba. As mentioned earlier, the Twamamba were found south of the Limpopo as both Venda-and Kalanga-speakers, and it is not certain which of these groups gave rise to the Chitawudze dynasty. (The dynasty has been said to be Venda-speaking, but since it is now divided between the Venda country of the Mzingwane and the Karanga-speaking area it is not certain if this was always so.)[235] According to the tradition, one Chededzakukwa fled from the main Twamamba group south of the Limpopo and settled north of the river: his son Makombo Chitawudze then went to the middle course of the Tshabezi, a lowveld stream between the Bubye and the Mzingwane. He expelled the Bare group, a small Kalanga unit, and became the local ruler. Under the Chitawudze rulers was the related sub-house of Khohomera, which on occasion was able to act on behalf of aged Chitawudzes: thus in 1893 a Khohomera was acting for the Chitawudze, who was a tributary of the Ndebele.[236] With the coming of colonial rule the same kind of administrative process that split up the Pfumbi worked on the Twamamba, as they lost their land rights and split into two Chitawudze dynasties in two districts.[237]

Having reached the southern limits of the Shona country in the lowveld, we have reached the point where the distinction between Shona and non-Shona, in terms of history, is hard to define. Thus we have such groups as the Twamamba and Lembethu, who straddle linguistic boundaries. Another such group that does so is that of the Lemba. The Lemba have existed as small groups all the way from the Nyanga plateau to the Zoutpansberg, and a great deal of speculative writing has been published by unscientific writers who claim to see in them the descendants of early Muslim Arabs, pre-Muslim Arabs or even Jews.[238] Such claims go far beyond the available evidence. The Lemba do preserve such features as partial endogamy, circumcision, abhorrence of pork, Arabic-sounding names, specialist skills in copper-work, and the kosher-killing of meat. The belief that the Lemba have exotic origins is not confined to Europeans — some Lemba believe it also.[239]

These claims, however, are swiftly reduced to the 'not proven' category when it is realised that all the ritual features mentioned above form part of the Islamic religion, and that in southern Zambezia Islam spread far beyond the bounds of the very limited Arab or Swahili community. Thus, in the sixteenth century the 'Moors of Sofala are black men, some olive, and use the tongue of the land which is that of the Gentiles' though they spoke some Arabic.[240] In other words, they were Muslim Shona. There were Muslims as far south as the Torwa state in the 1640s, and there were still some in Maungwe in the 1660s.[241] That these Muslims were the direct ancestors of the Lemba is made clear by Mahumane's account of his visit to Venda in 1727, when he mentioned that the 'Walembers' had lived in the Kalanga country until a conflict in which some sought refuge with the Venda and others submitted to the victor, presumably the Changamire of the eighteenth century who conquered the south-west.[242] Just how Muslim the Lemba had ever been, however, remains unclear: whereas some coastal Shona were obviously full Muslims, the process of conversion and acculturation inland may never have been complete. Even the modern Lemba could have been partly re-Islamicised by Yao labourers on their way to and from Kimberley and the Rand after 1870 and before scholars began to examine them.[243]

Having dealt with the myth surrounding the Lemba, we can now go on to look briefly at the history of the only Lemba dynasty of importance in the Shona-speaking country. The rest of the Lemba, as Chigiga has shown, settled as ordinary villagers under Shona rulers, but the Mposi dynasty became a real political power in the Mberengwa area. A group of Lemba who had allegedly made the entire journey from Sena on the Zambezi to the Venda country are said to have moved to the Mberengwa area before the fall of the Changamire state. During the *mfecane* they went back to the Venda country to escape raiders, leaving a *soko*-totem Lemba group under Chiremba on Mberengwa peak. When they returned, the Mposi *nzou*-totem dynasty became a local tributary of the Ndebele. After a clash with the Dumbuseya, Mposi emerged as one of the leaders of Lobengula's Shona tributaries in the area, with a territory running down to the Mwenezi south of Mberengwa peak.[244]

xii Dumbuseya

Inside the Zimbabwean region, there is a strong tendency to speak of 'Shona' and 'Ndebele' as though they were two mutually exclusive categories. In Central and East Africa it is well understood that local peoples might adopt Nguni methods of warfare and external attributes and yet not be Nguni. Within the Shona area, the 'Dumbuseya' show that the Shona could very easily become 'Nguni' and very nearly 'Ndebele' without always being subject to Mzilikazi or Lobengula.

'Dumbuseya' is a term referring to the full bellies of those who took to raiding their neighbours more often than was usual among the Shona. Thus there were several 'dumbuseya' groups that shared the name but were not related. Thus, there were Dumbuseya in the eastern Duma confederacy in the early nineteenth century,[245] and not all of the Dumbuseya of the Mberengwa area belonged to the same group. A Rozvi of the Nyamhondo dynasty, which settled south of the Runde in the early nineteenth century, claimed the this group received land from 'Dumbuseya

Rozvi'. In other words he linked the preceding Rozvi — probably of the Changamire state — with the well-fed appearance of those who fought their neighbours successfully.[246]

From the writings of Sicard and the much fuller and more carefully researched work of White, on which this section is based, the Belingwe Dumbuseya were of two groups.[247] The main one was of the *moyo* totem, from the south Shawasha area south of Great Zimbabwe, which had been conquered by the Nyajena dynasty in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The Nyajena rulers, as associates of the Duma confederacy, were of the *moyo* totem, but groups that 'went Dumbuseya' tended to cut themselves off from their relatives, and this group kept their totem but altered its meaning from 'heart' to 'craving'. The second group was composed of a few Lemba from Mberengwa who had broken Lemba taboos during a drought and consequently fled to Nyajena. It is not at all clear whether these groups had become 'Dumbuseya' before the *mfecane*, but it is quite possible that they did.

In the *mfecane* the country around the Runde and Turwi rivers where they verged on the lowveld was raided by the Ngwana Maseko Ngoni, known generally to the Shona as 'Msesenyane'. The Ngwana Maseko picked up these Dumbuseya in the Nyajena area, and incorporated them into their main body. This accentuated the warlike habits of this group, and began a process of self-identification with the Nguni peoples that was reinforced by later contracts with the Ndebele and, probably, with Nyamazana's Ngoni who were also eventually incorporated into the Ndebele people. By the end of the century they were beginning to call themselves 'Swazi'. The Ngwana Maseko, after having clashed with the Changamire Rozvi and generally received the worst of it, moved by stages to the central Shona country. There, they clashed with the incipient state of Zwangendaba's Ngoni, which was mainly based at Satwa hill in the middle Mazowe valley. They were at first defeated, and then combined with Nxaba's Ngoni from the eastern Shona country to defeat Zwangendaba, some time before 1835.

Out of all this fighting — probably after Ngana Maseko's first battle with Zwangendaba — the Dumbuseya broke away, and moved south again. Coming through Gutu and past Guruguru hill, they clashed with small Shona groups and were often defeated. It was probably in the 1860s that they were settled in the eastern part of Chivi, which was gradually being taken over from the Ngowa by the Mhari. They aided the Mhari in this process, and then attempted to carve out their own territory in Gororo's area between the lower Turwi and Runde rivers. This was on the edge of the Duma confederacy, and very close to their old area in Nyajena. For a short while they were successful, but the local Karanga united under Nyajena's leadership, and drove these would-be Ngoni away. The same thing happened in Neshuro's area south of the Runde in the lowveld fringes, where the Dumbuseya tried to set up on their own once more: Neshuro and his neighbours combined to drive them off.

The Dumbuseya were then saved by the Ndebele, who sent their local leader, Nkomoiyapi, to collect these potential recruits. After a slow passage through the Ngowa country, in which the Dumbuseya briefly took and held most of the Ngowa hills before moving on — this was just after the Ngowa defeat by the Mhari — they arrived in the Ndebele state, and an attempt was made to settle them on the lower Gweru.In the end, however, they were re-settled in the Mberengwa area, north of the Mchingwe river. The previous occupants — a minor *moyo* clan from the Ndau area previously located there by the Ndebele — were ejected.

Theoretically, within the Ndebele tributary area there was supposed to be security from raiding, guaranteed by the power of the Ndebele state. That, after all, was the logic behind tribute-payment. Generally speaking, this was true, but the Dumbuseya demonstrated that there could be exceptions to this. They enlarged their territory north of the Mchingwe by fighting their fellow-tributaries, Mapanzure's Mhari and Masunda's *shiri,* and then set out to attack the Ngowa and Lemba, who were also tributaries. The hills of Chamakuwa and Bera were taken from the Ngowa, and raiding took place. The ex-Lemba section under Mparuri went into the Lemba area and took Dumbwi, the main Lemba centre. In the end, the Ndebele restored order in their tributary area by helping the Ngowa and Lemba to regain their strongholds, and the Dumbuseya were forced back into their old area, except for the ex-Lemba section, who ended up under Mahlebadza.

The Dumbuseya give us an interesting study of the way in which both Shona and Ndebele groups operated during the *mfecane* period. On the one hand, although their traditions — and those of their victims — stress their raiding tendencies, from their rather slow movements across the countryside it looks as though, like everybody else, they were still planting crops and reaping them as they went. Again, it is interesting to see how people changed their totems on occasion; Mparuri's ex-Lemba, for example, changed their totem from *zhou* to *moyo*, and the ex-Jena Dumbuseya changed the meaning of theirs. According to the groups descended from the Dumbuseya, their main leaders were Wedza Hamiro and Mazeteze, but it is interesting to see how prominent their brother Mazwizwo's name was in some accounts. The Dumbuseya reflected in miniature the tendencies of Ngoni — and indeed, Shona — political units towards both unity and division. Finally, the existence of the brief Dumbuseya 'sub-empires' in the Ngowa country at different times indicates how complex and various the relationships between the tributaries of the Ndebele state could be.

SECTION 3

The Traditions of the Shona States

So far, we have been looking at the territories of the central and southern Shona. These ranged in size from the giants like Nhowe or Gutu, a good eighty kilometres square, to tiny areas with no more than one or two villages each. One of the features of the histories of their ruling dynasties, as we have often seen, was that the continuing politics of each region often led to considerable changes in the oral traditions. Yet in each case these changes were to what was in effect a very private history: they were of absorbing interest to the people of each dynasty and, to a lesser extent, to the officials who had to deal with them, but it could hardly be said that they mattered to anybody else. Nor do we have many cases where the officials or any other outsiders have much effect on these local histories through their writings. Howman, working on the genealogy of Rozani, Edwards and his article on Nhowe and Sicard's work comprise some of the most obvious exceptions, but even so these were of very limited importance.

The great states of the Shona were another matter. Great Zimbabwe and Torwa, declining before 1600 and 1700 respectively, seem to have left no traditions, but Changamire and Mutapa, surviving until the 1830s and 1880s, did. Unfortunately, the Changamire dynasty lived too far from the Portuguese bases for the records of the latter to give us a very clear idea of its internal history, while the coming of the Ndebele led to the absorption of most of the Changamire population and the exile of many of its leaders to the Save valley. It was very lucky indeed that eight Rozvi oral traditions were collected at the very beginning of colonial rule before time and distance began to blur Rozvi memories. These traditions were added to by the Rozvi exiles and recorded by amateur historians as this century went on, but what was not noticed was that great changes were taking place among the Rozvi.

What was happening, among at least some of the exiled Rozvi, was that vague memories of the existence of the Changamire state were being turned to a very practical purpose, the recognition of a supreme 'Mambo' title by the government and thus, of course, the land and judicial powers that should have gone with it. Those interested in the ways in which oral traditions can change will find this absorbing, but probably far more will be fascinated by the spectacle of people struggling against impossible odds, right up to the period of the rise of modern mass nationalism, to re-create something of the glory of a state that went down in the 1830s. Their hopes and internal squabbles have something of the romance and pathos of those of similar exiles, from the British Stuarts to the Spanish Republicans of the 1940s and 1950s. Chapter Five, which describes this saga, was first published under the same title in *History in Africa*, 10, 1983, and is reproduced here unaltered with the permission of the editor.

The Changamire Rozvi dynasty might have been great, but it is still far less known than that of Mutapa, in the north of the Zimbabwean plateau. This is partly because the Portuguese recorded so much of Mutapa history, partly because there is still a lingering idea that the Mutapa dynasty once ruled at Great Zimbabwe, and partly because, from 1959, it was believed that Mutapa oral traditions and Portuguese documents could be combined to reconstruct the past in quite amazing detail. Moreover these factors have led, understandably, to a strong emphasis on the Mutapa state in Zimbabwean school books, and in text after text Mutota marches to the north to start a history uncluttered with 'buts' and 'maybes'.

About four years after I started serious work on pre-colonial Shona history, I published an article that showed that there were some very serious problems associated with the 'evidence' for much of Mutapa traditional history. This appeared in *History in Africa* in 1976. At about the same time Stanislaus Mudenge was working on his own history of the Mutapas, eventually published in 1989, and in the early 1980s the anthropologist David Lan worked on the question of Mutapa traditions from a different angle.[1] When I planned this book, I intended to re-work the 1976 article in the light of Mudenge's and Lan's findings. It turned out that I had to start examining the entire question afresh, and this chapter is the result.

What we have here is an opportunity for the reader to take part in the analysis of history. So far in this book, there has been a tendency to present conclusions without discussing the significance of every piece of evidence. Here, we can move from the first Shona names to appear in writing in 1506 to the oral traditions of the 1960s, with every twist and turn of the arguments exposed. Nowhere else in the Zimbabwean region — and rarely elsewhere in Africa — is it possible to watch the growth of an oral tradition over such a long period. What will be shown is that a lot of the oral traditional material accepted for so long is in fact nonsense, but that oral traditions, properly treated, do have some value in helping us to understand Mutapa history from the late seventeenth century onwards. This still makes us one of the luckier peoples of Africa when it comes to understanding our past.

CHAPTER 5

The Rozvi in Search of Their Past

i Introduction

In this chapter I have three main objectives. One is to highlight and examine the work of Zimbabwean African historians under colonial rule up to the 1960s. Another is to examine the effect of the work of these historians on the traditions of the Changamire Rozvi, the rulers of the greatest state in Zimbabwe from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. The third is to show how Rozvi revival movements arose in the 1950s as a minor feature of the period of African nationalism's mobilization.

Although the first history of this country was published as early as 1900, it goes without saying that, in the colonial context, African history was played down and denigrated by most of the white writers on the subject for most of the colonial period.[1] Although there was a strong local white tradition of writing on the minority Ndebele people, the majority Shona-speakers were largely ignored.[2] Apart from a small group of local white antiquarians, whose work is only now undergoing re-evaluation, very little was published before 1960 on the history of the Shona.[3] Yet, despite this general neglect, a small but devoted number of Africans were conscious of their lack of a written history and sought to remedy that lack. They found it a lonely and difficult task. In a period when African education beyond certain limits was discouraged, they had access neither to proper training nor to primary sources other than traditions. If they were sometimes prone to trust unduly the missionary texts with which they grew up (so that one can read of 'King Monomotapa' and 'Queen Sheba' borrowing Solomon's Phoenician labourers to build Great Zimbabwe),[4] one can also read the work of two Duma historians who carefully cited Arabic, Portuguese, and archaeological sources in secondary works.[5]

Many of the minor writers thought on a small scale, and were in many cases principally concerned with proving their house's claim to a local Chieftainship financed by the colonial government.[6] Others, however, were genuine historians, devoted to the idea of preserving the past of their own area. Jason Machiwenyika of Manyika was probably the best of the local workers.[7] Others thought on a national scale, though, and in particular the Rozvi historians, conscious of the fact that their people had ruled the last large Shona state, took a wide-ranging approach. Admittedly, some of these did seek either to prove the supremacy of their houses in internal Rozvi politics or even to revive the Changamire dynasty, but even so they were trying to assert a history of the whole country.

ii Rozvi traditions before 1929

We are fortunate in that, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, collections of Changamire Rozvi oral traditions were made, for even in the 1920s the Rozvi were beginning to change their versions of their history.

Before going into the history of the Rozvi historians of the twentieth century, it is worthwhile summarizing the Rozvi view of their past in about 1900—the view, that is, of the senior oral historians in the scattered Rozvi communities of that time. Sixty years after the fall of the Changamire state, there were still old men living who recalled the last years of the Changamire *vaMambo.*[8] Some were to be found among the basic population of the recently-conquered Ndebele state, and were by then Ndebele-speakers. Others lived in the Shona-speaking areas of Gwelo, Selukwe, Shabani, and Belingwe, which had until recently formed part of the Ndebele tributary state. Still more lived in Bikita and on the upper Save, members of the central Changamire dynasty who had fled there in the 1850s and 1860s. Elsewhere, there were members of Rozvi communities such as the Hwange, Shangwe, and Singo groups, who had either emigrated from the Changamire state long before the *mfecane,* or had never lived in the south-western Changamire state, but had settled across the country in the original Rozvi dispersal from the north-east, preserving their links with the central Rozvi dynasty. In some cases these links were tenuous, but were still remembered.[9] Many of these Rozvi groups had been independent before 1890, and were treated as Chiefdoms under the colonial system, whereas others formed no more than houses and wards under non-Rozvi Shona rulers — for instance, Murombedzi under Mashayamombe or the Chuma house in Buhera, which was a fragment of the Sango dynasty broken up in the 1896 Chimurenga.

Here we are concerned with the oral history of the central Changamire dynasty as it was remembered in the 1890s and 1900s. On the whole, there was a remarkable degree of consensus, partly confused by vague memories of the stone-building Torwa state which had dominated the south-west from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries before coming under Changamire rule. There was general agreement on a Changamire origin in a 45° sector (as seen from the Changamire state) ranging from the east, in the direction of the Manwa-Great Zimbabwe area, to the north-east, in the direction of Mrewa. There was also a limited consensus on the names of the Changamire rulers, though some lists were severely shortened (see Figure 85).

Common points of these traditions were: (i) 'Mambo' was seen as a dynastic title used by the subjects of the 'Changamire', which title was used in the 17th-19th centuries by people outside the state; (ii) Dombolakonachingwangu was always placed very early in the list; (iii) the Washaya and Mutinhima houses are variously related to the ruling-Mambo list according to informants; (iv) titles such as 'Basvi' and 'Dyembewu' appear to be inheritable titles rather than individual names. On the other hand, the succession in the previous few years was disputed, which is understandable in view of the Rozvi diaspora, with such houses as Mutinhima and Chapungu claiming the right to succeed. Taken as a whole, however, the traditions of the 1890s and 1900s give a consistent picture of a dynasty of no more than seven ruling *mambo* ruling through less than a century and a half — a picture that is confirmed by the Portuguese sources — and a fairly consistent account of the political economy of the Changamire state and the coming of the *mfecane*. The differences between the king-lists belie the value of these traditions, which form the earliest and most valuable single collection of evidence on the Rozvi in recent times.

The 1890s/1900s traditions were, nevertheless, the work of officials and missionaries interviewing oral historians, and it was not until the 1900s that the first literate Rozvi historian appeared. This was Aron Marwodzi, the grandson of one of the house heads of Jiri, who had become the officially-recognized Chief of the Rozvi in Bikita. As a child, Marwodzi would have heard much of the history of the Rozvi but in 1893, at a relatively early age, he left Bikita to seek work, and this is probably why his history differed so much from those of other Rozvi historians. Marwodzi soon joined the Wesleyan Methodists, and worked for them while he went to night school in Salisbury. In 1904 he went to Nenguwo Training Institution near Marandellas. It must have been a stimulating experience, despite the limitations of mission education. Many young men were assembled there to study: Jonas Chihota, his two sons, and three others from Chiremba; Philip Mukasa from Manyika; Daniel Chererwa from Chinamhora; Matthew and Misheck Zvimba and Joseph and Patrick Gusha from Zvimba; Simon Kamudyariwa and Amos Madzurandende; Peter and Felini Mantiziba from Selukwe; Daniel Chinyerere and Peter Kanangira from Marandellas; John Jena and others from near Mutekedza. Such gatherings could be found at many missions, but Nenguwo had two special features. One was that many of its students were closely related to ruling dynasties, and were probably already familiar with oral histories from hearing their ruling relatives judge cases. The other was the presence of Matthew Zvimba, a rebellious individual who eventually broke with the church. These factors may have influenced Marwodzi when he began to write his history. He may also have been able to meet Rozani's Rozvi in lower Wedza, for he taught at Chimanza station not far away, and he may have picked up traditions from these and other upper Save Rozvi.[11]

Some time before 1924, Marwodzi wrote his history, which was translated and published by F.W.T. Posselt, one of the few officials sympathetic to the idea of Shona history.[12] The history was a short one. Like most Shona traditional histories, it began with a migration. It envisaged three distinct peoples — Rozvi, Korekore and Sotho — starting at Lake Tanganyika and crossing the Zambezi. They all had the same *zhou* totem, and as they moved into Zimbabwe different groups were allowed by the Rozvi to split off and settle: Korekore, Nhowe, Zvimba, Mbire, Murambwa, Zimuto, Musana, Nyandoro, and Makombe. The Rozvi eventually reached the Sotho country (the Sotho having presumably overtaken them) and drove them out, and then reached the land of Chihunduro *soko*, took his 'Zimbabwe' country and settled there, separating themselves from the Kalanga, the Lilima, and the Humbe. Marwodzi's account differed from other Rozvi traditions by making Chirisamhuru the first Mambo, and describing his battles with the Maseko Ngoni. Marwodzi then provided the only female Rozvi mentioned, 'Mutanda Ngabate', describing her as a peacemaker. Then came Gumboremvura, who also fought Ngoni and who fought with the Tonga (by whom Marwodzi meant the non-Rozvi Shona), later giving them territories and succession 'systems'. This was followed by a civil war accompanied by the common legend of the 'king in the granary', the reign of Rupengo, the *mfecane* (for the third time!) and the defeat and scattering of the Rozvi. This led to another war with the 'Tonga', probably the upper Save Shona among whom the Changamire settled in the 1850s. The 'Tonga' were defeated by treachery. Significantly, although documents and other traditions placed the core of the Changamire state in the south-west, all but a few of the twenty-seven subject dynasties Marwodzi named were of the central Zezuru area. This almost certainly reflects the fact that Marwodzi had spent the last thirty years among the Zezuru.

Marwodzi's Rozvi history differed from others that were to follow in a number of ways: it tried to relate the Rozvi to the whole Shona people by the device of a a single-totem 'core' group; it got the chronology badly muddled; it had, as noted, a strong Zezuru bias as far as subject groups were concerned; and it had neither a special bias towards one Rozvi lineage nor did it play any part in later Rozvi interpretations of history.

The next major Rozvi historian to emerge was M.V.J. Rukara, who rose to prominence in the 1940s and 1950s. Rukara's contribution cannot be understood without reference to the position of several important Rozvi dynasties of Makoni, Wedza, Buhera, and Bikita districts, as well as to what remained of the succession to the old Changamire titles. To summarize, in the last years of the Changamire state, there had been two main factions among the central Rozvi. One was led by *Mambo* Chirisamhuru and held the centre of the state, while the other was led by the Mutinhima house, which held an arc of land around the eastern side of the state. The relationship between the two houses is not clear, but it most likely came from a powerful house which unsuccessfully aimed at the Mambo title before c.1800 but which was too powerful to be put down entirely. Both houses joined in the fighting retreat to the Mavangwe hills in the 1850s that was led by the new Changamire Tohwechipi Chibamubamu, probably a son of Chirisamhuru. His surrender in 1866, however, led to the weakening of the power of this house, and his son Muposi Chikore failed to gain recognition from all the Rozvi. Many of the Rozvi left Mavangwe, and one group of the Mutinhima house under Jiri reached Bikita, in the weakened Duma confederation. At about the same time, fragments of the central Rozvi dynasty, including descendants of both Tohwechipi and his brothers, also reached Bikita, where they later became known as the Gumunyu house. By 1886/90 the Jiri house had become supreme among the Bikita Rozvi, and it got the colonial government's recognition in 1895, under the dynastic title of Jiri. The Gumunyu house went into temporary eclipse.

There were, however, still Rozvi in Mavangwe, in lower Wedza, and in lower Makoni, and in 1896 these took the unprecedented step of inviting a member of the Mutinhima house, Chingombe, to come back to Mavangwe as *Mambo* or Changamire. He did so, but was very old, and lived only until 1904. The most prominent of the other Rozvi in Buhera was the Tumbare, descendant of a long line of senior officials in the Changamire state. Whatever the exact function of the Tumbare may have been in the eighteenth century, the Tumbare during Chingombe's last years seems to have become a kind of regent, with the government-paid title of Headman. About three years after Chingombe's death, a certain Mandu was appointed Changamire by Jiri, but died two months later. The Tumbare then took over the regency until, at some unknown date before 1918, another son of Chingombe named Mudavanhu succeeded, but apparently to the title of 'Chingombe' rather than 'Changamire' or 'Mambo', though the latter was often used unofficially.[13]

Meanwhile, the Jiri house continued to rule the Bikita Rozvi, with a certain amount of muted opposition from the Gumunyu house, in an enclave carved out of what had been the Duma confederacy. (As land pressures increased in the twentieth century, so did Duma opposition to the Rozvi presence, as will be seen.) Other Rozvi dynasties that were involved in Rozvi politics included that of Mbavha (renamed Rozani in the 1920s), and that of Chiduku, in lower Wedza and lower Rusape respectively. Smaller houses such as that of Gwangwava-Musarurwa did not get seriously involved until after 1945.

A more important factor in the 1920s was religion. In Nemakonde's territory, far to the north-west of the upper Save, the Goronga cult had become powerful by at least the last half of the nineteenth century, and in the 1920s there was a particularly influential medium of the Goronga spirit— so influential that at the time he was thought to be closely linked to, if not identical with, the Chaminuka spirit. Rulers over a wide area annually sent representatives to Goronga for rain. The main representative of the upper Save Rozvi at these ceremonies was the Mavudzi, from Chiduku's area.[14]

iii The 1929-30 Rozvi revival and the Rukara history

Like most other Shona groups, the Rozvi had their internal rivalries, such as that between the Jiri and Gumunyu factions, but they also tried to revive the old supreme title under colonial rule. It was against this background that M.V.J. Rukara wrote his history of the Rozvi.

By 1929 the idea of the revival of the title of *Mambo* of the Rozvi was in the air. A ceremonial *tsvimbo* stick was sent from Goronga to Mavudzi, presumably for use in an installation ceremony, but there was no agreement as to whom should be appointed. The Gumunyu house in Bikita was interested, and surprisingly it got some support from the rival Mutinhima house in the area of Chingombe. Also interested was Mcheri, leader of a small Rozvi group in Lomagundi. But at this time it was the Goronga medium who called the tune — indeed, it was hinted that the sudden death of Mandu in Buhera in 1907/08 had been retribution for his failure to consult the Goronga. In 1930 Mcheri approached the Goronga for support, but failed to get it. He then wrote to Chiduku, Mavudzi, Mbavha, and Chingombe for support but, although Chiduku and Mavudzi sent representatives to meet Mcheri as well as to attend the annual Goronga ceremonies in November, 1930, Mcheri failed to enlist their support. Indeed, in April of 1931 Jiri, Mbavha, and Chiduku made contact to oppose any Mambo from outside 'Mashonaland', by whom they apparently meant Mcheri. Meanwhile the Goronga himself began to make moves towards the appointment of a Mambo, but the whole process was brought to a halt by the death of the Mavudzi, and it was not clear whom Goronga would have chosen.

Apart from frightening *chimurenga*-obsessed officials, this episode was remarkable mainly for bringing the idea of reviving the *uMambo* among groups outside Buhera, and for the considerable lobbying that went on. Lobbying could obviously lead to the contamination of traditions, but this was of no concern to minor Rozvi leaders like Mcheri and his successors, who saw in their recognition as Mambo by the Rozvi the possibility of a government subsidy, if not an actual grant of land, and the chance to make money by installing other Shona rulers — as Foto Deka of the upper Save was already doing.[15] There was a short-lived suggestion by Jiri in 1934 that the Mambo title be revived, but this was not in fact a serious movement, but rather an attempt by Jiri to get rid of Namenesu, the last of his father's brothers, and a potential threat to his position, by getting him to take up the vacancy left by Chingombe Mudavanhu of Buhera, who had died in that year. Nor was an attempt to revive the Mutinhima title for this purpose successful.[16]

These episodes of the 1930s had not left, as far as is known, any written histories, but in the 1940s the Gumunyu house began to remedy this in its struggle against Jiri. The chief Gumunyu historian was the aforementioned M.V.J. Rukara, and his researches, which began in the 1930s, have had a considerable effect on Rozvi traditions. Born in c.1910, Rukara grew up with a strong sense of Rozvi history — indeed, one old relative of his claimed actually to have seen the skinning of the last great Mambo, which was just possible, though it was contradicted by earlier sources. In the 1930s he taught and studied at various Dutch Reformed Church schools, but in 1940/42 he worked at Messina in the Transvaal and while there visited the Venda rulers Mphephu and Tshivhase and heard their traditions, as well as accounts of Mapungubwe, which had recently been excavated by Fouche and Gardiner. In 1942 Rukara worked as a clerk at the Bikita office for two months, and then returned to teaching until 1954 when he began farming. Rukara's history did not reach officialdom until the early 1960s but it is certain he had begun it before 1950, for an interview in that year showed many characteristic Rukara touches.[17] Rukara-influenced histories were common in the 1950s and early in the 1960s, but it is not clear how far the differences between them represented changes in Rukara's thinking or independent versions arrived at by other members of Gumunyu house, such as Mukavise or Misi Gumunyu. (See Figure 86).[18]

The Rukara histories began in the south, but the point of origin varied. All of them mentioned Giri, which was either a land or a mountain and which was variously located in Natal, near the Umzimkhulu, or in the Transvaal, where Johannesburg now is. Most versions, however, mentioned an earlier starting point, Samangai or Samanwai, which in one account was 'near Cape Town, near India' and in others 'in the land of Niniva(h)'. In one version the Rozvi crossed the sea in boats and in another the sea was miraculously made to dry up to let the people walk over. This combined some traditional and some quite new elements in Shona traditional history. Crossing of great waters, either in the ordinary fashion or dry-shod by way of a miracle, was common in *mhiri kwegungwa* traditions, though so far no one had been ambitious enough to dry up the entire Indian Ocean. The reference to Nineveh remains unexplained, but Samangai or 'Camanhaya' was first recorded as a Mutapa capital in 1512.[19] The Nineveh reference may have come from the powerful Zion City Church in Bikita, though its leader, Bishop Mutendi, was a firm Jiri supporter.[20]

From Giri, the migration led to the Venda country and to Mapungubwe — built by hired Arabs in one account — and then over the Limpopo. At this point there was a split in the migration. The house led by Munhumutapa Chingwango moved east up the coast, past Bwanye and Beira to the Mount Darwin area, while the Chirimunhava house took to the south-west and began to build stone cities there — in the Matobos, at Kame, and at Great Zimbabwe. The details varied, but the main point of these Gumunyu traditions was to show that whether the first Munhumutapa was an elder brother succeeded by his younger brother Chirimunhava, or a 'priest' or servant whose presumptions to independence had been properly put down, the Munhumutapa lineage was junior to that of the Changamire. This might have referred to the actual situation in the eighteenth century, but it also reflected Gumunyu views of the Mujuru house's pretensions to a combined Munhumutapa-Changamire title that it was claiming in the mid-1950s, as we will see later.

It is difficult to say why Rukara chose a southern origin for the Rozvi, when all the earlier traditions had stipulated the north-east. It might have been due to the fact that, even within the Karanga-speaking area, *kuchamhembe* can mean either north or south.[21] Or it might have been that Rukara, while putting the Venda ruler Sororezhou at the head of his genealogy, had not realized that in Venda tradition the Rozvi ancestors of the Singo came from the north and therefore thought that if the Venda lay south of the Shona area, then the great migration must have come from the south. Or, finally, it might have come from a vague idea that a southern migration conferred prestige, since the powerful Nguni had come from the south.[22]

The Rukara history of the Changamire state and its fall to the Nguni after several successful defensive battles was not very different from those that had been collected before, except that for obvious reasons there was a deliberate denigration of the Mutinhima-Jiri and Washaya houses. The Mutinhima house was said to have been excluded from the Changamire succession and to have deserted the Rozvi in the battles against the Nguni, while the Washaya house (which, as we will see, was also aiming at the *uMambo* as a recognized government title in the 1950s) was said to have tried to betray the Gumunyu leader to Mzilikazi. The failure of the Gumunyu house to secure recognition from the late 1890s and later was explained by a tradition that Gumunyu had sent Jiri to the Native Commissioner as a messenger and that he had passed himself off as the real leader and had thus got recognition of his own house.[23] To sum up, Rukara's history started with a genuine attempt by an African historian to provide a traditional history of the Shona, but it developed into a device intended to ensure the supremacy of Gumunyu over Jiri in Bikita.

iv Mujuru Chiminya and Noah Washaya

The attempt of two workers to become the 'Mambo' of the Rozvi in the 1950s and 1960s was a bizarre episode. At a time when nationalism was growing, Mujuru Chiminya and Noah Washaya were looking back to a monarchy of over a century before. The effect of their movement on oral traditions is still unknown.

Before going on it is necessary to look at other developments in the 1950s and 1960s in connection with the possible revival of the Mambo or Changamire title. These involved the Mujuru and Washaya houses. Mujuru Chiminya was the grandson of Mazivisa, a brother of the Chingombe who was appointed Mambo in 1896. His house lived in Buhera, and he seems to have been a literate migrant labourer, though his own account gives little detail about his life. According to this account, Mujuru was regularly visited in dreams by the spirit of Mambo, his ancestor, who informed him that he was to become Mambo over all the Rozvi. This happened in 1940, 1943, 1948, and again in 1950, on which occasion he was told to go to Umtali and fell sick when he refused.[24] He stayed in Bocha until 1955, and then the spirit of Mambo came again, advising him that the time had finally come, and anointing him with oil in confirmation of this.[25]

1955 was a good time for the spirit of Mambo to speak, for not only was Chandafira, the ruling descendant of Chingombe, dying, but his title — no longer officially 'Mambo' but simply 'Chingombe' — had been reduced to a Headmanship and placed under Chief Nyashanu the muHera, once a tributary of the Rozvi, in the great 1951 demotion exercise.[26]

Mujuru, however, was not seeking merely to take over the Chingombe Headmanship (which, strictly speaking, he could not do, for he was not descended from Chingombe) but to restore the title of Mambo of all the Rozvi. Moreover, this was not just the Mambo title, but that of Mambo Munhumutapa! By the 1950s, the title of Munhumutapa was well known, but this was the first time that anyone in a Rozvi title dispute had tried to adopt the term. We do not know the full details of Mujuru's version of Rozvi history, but we do know from the Rusape Rozvi that the Mambo spirit's summons to the *uMambo* in 1955 was not quite as unexpected as Mujuru made it sound, and that in the previous few years he had read many books and travelled widely to meet many Rozvi groups.[27] What Mujuru did come up with, however, was a genealogy over nine generations, starting with Mambo Munhumutapa Rodia Musasa, ruler at Zimbabwe, father of Kesarinuti from Mount Darwin, father of Nechasike (alias Domborakona alias Chimwangu alias Timura alias Chakavengano), father of four known sons and others: Basvi alias Rupandamananga alias Rupengo, Ndhlembewu, Tongwa, and Gumboremvura. From Dyembewu came Gumunyu, father of Mutinhima, father of Jiri, Gobo, Mazivisa and others (see Figure 87).[28]

The Mujuru history had some interesting features. Apart from the link with Munhumutapa, which automatically linked the Rozvi with an even older and more famous dynasty, there was the previously unheard-of Rodia Musasa. Mujuru apparently thought that this was a praise-name indicating 'the universal taker or absorber', the first word possibly coming from *kuroda*, to cram or to stuff. We will probably never know the origin of this, but it might be mentioned that Rodia Chemical Industries was next to Msasa Siding on the railway east of Salisbury! Kesarinuti was also unknown, but Mujuru had picked up many of the names of Rozvi rulers found in the earlier accounts in much the same order: Nechasike-Dombo, Rupandamananga, and Gumboremvura. His placing of Gumunyu as senior to Mutinhima was odd for a Mutinhima man, but possibly politic if he was to get support from the reviving Gumunyu house, as well as the rest of the Rozvi.

Mujuru's campaign to get recognition from the Rozvi and from the colonial government faced many obstacles. To begin with, Chandafira's brother, Tabvemiri, could reasonably expect to succeed to the Chingombe title. Moreover, there was another house descended from Mutinhima named Gobo. And in the Que Que district the Malisa dynasty of Rozvi, now Ndebele-speaking and associated with the Mambo Murozvi Society, was also in the running. Mujuru carried out a great deal of lobbying, and was remarkably successful for someone rising out of comparative obscurity; it is possible, as noted above, that he had become a *svikiro* for a Mambo spirit. Mujuru tried to get the support of Jiri of Bikita, but failed to get any assistance either in person or through representatives.[29]

Mujuru did better in the districts east of the Save. In Wedza and Rusape he got enough interest from Rozani and Chiduku for them to visit Chiminya village in July, and he also got the support of the newly-succeeded Mavudzi, who became one of his strongest allies. Svosve of Wedza, Mponda of Umtali, Mutema, Muwushu, and Kudyanga of Melsetter, and a number of smaller houses also expressed interest.[30] In each case the connection of these dynasties and houses with the Rozvi was stressed. Finally, and interestingly, although he initially faced opposition from the Que Que Rozvi of Chief Malisa, who were also aiming for the resurrection of the Mambo title for their own lineage, Mujuru seems to have managed to win them over. Thus in what seems to have been an almost remarkable combination of good management — most of the invitations to the ceremony came from Mujuru — and the strength of this and Mavudzi's personalities, the Chingombe house was overcome and Mujuru Chiminya was installed as Mambo Munhumutapa by Mavudzi on 18 October 1956.[31]

Once installed, Mujuru had to make the title something more than an empty show, and it was here that his plans broke down. The Native Affairs Department was even less willing than it had been in the 1930s to recognize a Mambo title, and for the same reasons: Chieftainship did not figure largely in a countryside that was supposed to be dominated by the Native Land Husbandry Act, with plots held under individual tenure. The main idea in the 1950s was to reduce the number of Chieftainships, not to increase them. Secondly, if the title had been accepted, there was no land to be allocated to back it up, for Mujuru was only a minor figure on Nyashanu's land. Thirdly, if his title were recognized as giving him pre-eminence over all the Rozvi — never mind all the Shona — it would offer unprecedented power to someone who had been a nobody a few years earlier, with considerable possibilities of influencing Chieftainships. If the government approved of any Africans gaining prominence at that time, it was of men like Jasper Savanhu and Lawrence Vambe.

To break through this wall of official opposition, Mujuru had to turn to the law, and this required money. According to the Rusape Rozvi, Mujuru had demanded that all Rozvi should now supply their Mambo Munhumutapa with a large house, a tarred road leading to his house, and a car and horse-drawn carriage to make royal tours possible.[32] It is not unlikely that Mujuru's loss of status began when these requirements were made known, but he did manage to get first to the High Court and then to the Supreme Court, but was turned down on the grounds that the *uMambo* was not a vacant title. His next move was to popularize his claims in the press and to find allies. He found a supporter in the ubiquitous Isaac Samuriwo, and a further facet to his claim in a recent discussion in the *African Weekly* on the origins of Great Zimbabwe. When he and Samuriwo announced a grand meeting of Rozvi to be held in August of 1957, to recreate the Empire of Mambo-Monomotapa by electing a Mambo — ominously, Samuriwo announced that he himself was a possible candidate — Mujuru publicized his case to the press. He dropped Mambos Rodia Musasa and Kesarinuti and stuck to Nechasike/Domborakona/Chimwangu/Timura/Chakaringeni as the builder of Great Zimbabwe, which was explained as a stone fence to keep elephants out.[33]

Meanwhile, in Buhera the Chingombe house was on the counter-attack against Mujuru. On 21 December 1956, Tabvemiri made the obvious preliminary move of getting himself elected (though not confirmed by government) as Headman Chingombe in succession to his dead brother Chandafira. The next move was to take back the title of Mambo from Mujuru. This was done by much the same methods as those which Mujuru had employed to get the title in the first place: lobbying, and organizing a meeting that was held in Buhera from 1 to 3 April 1958. The 'Mambo Murozvi' Society of Que Que had already abandoned Mujuru, pointedly — and rather ahead of the event — sending the NC Buhera a telegram congratulating him on appointing Tabvemiri as Mambo. Chiduku and the Mavudzi came, but their presence does not seem to have done Mujuru much good, for out of over 400 people present, 271 voted for Tabvemiri and only 46 for Mujuru.[34]

This meeting effectively ended Mujuru's chances of being recognized as Mambo by the Buhera Rozvi — though no one seemed to care whether he called himself Munhumutapa or not — and, although he protested, he began to fade from the picture.[35] His failure to capture a title that was not recognized by the government in the face of a much stronger claimant, Chingombe house, was not in the least surprising, but his brief rise to influence in Rozvi politics was. In any case his variations of Rozvi history had a considerable potential effect on those who met him during his lobbying journeys and at his meetings, or who read his many accounts in the newspapers.

A much more significant development of the 1950s and 1960s was that led by Noah Washaya. Washaya, a Post Office messenger at Que Que, had been secretary of Mujuru's movement, but before long he had converted the Mambo Murozvi Society of Que Que into a vehicle for his own candidacy.[36] He also wrote a brief history — borrowing Rodia Musasa and others from Mujuru — and a long genealogy of six houses into which practically every known Rozvi dynasty, as well as the Lozi of the upper Zambezi, were fitted one way or another (see Figure 88).[37]

Washaya seems to have had a considerably greater flair for politics than Mujuru. His lobbying was much more effective and widespread, and later he developed a knack for publicity and an understanding of a big issue of the time — land and how to acquire it.

Washaya began his campaign by holding a major meeting in Que Que Location on 28 February 1959. Unlike Mujuru, Washaya did not try to pack the gathering with his own supporters, but called in Rozani from Wedza, the leader of Mcheri house from Lomagundi, and Chingombe from Buhera as well as local Rozvi[38] Indeed, later in the year he got representatives of both Bikita factions, Mutema of Melsetter, and even Mujuru, as well as local Rozvi from the districts around Que Que.[39] Washaya obviously hoped that Chingombe, who had not yet been confirmed by the government, would eventually be given the title of 'Chingombe' and not 'Mambo' by the state (as in fact happened), but it was a shrewd move to invite him and the others from outside his own area.[40] But Washaya was even cleverer (in the short run) by calling in whites, H. Elsworth, the Federal MP and Brigadier Andrew Dunlop, a local farmer and later Rhodesian Front Minister. Dunlop, who became the 'historian of the tribe' and who later accompanied Washaya's group on a visit to get approval of Mwari at Matonjeni, had motives other than an interest in history. He told the government, though possibly not Washaya, that he hoped that the rise of the Mambo movement would divert popular African interest from the rise of the African National Congress. For this reason, he pushed the claim of the Mambo movement as hard as he could for the next five years.[41]

During the rest of 1959 further meetings were held. The approval of

Mwari was sought in vain, and quickly judged to be unnecessary. Mujuru tried in vain to get recognition from the Society, and on 31 October 1959, Noah Washaya was elected Mambo.[42] The result was disappointing: Dunlop was given the same discouraging response from the government that had followed the February meeting, for the same reasons that were indicated above in the case of Mujuru.[43] Washaya's response was to widen still further the area of his operations, though he still kept to a region with personal links — Charter District, where he had been born. A great feast for nearly 3000 people and twelve chiefs (if Washaya's secretary was correct) was held on 30 June 1960, at the Washaya village in Charter, and the Goronga of the time was said to have crowned Washaya as Mambo, though the Goronga did not confirm this when asked later.[44]

Still there was no government approval, and so Washaya tried a third tack, using land to build the power he lacked. In November 1960 a Washaya deputation went to Salisbury to get details of the land that rightfully belonged to the Rozvi. They were told that no land was to be forthcoming because the government did not recognize the Mambo title.[45] But there were other ways of getting land, through religion and education. By April 1961 both a Mambo Temple and a Mambo College were being planned.[46] The site was in Gokwe, at Chidoma hill, near Chidoma township, from where the leader of Mcheri house, weakened by illness, had been trying since 1958 to combat Washaya's claims by letters to the government.[47] Washaya brought in some vivid publicity at this stage, and actually got permission from the Historical Monuments Commission to hold a ceremony and sacrifice at Great Zimbabwe and to remove six stones from the ruins for foundation stones for his Temple and College.[48] A ceremony was held on 27 September 1961 at Chidoma, but it seemed that in fact the Temple and College were to be a cover for the acquisition of land. Not only Washaya supporters but land-hungry Gokwe people, awaiting the clearance of tsetse fly from the north of the district, attended the ceremony.[49]

The culmination of the Noah Washaya movement came at the beginning of July 1962, next to the College and half-completed Temple at Chidoma. About a thousand people were present, for the press had been primed well beforehand, and there had been heavy publicity. Chiefs Njerere of Gokwe, Wozhere and Lozani of Gatooma, and Murinye of Victoria were there; representatives were said to come from thirteen other communities; Isaac Samuriwo came in full regalia, perhaps expecting to be made Mambo (he was most upset by what followed); leaders of the Topia Church of Highfields and the American Apostle Church of Makwiro; Harvey Ward of *The Herald;* and the police. Noah Washaya appeared in even more dramatic regalia — leopard skins, fur hat, knives, knobkerry, flywhisk, and snuff bottle. Claiming to be possessed as *svikiro* of the Rozvi (but actually reading from a notebook) he set forth his claim to be Mambo. Services were held at the Temple, where the Old Testament was read and the Rozvi were said to be of Asian origin. Cattle were slaughtered and the livers offered to the Chiefs and police before they were roasted. An anti-Zimbabwe African Peoples Union speech was made, for Washaya was stressing his loyalty to the Queen and the government. And, on 1 July 1962, Noah Washaya was crowned Mambo Rodia Musasa.[50]

The anticlimax inevitably followed. Washaya went ahead with his ideas for an educational foundation, and planned to have five schools with hundreds of pupils from Sub A to Standard VI operating in 1963. But government attitudes towards him were hardening. In mid-1962 the United Federal Party Minister Herbert J. Quinton had thought of using the movement to counter the effect of ZAPU, but the old arguments against the revival of *uMambo* since the 1930s were as valid as ever from the government point of view, and so Quinton declined to recognize any Mambo.[51]

Washaya was encouraging other minor imitators. As far back as 1957, J.M. Duve, of Rhodesia Railways, Bulawayo, had put forward his claim to be Munhumutapa with a realm from the Cape to the Sahara.[52] Now in 1963 the Junhera group from Hartley district, the Tumbare house, and the Foto Deka house were all putting in their claims.[53] Thought was given to acting against Washaya for running unauthorized schools, and at the end of 1963 Dunlop was pointedly told to stop pushing the Washaya case.[54] Washaya finally vanished into obscurity.[55]

The Mujuru and Washaya movements were minor sideshows compared with the real issue of the day, the struggle between African nationalism and the colonial government, but they had some effect on the Rozvi histories collected in Bikita during the Jiri-Gumunyu dispute — note, for example, the denigration of Washaya house in the Gumunyu history — and the existence of these movements in Rozvi politics has received little attention.[56] Meanwhile in Bikita the Jiri-Gumunyu dispute rose to a climax in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Land pressures in Bikita were severe, and the presence of the Rozvi in Duma country, tolerated in the nineteenth century, was no longer welcome. The Jiri house had sorted out a disruption caused by a 'modernist' NC's promotion of a younger man in the early 1950s while his older uncles were still alive, and ranks were closed against the Gumunyu house's assault (see Figure 89).[57] The Gumunyu house was fortified by Rukara's histories and the support of the Duma, as well as by a passionate conviction of the justice of their cause. Neither house was interested in the *uMambo*. Jiri claimed that the spirits forbade his involvement in Washaya's meetings in Que Que, though he had no objection to Gumunyu running the risk.[58] The Gumunyu house took part, but had little enthusiasm for Washaya and stuck to the essentials — its own dominance in Bikita.[59]

The Jiri-Gumunyu dispute generated an enormous correspondence as the Native Affairs Department/Internal Affairs tried to sort out their conflicting claims, but the details need not concern us here. The Gumunyu position has already been explained, and it got good publicity from the Chief Delineation Officer, C.J.K. Latham, who was sufficiently impressed by them to advise that they be given a Chieftaincy in addition to that of Jiri, and his recapitulations of the Gumunyu history appeared throughout the 1970s to 1982.[60] Jiri, however, was well entrenched in actual power dating back to before 1890, and the Jiri Chieftainship retained its position. It did not, however, retain its land. In 1965 the Duma mounted a full-scale armed invasion of Rozvi territory and it became clear that the situation could not continue.In the end, both Rozvi groups emigrated to the new lands being opened up in Gokwe — Jiri as a full Chieftainship and Gumunyu as a Headmanship, but the latter under the Shangwe Chief Chireya, not its rival.

v Conclusion

The main points of this chapter are by now perfectly obvious in the context of independent Africa, but perhaps they need reiteration in the context of a newly-independent Zimbabwe. Firstly, African oral tradition does not consist of a pure stream of information flowing unhindered from the past to the present, waiting to be tapped by academics. The history of the great Changamire state of the eighteenth century has been affected by struggles since that century. Among the most important of these were the split between the main Rozvi dynasty and the Mutinhima house, the search for refuge and land in the post-*mfecane* years, the attempts by the Rozvi houses to adapt to the imposition of colonial rule, the efforts of

Rozvi historians to collect their history, and the Rozvi revival movements. In light of this, anyone researching the history of the eighteenth century Rozvi in Gokwe will be facing severely modified traditions.

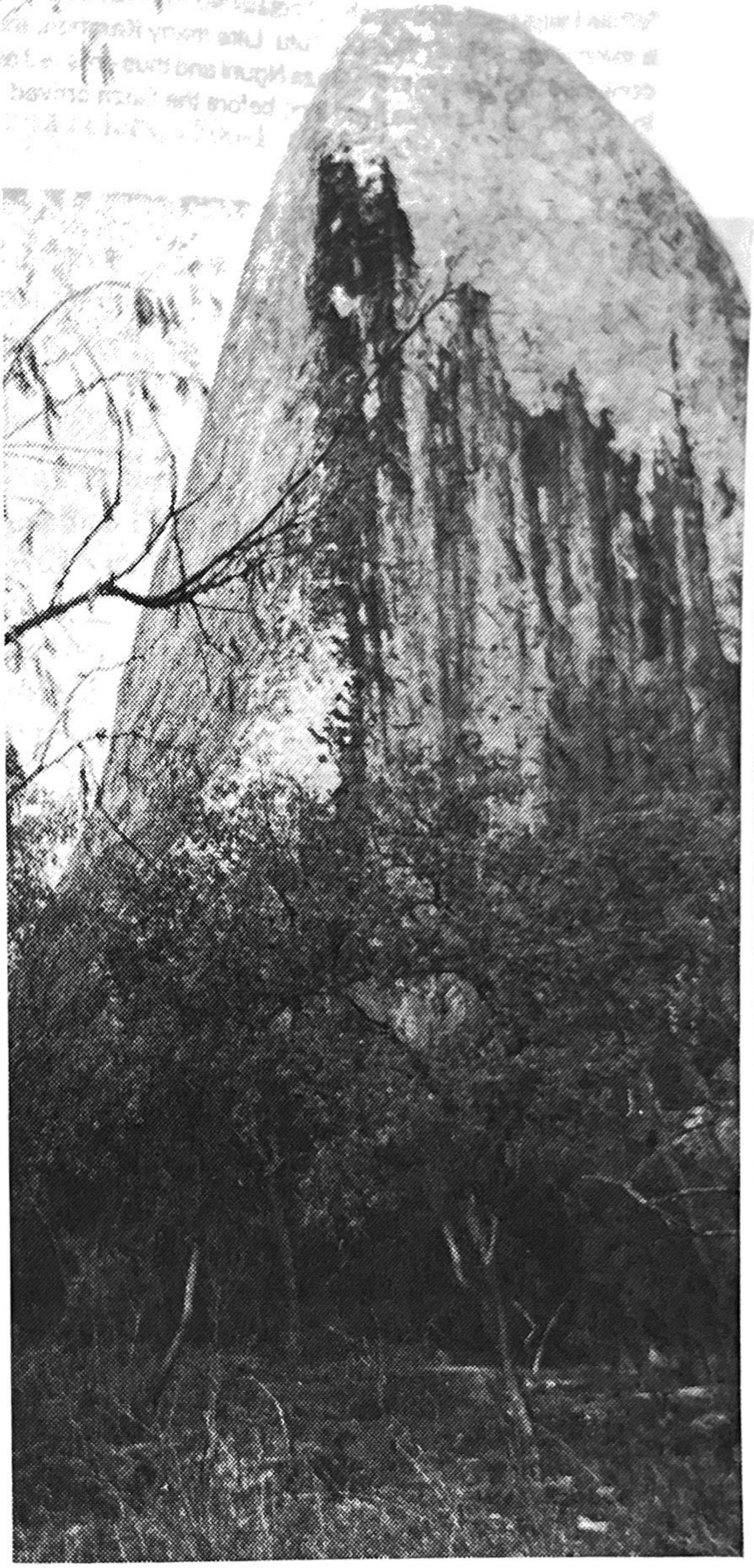
It should be no less obvious that it is essential that the researcher consult all available archival sources and even the columns of local newspapers before beginning to collect traditions, not only for the Shona but elsewhere. 'Chieftainship' in colonial Rhodesia both preserved and perverted tradition. The traditional evidence on the Changamire Rozvi is exceptionally confused, but few Shona — and probably few African — traditions have not been subjected to the kinds of change illustrated here, though often on a lesser scale. Only from the colonial records can one see that genealogies and histories changed — and it is often possible to see just how and why they did so.

The position of historians such as Marwodzi and Rukara, who worked in isolation even from the few white antiquarians of their day, let alone from trained historians, and who lacked access to the sources they needed, was one of tragic waste. If there had been an educational system under colonial rule that would have harnessed the energies of the Rukaras and Marwodzis, and given them the help they needed, Zimbabwean history would be much further advanced than it is today. The local historians are still with us today and it is to be hoped the opportunities will not once again be denied them.

The politics of the formerly independent dynasties of the nineteenth century may have been perverted by their adaptation to and subjection by colonial rule, but in the absence of authentic political movements they meant a great deal to the people associated with them. It may seem ironic that the great Changamire dynasty should have been reduced from being the greatest power in Zimbabwe before the 1830s to the remnants of the 1950s and 1960s, but of course this decline was taken very seriously by those who took part. The Gumunyu, Mujuru and Washaya factions took their politics in great earnest. Indeed, since Independence, despite the great changes taking place, the interest in Chieftainships has not died even when many of their old functions no longer remain. Factions still argue keenly for the right of their house to a particular Chieftainship, and government ministers still have to contend with their claims.[61] At present, Chiefs are being issued a new version of the colonial brass gorget on a chain. This time it is the new Zimbabwean coat of arms that includes the red star and the AK47 automatic rifle.

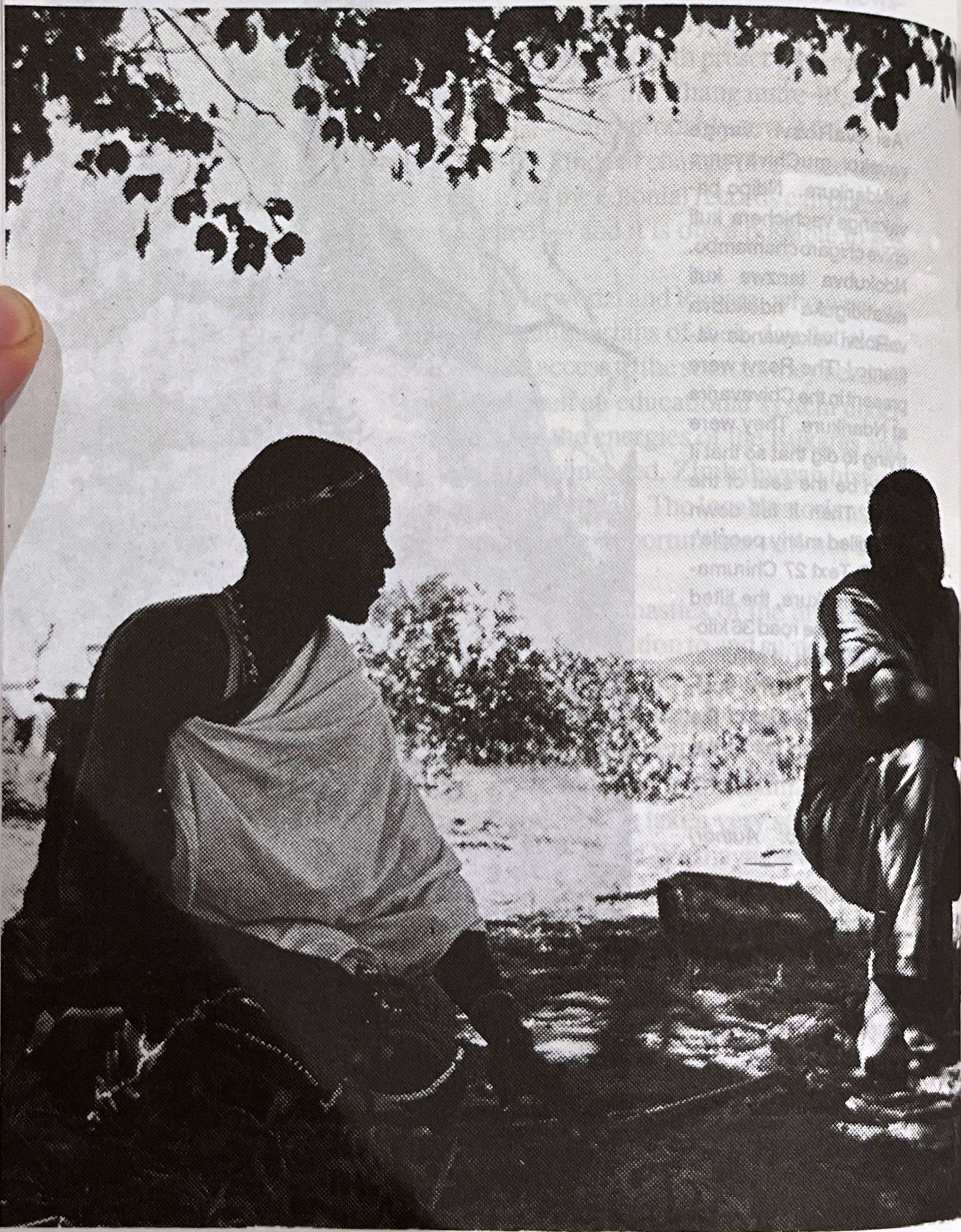
'Asi vaRozvi vange vaveko muChivavarira pakuNdarikure. Ndipo pavakange vachichera kuti chive chigaro chamambo. Ndokubva tanzwa kuti rakatidiguka ndokubva vaRozvi vakawanda vafiramo,' 'The Rozvi were present in the Chivavarira at Ndarikure. They were trying to dig that so that it could be the seat of the chief. Then it fell down and killed many people': UZHD Text 27 Chirumanzu. Ndarikure, the tilted rock near the road 36 kilometres south of Mvuma, is one of many such places connected to the legend of the fall of the Changamire state in the 1830s.

(Photo: Author)



'Nxa malanga ngilus' inkomo, ngivuke kuseniseni, ngiya hamba kulus' inkomo, ngiyasebenzi kubuyisizulu. Wona nduna kade kabayazi lutho kuthi ngiyenzani pakhati egangeni,' 'While I was herding the cattle, I could make rain there and people did not know that I was a rainmaker': UZHD Text 90 Gutu. Like many Karanga, the medium of Karivara in 1973 confused the Ndau with the Gaza Nguni and thus dressed and spoke as an Nguni woman. In fact the real Karivara lived long before the Gaza arrived.

(Photo: Author)



CHAPTER 6

The Changing Traditions of the Mutapa Dynasty

i Documents on Mutapa rulers, 1506-1763

The first task in a study of the oral traditions about the Mutapa dynasty is to find out what the Portuguese were recording at the time. In this section we go through the documentary references to Mutapa rulers between 1506 and 1753 to see who was actually ruling from year to year.

In the previous four chapters we have looked at dynasties which can rarely be dated much earlier than 1700, and whose rulers are known to us only through traditions. This is mainly because they lay well outside the region covered by Portuguese documents, though, in the cases of the Changamire Rozvi and the Ngezi dynasty of Rimuka, the documents do at least confirm the existence of these polities at dates slightly earlier than might have been deduced from traditions alone. However, one might at least expect that those Shona dynasties lying closer to the Portuguese centres in the north and east would be well covered by documents as well as traditions. In fact, this is not necessarily so: the territories of Manyika, Teve and Barwe date back to at least the early sixteenth century, but documentary evidence about their rulers' names only begins to become frequent in the eighteenth century.[1] This is probably due to the rather unintellectual nature of the Portuguese community of the Zambezi, compared with their compatriots in Angola and Kongo, which in turn is an indication of the lack of importance of the Zambezi in the Portuguese world.[2]

Nevertheless, one might expect the famous Mutapa dynasty to be an exception to this rule, and to a certain extent it is. However, the reader is warned that the beautifully interlocked pattern of documents and oral traditions that was generally accepted from the late 1950s to the mid 1970s turns out on closer examination to consist of a number of elements that only occasionally join up. To show how this came about, we will have to look at collections of oral traditions made in 1763, 1862, 1958 and more recently, but first it is best to see just what the documents said about the internal history of the Mutapa dynasty as it took place.

The first document recording the internal affairs of the Mutapas is the famous letter of Diogo de Alcáçova of 1506[3] According to this, in about 1490 a ruler of the Mutapa state named 'Mocomba', growing suspicious of his favourite named 'Changamir', provoked the latter into revolt. 'Changamir' killed 'Mocomba' and all of his twenty-two sons, except one named 'Queçarymgo', and ruled the state for four years before the latter managed to return to power. 'Queçarymgo' was still ruling in 1506, warring against the son of 'Changamir' and his relative 'Toloa'. This document, which has both informed and confused pre-colonial Zimbabwean history for nearly a century, is the first to give the personal names of anybody in the country in general, or in the Mutapa dynasty in particular. In the case of the Mutapa dynasty, it was also the last time a Mutapa was named in Shona for nearly a century. Thus although the Mutapa ruling in the 1560s was baptized as Sebastião, it will be shown below that all of the Shona names ascribed to him are misplaced borrowings.

The next ruler became Mutapa in about 1589,[4] and was known to the Portuguese as 'Gasse Lucere'.[5] After a tumultuous career he died in 1623,[6] and was succeeded by a son called 'Inhambo Caprasine'.[7] This Mutapa was confronted by a Portuguese-backed rival from 1629, though he continued to fight on until after 1652.[8] However, it was this rival, baptized Filipe and named 'Mavura' by the Portuguese, who gave rise to all later Mutapas and reigned from 1629 to 1652.[9] He was succeeded by his son, who was baptized as Domingos but was later referred to as João and 'Cicate'.[10] It seems most likely that his direct successor was the ruler known to the Portuguese as Afonso, and whose Shona name was given as 'Cupiça'. It is also most likely that Afonso succeeded Domingos/João in 1663, and lived until the early 1680s at least, *but* there was apparently another Mutapa ruling in 1679 by the name of Filipe. The whole question is fascinating, but best banished to the footnotes before it distracts us.[11] By the early 1690s a ruler with the clearly Shona name of 'Nhacunimbiri' was ruling the Mutapa state, until he was driven out in 1694 by a nephew known to the Portuguese as Pedro.[12] Pedro was succeeded in 1698 by his brother Manoel 'Chirimbe'.[13] By 1702, Manoel 'Chirimbe' had died, and João 'Dangurango' had succeeded, but it was apparently in that year that he was killed in a Changamire invasion. The Changamire was supporting a rival Mutapa named 'Samutumbu', and their extremely uneasy alliance lasted to the death of the former and, in yet another war with the Portuguese, the latter as well.[14] A period of apparent confusion followed.

A document of 1710 explained that 'Samutumbu' had been succeeded by 'Macombe', 'Gende' 1705-6, 'Punzaguto' 1706-7, 'Gupo' 1707-8 and 'Sacapio' 1708-9, the last three of whom each ruled for one year, before 'Inhapando' came to power. He was ruling in 1710,[15] and was still ruling in 1723, by which time he was also known as João.[16] Indeed, he was apparently still ruling in 1735, and by this time he was putting his mark to the name 'João o quinto'.[17] (This does not mean that there had been four previous rulers named João — indeed, only one predecessor seems to have been called that in his lifetime, 'Dangurango' — but rather that this last baptized Mutapa was honouring the Portuguese king of his day, João V, 1706-50. Unlike Kongo rulers, Mutapas were not 'numbered'.)

By this time — the middle third of the eighteenth century — the succession of Mutapas was to be covered in considerable detail by the account of Dionízio de Mello e Castro of 1763, which is discussed below, but it seems that few of these successions, some seven or eight in about twenty-five years, were recorded at the time. Mudenge notes that we do not even know for certain when João o quinto died after 1735, and the only other dates we seem to have are serious civil wars in 1743-44, and the murder of Mutapa 'Punzaguto' in 1760.[18] We can therefore leave the succession of rulers as recorded in contemporary documents and look at the first collection of Mutapa oral traditions and oral histories[19].

ii The traditions of 1763

We now look at the first collection of oral tradition and oral history from the Mutapa region, made in 1763. From this, it seems that the northern Shona thought that the Mutapa dynasty began after 1600, two centuries too late, and that even the 1700s were not clearly recalled.

Dionízio de Mello e Castro was the Captain-major of the Portuguese garrison at the Mutapa capital in the 1760s, and was well placed to collect information on Mutapa history. It is something of a commentary on the Portuguese of the Zambezi that no one had made a serious effort to do so before. The historical part of his work was borrowed by Antonio Pinto de Miranda three years later, and, as the latter corrected some of Mello e Castro's figures, this appears to be a case where plagiarism served a useful purpose.[20]

Mello e Castro's history starts with 'Nemapangere', who ruled as far as the sea as the 'first emperor of the Monomotapa', with five kings and over thirty chiefs under him. He was succeeded by his equally successful son 'Nemangoro' and the latter 'by his brothers, or relatives' 'Nebeza, Mucombe and Pandde'. The phrase 'brothers or relatives' opens up one of the major problems of Shona genealogies, for Shona kinship terms do not correspond exactly to Portuguese and English terms, and confusion is easy.[21] Nevertheless, with 'Pandde', described as a monogamous Christian, we appear to have a direct reference to the Pedro 'Pande' of 1694-8. Assuming that Mello e Castro and his informants were seriously trying to distinguish between a father-son succession, in the relationships given above, then apparently they thought that the Mutapa dynasty was founded only one generation before that living in the late seventeenth century! This, of course, was nonsense, but the discrepancy seems to have worried nobody.[22]

Mello e Castro went on after 'Pandde' with more 'brothers or relatives', 'Nhancunibire' and 'Nhenheze', the latter of whom learned Portuguese in Goa before returning to rule in a 'distinctive and meritorious way'. Actually, of course, Pedro 'Pandde' ruled after 'Nhancunibire', but as 'Nhenheze' apparently ruled between 'Pande' and 'Dangarango' he must have been Manoel 'Chirimbe'. Nobody during his lifetime said anything about the latter going to Goa, but in 1711 his nephew Fr. Constantino, who did go to Goa, referred to him as a 'guardian'. This, and the fact that the Portuguese considered making Constantino a Mutapa, may have led to the two being merged into one in Mello e Castro's account.[23]

Mello e Castro's account then stopped for a while trying to explain relationships and simply listed successive Mutapas: 'Dangarango', 'Deboe', 'Zinhemba', 'Boroma', 'Nhampando' and 'Cariza', the latter still being alive in exile in Marave (because he was blind) in 1763. If we compare the rulers here with those in the documents, we have 'Dangarango' who was killed in 1702 and 'Inhapando' of c.1710-1735, but no correspondence, except by guesswork, between the five or six intervening rulers of the documents and the three rulers of Mello e Castro's version. This, however, gets the 1763 traditions to the late 1730s and thus into what was then recent history. One problem was illustrated by the case of 'Cariza', who was first mentioned as succeeding to the title of 'Emperor' and then referred to as one who was excluded from the succession because of blindness, though this did not stop his son from making a come-back later: in other words, rulers named as succeeding may not in fact have ruled at all, they simply represented a temporarily unsuccessful faction.

'Inhapando' was thus 'succeeded' by 'Chicoca', 'Camboi', 'Deboe', the second son of 'Inhapando' (dated by Mudenge to the troubles of the 1743-44 period), 'Deboe's brother 'Punzaguto' who was killed in 1760, 'Punzaguto's brother 'Zindave', 'Zindave's brother 'Camota', 'Cariza's,' son 'Motaniqua' and, apparently, 'Camota's,' brother 'Zeze'. This string of rulers saw three out of five killed in three years, with neither 'Motaniqua' nor 'Zeze' successful in early 1763 when Mello e Castro was writing. Mello e Castro did not comment on the fact that there were two rulers named 'Deboe', though he seems to have distinguished between them, nor does he seem to have been aware of an earlier 'Punzaguto' Mutapa and an earlier 'Camota' rival to 'Inhapando'.[24] The temptation to start tracing relationships, and to put the names into 'correct' Shona has to be resisted until we have looked at the Mutapa traditions of later periods.

iii The traditions of 1862

Here, we look at the actual evidence from documents for Mutapa rulers between 1763 and 1862. We then examine the traditions collected in 1862 and find that the northern Shona still thought that the Mutapa dynasty began not long before 1700, and that they were now giving a very inaccurate and biased version of events before the 1760s. Mistakes made by the collector of these traditions made matters worse.

The documents on the Mutapa successions from 1763 to 1862 are largely unpublished, and are mainly known to us through the work of Mudenge, whose analysis is followed here.[25] The 'Zeze' — 'Motaniqua' struggle went on until 1766-7, but the latter never returned from Marave, traditional refuge of unsuccessful Mutapa rulers, so 'Zeze' has to be accounted the Mutapa of his day. 1767-68 saw 'Ganeabaze' rise to power against the opposition of 'Chiveve' and a son of either 'Deboe II' or 'Punzaguto' named 'Bangoma'.[26] However, it was one 'Changara' who drove 'Ganeabaze' into exile and ruled until at least 1776. The fighting between the two was so severe that by 1780 'Changara' had been forced into exile near Zumbo, while 'Ganeabaze' — in Barwe since 1776 — was apparently still there in 1780-1 and possibly up to his death in 1784. It would perhaps be more accurate to label the 1768-84 period as being one in which two Mutapas claimed power rather than to try to sub-divide it into reigns.

In c.1785 'Bangoma' 'Amutua' came to power, and ruled until 1794, being exiled by 'Changara', who then ruled until about 1804. 'Bangoma' then ruled again for a short time from 1804. He was then succeeded by 'Choofombo' the son of 'Changara' in 1806-7, but he may have briefly come to power for a third and last time in 1811. (Half a century later, it was claimed that one 'Utióra' ruled in c.1806, but on Mudenge's showing of the documents he was a powerful sub-ruler from 1784 to 1807 but never actually Mutapa.)

By 1810, 'Candie' was quarrelling with 'Chipute' for Chikova, and between 1821 and 1826 the former had graduated from being a 'prince' to being Mutapa, a position he held until he was ousted by 'Zéca,' in c.1830. By 1843, 'Cataruza' had replaced 'Zéca,' and ruled until 1867. However, another collection of traditions had been made by this time, which covered not only the events noted above, but which reached back to give us another version of the history covered by Mello e Castro in 1763.

Mello e Castro had had a reasonable amount of time in which to collect traditions about the Mutapa state. Albino Manoel Pacheco had nine days in camp and fifty-five days on the march in which to collect his data, but only two days in which to commit his impressions to paper in 1862. He was trying to give a complete picture of Chidima, not just a history of the Mutapas. His sources were 'people who knew them and as I saw them and selecting the most credible I shall not omit any detail'.[27] In short, Pacheco's history had various sources, and it is not surprising that it falls into four sections.

The first section deals with the foundation of the dynasty, and has some features in common with Mello e Castro's version of a century earlier, but many additions. 'Nemapangere' has been replaced by 'Mutota' '(of the family of the Changamira)' but the 'Nemangoro' and 'Nebesa' brothers of the Mello e Castro version are still there.[28] However, another brother, 'Samarêngo', and two sisters, 'Inhamita Nehanda' and 'Murexe', have joined them, and 'Nebeza' now has the additional names of 'Matópe' and

'Nhantégûé. In a saga well known to Zimbabwean history, 'Mutota' leads his family of hunters in search of salt, 'Matópe' gains power by committing incest with 'Nehanda' (but their son 'Inhacuma', born of incest, does not succeed to the title) and then conquers the lands as far as the Ruenya, and the family in due course become *mhondoro* spirits.[29] However, it is stressed that all this took place *after* the Portuguese were established at Tete, and that it was trade with them that provided another motive for the migration into the region in the first place.

The second section also confirms the impression given in the Mello e Castro version that the Mutapa dynasty thought it began in the seventeenth century: in an account that seeks to explain why the Mutapa dynasty was racked by civil war, it starts with 'Mucômbué', a 'nephew' of 'Matópe', and his two sons 'Inhampando' and 'Borôma'. Previous rulers with names like these were the 'Mocomba' of 1490, the 'Macombe' of c.1704-5, the 'Mucombe' mentioned by Mello e Castro in whose reign the Changamire founded the Rozvi; the historical 'Inhapando' of c.1710-35 and Mello e Castro's account; and the 'Boroma' who preceded 'Inhapando' in Mello e Castro.

It has previously been argued that the rise of the Changamire Rozvi to which Mello e Castro had linked the name of 'Mucombe' was that of the 1670s-1680s, and also that nobody actually referred to either 'Afonso' or 'Filipe' by that name at that time. Instead, the name 'Mucombe' was applied to the ruler(s) of that period in retrospect.[30] The same seems to have happened with 'Boroma': none of the six Mutapas who actually ruled between 'Dangurango' (1702) and 'Inhapando' (1710) were called 'Boroma' at that time, but by Mello e Castro's time these six had been reduced to three and one of them named 'Boroma', while by 1862 'Boroma' had become the equal of the historically important 'Inhapando'. The implications of this in practical politics will be discussed later.

Pacheco's second section explains that 'Boroma' and 'Inhapando' decided to rule jointly and to preserve peace by having only one son each. They quarrelled when 'Inhapando' cheated, and this explained why their houses ruled alternately. On 'Inhapando's' death, there followed 'Chisámpáro', the blind son of 'Boroma'; Chisámpáro's son 'Inhacusso'; and 'Pouzaguto' and 'Mutanécua or Nhagúro', neither of whose affiliation is mentioned. The account of their struggles included 'Chisámpáro's' brothers 'Gupo', 'Zeze' and 'Camota' and their 'cousin' or 'nephew' 'Mucuitico', all of whom got killed. (It is possible, in the context, that the last of these was 'Inhapando's' son.) A further detail that helps (?) date events is that it was 'Pouzaguto' who killed the Dima 'cannibals', a campaign mentioned by 1758.[31]

This second section is in fact covering the period from the 1700s to the 1760s, with a strong 'Boroma' bias. It reduces 'Inhapando's long reign of c.1710-35 to a few years, and simplifies the actual sequence of rulers given by Mello e Castro from the 1730s to 1760s by reducing them from nine to four. 'Chisámpáro the blind is fairly clearly Mello e Castro's 'Cariza', 'Pouzaguto' is 'Punzaguto' who was killed in 1760, and 'Mutanécua' or 'Nhagúro' is the 'Motaniqua' who was active c.1762-67 and whose absence in Marave is not mentioned. Those who were, according to Mello e Castro, sons of 'Inhapando', regardless of the relationship noted by Pacheco, get a bad press: 'Zeze' and 'Camota' are killed for rebelling against the blind son of 'Boroma', without gaining power, while 'Pouzaguto' who does become Mutapa is exceptionally treacherous, is himself a cannibal and comes to a sorrowful end. An odd note is the mention of 'Gupo', known previously only as an ephemeral ruler of the 1700s.

Pacheco's third and fourth sections cover the period c.1767-1862, with what appear to be an astonishing seventeen rulers in all. This does not fit the sequence given by Mudenge, who has one ruler reigning twice and another ruling three times, but has only eight actual rulers in this period. Granted that the records are thin in the first decades of the nineteenth century and that Mudenge has shown that rulers did return to power once or even twice, it is odd that at least three pairs of rulers share the same name.

To cut a long story short, it looks very much as though Pacheco got *two* accounts of the 1760s-1860s period and strung them together as though they were one. Thus he starts with 'Chicuéa', then 'Conhambazo' ('Ganeabaze', 1767-85), 'Changára' (1767-85, 1794-1804), 'Chitengo', 'Mutedue', 'Combué' and 'Candie'. This latter fought 'Utióra', who nearly won power, and went on to rule well and end in peace. The only 'Candie' so far known to us from the documents was the one operating from c.1810 to 1830. This ends Pacheco's third section, and the fourth begins by going back to 'Chicué' who ruled briefly and died young, the good *mambo* 'Changára' (1767-85, 1794-1804), 'Mutua or Bangômué' who contested the throne but never got it (1785-94, 1806, 1811), 'Utióra' who finally succeeded but died of old age a few days later. 'Choofombo'

(1806-7),[32] 'Inhamichêngué', 'Chicauza' and 'Chiminiambo' followed, and then 'Zéca' in whose time the Ngoni came (1830s), and finally 'Caturusa' who was ruling in the 1860s.

Clearly, these are two versions of the same period. It must be remembered that Pacheco got information from different people, had little time to consult his notes, and promised to omit no detail. These two sections have their biases: as Pacheco was representing the Portuguese government, 'Choofombo', the killer of Truão, was of course depicted as 'a prince with a character cruel to perversity and, besides, unruly as a true savage'. As at least some of Pacheco's sources showed a strong pro-'Boroma' and anti- 'Inhampando' bias in the second section, it is not surprising that 'the house of Inhampando is noted for its haughtiness accompanied by notable cowardice, and the house of Boroma by its more docile behaviour and stronger attachment to our friendship, although they are both the same in loose behaviour and both do their best to have the name of the nation effaced from the map of African nations', as Pacheco put it, mixing a 'Boroma' attempt to curry favour with his own prejudices. Indeed, if 'Ganeabaze' and 'Bangômué' were 'Inhapando' members (and 'Changara' was of 'Boroma') then it would explain why their role was played down so much.

Yet perhaps it is over-simplifying to look for the feud between the two great houses and no more. It is clear that Pacheco's informants were looking to the future when they pointed out that as the current Mutapa, 'Catúrusa', was of 'Inhampando' house therefore the next Mutapa should be 'Gire' of 'Boroma' house. This did not in the end take place, and the title went to 'Caturúsa's' son 'Candie II.'[33] In the same way, one does not have to take too seriously Pacheco's informants' two-house model. Granted that the long reign of 'Inhapando' from c. 1710 to after 1735 probably did create a great house, and that many of the rulers of the 1750s and 1760s were his sons, as Mello e Castro suggests, the 'Boroma' house might not have been all descended from the same man, but was instead an alliance of those opposed to 'Inhapando', using the name of an insignificant or fictitious Mutapa as their symbol. This would explain why names like 'Mucomboé' and 'Boroma' became more significant genealogically as time went on.[34] This being so, the 'Boroma' house might not have been entirely united even in talking to Pacheco: we can see a stress on the claims of the 'Utióra' house, which may reflect a subfaction trying to put its case.[35]

Obviously the Pacheco collection of traditions has its uses, but in many ways it tells us more about the way the Mutapas saw the past rather than what really happened. It is not surprising that it was less accurate on the pre-1763 period than Mello e Castro's version, but it is not very trustworthy on the 1763-1862 period either, and whereas some of the Mutapas named seem to have been real, others seem to have represented factions that never actually came to power. It is a pity, as Mudenge points out, that the first decades of nineteenth century Mutapa history are not well covered by documents, and a reliable tradition would be valuable.

iv Developments in research, 1862-1958

Between 1862 and 1958 a number of researchers worked on the documents and the 1862 oral tradition. The result was to get rulers mixed up, with names being shifted from one century to another.

Once more, it was about a century before any more oral traditions on Mutapa history were collected. This was mainly due to the fact that the Mutapa state of the nineteenth century was partitioned between Britain and Portugal in the 1890s. Most of it went to Moçambique, where the local Portuguese — unlike those of the Moçambique Company's area — showed little interest in collecting genealogies and oral traditions. The remnant that went to Southern Rhodesia comprised such Mutapa descendants as Chiweshe *nzou*, Chitsungo *nzou,* Kasekete and Muzarabanhi, and in due course files on these were built up by the Native Department. However, whereas the Portuguese remained well aware that the Mutapa dynasty had ruled near Tete up to the 1880s (or later, if one counts Chioko),[36] from the viewpoint of the Rhodesians in Salisbury the *nzou* Chiefdoms of the Chidima and Dande region were remote and obscure. Whereas Rhodesian writers like F.W.T. Posselt and Charles Bullock were aware that the Mutapa state had extended well into the colony, it never seems to have occurred to them that there were descendants of the Mutapas in the country who could be interviewed in the way that the Changamire Rozvi were. Donald Abraham's work of July and August 1958 was revolutionary in that it showed that there were in fact Mutapa oral traditions to be recorded.

In the meantime, however, the historical Mutapa state did attract attention from researchers using documents. G.M. Theal's enormous work of translation and publication of Portuguese documents in English did a lot to keep interest alive, though its faults lay in a bias towards the pre-1700 period and in the fact that it was incomplete, with many important documents left out. Among the amateur historians of the pre-1960 era there was a strong tendency to prefer published documents to manuscripts, and English or French translations to the Portuguese itself. Nevertheless, there was an early exception to this: the missionary Paul Schebesta did consult manuscripts in Lisbon in addition to those that had been published, and thus his article of 1926 mentioned the 'Motata' title in use in the mid-seventeenth century and the Mutapas 'Dangurango' and 'Samutambo' of the early 1700s.[37]

It was in this context that the early work of Sicard had some effect on Mutapa historiography. His 'Tentative chronological tables' of 1946[38] probably did more harm than good, for they gave dates and 'events' without a shred of evidence, and it is only from reading the footnotes to the following fifty-odd articles that Sicard wrote, that one can guess where he had found his 'evidence'. In most cases he was using the Theal collection, but he also had copies of Schebesta's work.[39] One can quibble about some of his dates and interpretations, but most of Sicard's 'Mutapa' characters are in approximately the right period. However, he made one very bad structural error which has affected Mutapa historiography to this day.

Sicard had a copy of a French version of Pacheco, and as we have seen Pacheco had the Mutapa state founded by 'Mutota' and his son 'Matópe', whose nephew 'Mucômbué' had in turn two sons, 'Inhampando' and 'Boroma', with 'Boroma' having a son, 'Chisamparo' who was blind. Unlike Pacheco, Sicard knew from the Theal collection of documents (especially that of Alcáçova of 1506) that the Mutapa dynasty pre-dated 1490, so he put his 'Mutota' back to c.1445-60 and converted Pacheco's 'Matópe' into a 'Mutapi Makati', thus merging Mutapa and Budya traditions, of c.1460-85. Naturally, he then found it easy to equate Pacheco's 'Mucómbué' with Alcáçova's 'Mocomba' and date him to c.1485-94. He then added Alcáçova's 'Changamir' and 'Queçarymgo', dating them to c.1494-1512. However, he was now faced with Pacheco's 'Inhapando' and 'Boroma'; clearly there was no room for them between 'Mocomba' and 'Queçarymgo', so they had to come afterwards, and he dated them to c.1530-57. Then, obviously, came Pacheco's 'Chisamparo', so Sicard gave him the dates c.1559-86 and identified him with the 'Sebastião' converted by Silveira in 1561, although one would have thought that the fact that 'Sebastião' was apparently not blind would have warned him that he was on the wrong track.

Sicard was followed in the lists by Stanford Smith.[39] He borrowed quite heavily from Sicard as far as Mutapas were concerned, but he probably also borrowed from H. Capelo and R. Ivens.[40] Thus he perpetuated Sicard's placing of 'Inhampando', 'Boroma' and 'Chissamparo' in the sixteenth century, also equating the latter with 'Sebastião'. In the year after Stanford Smith's publication, Abraham produced his seminal article on 'The Monomotapa dynasty'.[41] Abraham had not seen all of the documents — indeed, it may be that no one has — but he knew better than to put Pacheco's 'Inhampando' and 'Boroma' in the sixteenth century, and he pushed them back into the early eighteenth century from which they had originally come. Unfortunately he left 'Chissamparo' back in the 1560s where Sicard had put him, also leaving the 'Sebastião' connection. A year later, he seems to have realised his mistake, and removed the 'Chissamparo' name from that period,[42] but in many ways Abraham's 1959 genealogy was better known than that of 1960, and so from that day to this we have the 'Sebastião' of the documents being called 'Chisamharu' when in fact this linkage comes from an error made by Sicard in 1946!

While antiquarians like Sicard were playing with the Pacheco tradition and a selection of documents, history in the Mutapa state had not stood still since the 1860s. The main Mutapa dynasty had gone down in the Portuguese wars of conquest of the 1880s,[43] and as mentioned above it was only a part of the Mutapa territory that fell within the colony of Southern Rhodesia, We now turn to these Mutapa remnants.

v The guardians of tradition, 1904-1981

Meanwhile, back in the northern Shona region, the Kasekete group of dynasties was re-forming after political troubles. Native Department officers recorded the Kasekete view of the past. While they were doing this, a *svikiro* (spirit medium) of the Mutota *mhondoro* (ancestral spirit) was evolving his own version of the history. This was supposed to be a combined Mutapa-Kasekete tradition. The first part did not fit the documents, except in one or two cases, but the medium, Kupara, was probably drawing on names that were re-

membered by the Kasekete people. As they had not been near the Mutapa capital for a long time their memories were unlikely to be accurate.

When the Native Commissioner 'Wiri' Edwards, who ruled the Mrewa district, on what had been the southern frontier of the Mutapa state, for almost forty years, wrote: 'There may once have been a Kingdom of Monomotapa, but I hae ma doots,' he was reflecting the difference between the overblown legends of the Mutapa that had been current in Europe and the reality of the northern Zimbabwean plateau of his day.[44] In the same way, the first historical account in English of the Mutapa descendants south of the colonial border was short and ignorant of the Mutapa past, but nevertheless valuable. H.C.K. Fynn had served as Assistant NC in the North Mazoe or Darwin district from November 1901 to February 1902, and had been posted there after the disgrace of NC Raikes, thus serving again from October 1903 to January 1904.[45] At the end of his stay he wrote a short but interesting survey of the dynasties of his district.[46] In this he dealt with what he called the Chiweshe dynasty, which he described as the most important in the district, with 2 700 people, eight villages and five 'headmen' under the Chief. Apparently this dynasty had come from 'Gurubuskwa in Burozvi country (Victoria)' and their first ruler in the district had been Chiwawa, three or four generations back. Headmen included Chitengu, Muzarabanhi, Gunduza and Mukonowenzou, as well as the Mudzengerere group, of the same *nzou* totem, which had come from 'Baroswi' by way of Mutoko.

Fynn's account was sketchy, as he had only a short time in which to carry out research. He was able to locate only two old men — Matope *nguruve* and Nyawanza *nzou* — from whom he got much fuller histories than could be obtained for the other dynasties, Matope's genealogy running back for some twelve generations, whereas no other had more than five. His 'Gurubuskwa' was clearly no more than a vague reference to the south, for the term was also equated with the Charter district, some 160 kilometres closer. However, sixty-five years later Michael Bourdillon also found that whereas dynasties in the same region recalled 'Mutota' and 'Mukombwe' as overlords in the past, they did not have genealogies going back more than nine generations, and often far fewer.[47] Leaving aside the question of the time-span of traditions for a moment, however, it's important to note that Fynn had in fact identified an important point: the 'Chiweshe' *nzou* dynasty was not claiming any descent from the Mutapas.

As the twentieth century went on, genealogies and traditions began to be collected that made it fairly clear what the 'Chiweshe' *nzou* dynasty noted by Fynn had been.[48] There had been an *nzou* dynasty descended from Chihurinyanga, controlling what was by local standards a large area some 120 kilometres square, straddling both the Chidima-Dande border and the dramatic Zambezi escarpment between the plateau and the valley floor. The succession to this dynasty had run from Chihurinayanga to his son Kasekete to his grandson Chiwawa, collateral claims being ignored or brushed aside. Chiwawa, whose death-date can be given as around *1815±32, gave rise to four main houses — Chikuyo, Chingowo, Nyamushamba and Kavai. However, dynastic politics did not follow the same pattern that might have been expected. On the deaths of Chuzu and his apparently insignificant son Muzarabanhi,[49] there seems to have been no clearly accepted ruler. The houses began to become more independent, and — perhaps like the 'Boroma' house of Pacheco's account — certain of them began to form factions and invent relationships. This process was complicated by the coming of colonial rule and, eventually, the loss of land to white farmers in the south.

This led in time to the emergence of four groups. The houses of Chikuyo, Chingowo and Nyamushamba formed one, and from 1925 they adopted the ancestral name of Kasekete for their Chieftainship. A sub-house of Nyamushamba formed the separate Chitsungo Chieftaincy in the west, and the sub-houses of three of Chuzu's younger sons got together and formed a Headmanship named after Muzarabanhi. The Kavai house joined up with the Mudzengerere lineage as the Chiweshe Chieftainship, but it was downgraded to a Headmanship in the 1940s. Later on in the century, it was claimed that Chiweshe used his position on the plateau and closeness to the officials at Mount Darwin to gain an unfair advantage over the main Kasekete dynasty, which was seen as a lowveld unit, but in fact the position seems to have been more complex than this. As we have seen, the documents suggest a gradual emergence of both the Kasekete and Chiweshe groups out of a number of others, and a map shows the 'Kasekete' leader Chitengu being on the plateau in the 1900s[50]

Genealogies of these dynasties were collected from the 1920s onwards, but they had in common the fact that until the 1960s they began with Chihurinyanga, and apparently it could not be recalled who came before him. This gap was now to be filled by the spirit mediums, and especially one spirit medium. There is a considerable literature on the spirit mediums and ancestral cults of the northern Zimbabwean plateau and the Zambezi valley, written over thirty years,[51] while my own work during the last half of that period has occasionally affected the same ground.[52] What follows is an attempt to sum up the state of our knowledge of the *genealogical* side of the oral traditions offered by the mediums, using the work of the anthropologists and my own sources.

References to the mediums of ancestral spirits in the region are common in the Portuguese documents from the eighteenth century,[53] and Pacheco had noted 'Samarengo', 'Nemangoro', 'Inhamita Nehanda' and, especially, 'Matópe Inhatégue Nebeza', which last cult was then supreme in both Chidima and Dande, at least along the Zambezi route followed by the Portuguese. Pacheco neither confirmed nor denied any cult of 'Mutota', who in one context was seen as a Mutapa and in another as the father of the first Mutapa.[54]

References to mediums in Rhodesian Chidima and Dande during the conquest period of the 1890s and 1900s are not as common as might have been expected,[55] but apparently before 1900 a Hera immigrant from the upper Mazowe had become possessed by the spirit of 'Mutota' in the region. From 1919 to 1974 his grandson George Kupara was the medium of the same spirit.[56] Furthermore, by the 1950s the region was sub-divided into 'spirit provinces', each attached to one medium or spirit of one ancestor or another. By then, there were thirty-six provinces in Rhodesian Chidima-Dande, under thirty ancestral spirits.[57] Of these, 'Mutota', 'Nebedza', 'Nehanda', 'Nyahuma' and possibly 'Bangomwe' were also in the Portuguese documents.

Kupara, by the 1950s, had built up a considerable reputation in the very competitive business of spirit mediumship, at both the local and the national level. Nationally, his cult was competing with those of Chaminuka and Nehanda, locally he faced the rivalry of the Chiwawa medium of the local *nzou* dynasty of Kasekete and its relatives.[59] He had also built up a genealogical structure which included eighteen sons or daughters of 'Mutota' to Chihurinyanga, the acknowledged grandfather of Chiwawa. At least five of the children of 'Mutota' belonged to the heads of ancestral cults in other areas, and Garbett describes how Kupara would readily add them to his spirit's genealogy.[60] What the 'Mutota' genealogy was saying in effect was that George Kupara was the medium of a spirit that was senior to some of the most important ancestral cults in the country *and* was senior to the entire local hierarchy of spirits linked to the Kasekete-Chiweshe-Chitsungo-Muzarabanhi set of dynasties. *But* almost none of Kupara's Mutapa names were in the Portuguese sources.

Quite obviously, this raises the possibility that George Kupara dreamed up the whole of this 'T'-shaped structure and stuck it onto the pyramidal genealogy descending from Chihurinyanga.[61] If this was so, then the long genealogy used from Abraham onwards by historians and others is fundamentally wrong. As we will see, it has some very grave faults, and Abrahams's later alterations to it made it worse. However, 'Mutota', 'Samarengo', 'Nehanda' and 'Inhacuma' out of Kupara's genealogy were recorded by Pacheco, as well as 'Mucombwe' which might also be the 'Mucombe' of Mello e Castro, while 'Nebeza' was in both the 1862 and 1763 versions. In addition, Kupara spoke of two 'Mavura' figures, one 'Zezi' and one 'Kamota', thus giving us apparent links with 1629-52, 1762-57 and 1719-1760s respectively. In short, while Kupara was obviously not averse to invention, as when he took the Chikare spirit of Nyamweda into his 'family', [62] and whole portions of his genealogy are unchecked and uncheckable, there are a few links with a checkable past. Moreover, there seems to have been some measure of local acceptance of 'Mutota's position as ancestral to the Chihurinyanga-Kasekete-Chiwawa dynasty: if Kupara had been a complete charlatan, foisting a fake genealogy onto an unrelated community, one might have expected somebody to say so, but apparently no-one did.[63]

At this point, we need to remind ourselves about where we are in a territorial sense. The Portuguese documents covered in sections i-iv of this chapter dealt with events on the Zimbabwean plateau before c.1723, and with developments much closer to the Zambezi from Tete to Zumbo from then until the 1860s.[64] The Kasekete region was very much in the back blocks, and Kupara's claim that it had been the heart of the Mutapa state from the 1450s to c.1700, pointing out stone ruins and sacred trees to prove his point that everything of importance during this period had happened close to his home, is not just local pride at work: Kupara had only just been moved into the valley by the government when Abraham interviewed him, and he had a strong interest in reinforcing his position *vis-`a-vis* Chiwawa who had until then been supreme in that area.[65]

However, Kupara never claimed that the members of his 'Mutapa dynasty' in the Chihurinyanga-Kasekete-Chiwawa section had been of much importance after 1700 or thereabouts, and it was from then that he located the Mutapas in a series of plateau sites from the upper Mazowe towards the Tete area. Kupara had a keen interest in genealogy, but he was not physically in the place where the main action had been taking place in the past. His attempts to provide a genealogy of the Mutapas are rather like those of a Navarrese historian to tell the history of France and Spain: there may have been an ancestral connection, but the perspective is unlikely to be correct.

vi The contribution of Donald Abraham, 1958-1963

Donald Abraham's few works on Mutapa history had a tremendous effect, and his 'oral traditions' affect even the most recent works on the dynasty. Unfortunately they are extremely unreliable. Possibly because he did not think it wrong, he borrowed information from the documents and earlier writers and made it look as though this had come from his informants' oral traditions. One therefore has to try to decide, when reading his work, just which parts did come from his informants. Moreover, Abraham's later works borrow bits and pieces of oral tradition from other areas and tack them onto the original, leading to confusing and unexplained changes. In short, very little of Abraham's work is trustworthy.

In 1959 an article appeared in *NADA* that was probably the most influential ever produced on pre-colonial Zimbabwean history: Donald Abraham's 'The Monomotapa dynasty'. Indeed, it was so influential that it tended to overshadow Abraham's own additions and alterations to his basic genealogy that were made between 1959 and 1963 when he stopped publication. Thus we will be looking at Abraham's work as it developed in phases during this relatively short period.

a. The 1959 article

When Abraham started field work in July 1958 in the northern plateau and Dande-Chidima area, he had already published an article on the

Makoni dynasty of Maungwe,[66] and his widening interest in early Shona history can be traced in the references of Sicard through the 1950s.[67] He had carried out interviews in many areas other than Maungwe, and by 1958 he had read many of the Portuguese documents, especially the published ones, but also some in the original. Abraham was therefore the first person to carry out research before collecting traditions on the Mutapa dynasty, just as a modern researcher would do today. However, he was working in a much less academic field than that of his successors, the world of *NADA* rather than that of the University College in Salisbury, and the way in which he handled his research in 1958-59 simply would not be acceptable today.

Firstly, although he carried out a large number of interviews in three northern Rhodesian districts and the bordering parts of Moçambique in July and August 1958, he combined the results of all of these into one, in the form of a dialogue between himself, raising topics from a previously-prepared 'questionnaire', and all his informants, gathered together into an imaginary place at an imaginary time and speaking with a single voice. Matters mentioned in this 'interview' were then discussed in 'Annotations' consisting of Abraham's comments on the relationship between the 'oral tradition' and the other evidence, mostly documentary. Abraham promised that in the book he would be eventually publishing 'a full and critical evaluation of all material relating to the history and culture of the Monomotapa people, and in which it will be possible to quote all sources of information, both documentary and oral, at length'.[68]

Abraham probably did not realise at that stage just what would be involved in such a project: to carry out this promise would involve whole volumes of transcribed interviews and translated documents in addition to the evaluation itself. Nowadays, historians facing a similar problem transcribe the tapes of their interviews, number them, deposit them where they can be checked, and refer to them in the same way that they refer to the archival or published sources used. Abraham never did make his interview material available to other researchers. He revealed the names of some of his informants, but the researcher trying to go through his work has no absolute certainty of what each informant said at what time, and no idea of the exact way in which Abraham's questions were framed, which is one of the virtues of the tape recorder.

Secondly, the relationship between Abraham's informants' oral traditions and his reading of the documents was not always clear. Sometimes, Abraham indicated that a number of names given by informants did not appear in the documents that he had seen, or that a name in the documents was unknown to his informants. The corollary of this should have been that all the other names *were* supplied by the informants. I will be showing below that this may not have been the case, and that Abraham's record of the answer to his 'Questionnaire' was probably a combination of what he was actually told *and* his reading of the documents.

Thirdly, the article had in common with his earlier and later work a sense of absolute certainty. Granted that it was ostensibly the collective statement of all his informants, and thus naturally included myths like the opening and closing of a rock and did *not* include a self-critical element, nearly all of Abraham's comments tend towards the same certainty, and it is clear that Abraham was expecting and finding a very close correlation between traditional and documentary sources.

Fourthly, although Abraham later named such important informants as Chief Kasekete Hwete who helped with the first article, he made it clear that much of the information came from the medium of Mutota, George Kupara, discussed in the previous section. If one element of the articles was Abraham, with his knowledge of the documents, talking to Kupara, another was Kupara using Abraham to put forward his position to the world.

Before starting to analyse Abraham's 1959 article section by section, the reader should look at Figure 94, which shows how George Kupara and his associates usually presented the descendants of Mutota. Garbett's version is of course the fullest, because it represents Kupara's views as expressed over some years, whereas the four other lists were compiled on specific occasions, to show Mutota's seniority to the dynasties descended from Chihurinyanga. The differences in spelling are simply those of transcription from field notes, and the omissions of some versions need not be regarded as too serious, the general sequence being fairly consistent.

It has to be understood that, as medium of Mutota, Kupara had been giving 'performances' since 1919, and his entire living and credibility depended upon being reasonably consistent in the names and relationships of the family of Mutota as he presented it. He could adapt to the sudden appearance of a new 'relative', as he did when the Chikare medium appeared, but it obviously 'threw' him and required a certain amount of rationalization.[69] By the same token, if Kupara started giving a set of new names to a stranger that he did not give to anybody else, then an explanation is called for.

Again, before looking at the details of the 1959 article, the reader needs to know something of its nature. It is first and foremost a family history, naming wives, sons and daughters, their quarrels and their burial places. There is careful explanation of the totems and the differences between those of the Mutapa dynasty and those of their neighbours and more remote relatives. Totem changes are explained by a traditional device, of there being few people and therefore people of the same lineages changed their totems so that they could intermarry. Territorially, there are two scenes. One is that of the first two to three centuries, from Mutota to Mukombwe, in which practically every event takes place very close to the territory of the Kasekete dynasty. The other is that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the action moving to the plateau and then to various points east of Kasekete.

The tradition starts with the famous story of Mutota's journey from Guruuswa (depicted as the land south of the Mupfure, 'stretching right down southwards to the area of the present Bulawayo and Fort Victoria')[70]. No father of Mutota is given, but his wives and children are carefully detailed. Not surprisingly, of the sixteen named, eleven are in the standard Kupara list, while another has the same name as a figure usually three generations farther down and who is so placed in this article, as well.[71] There is the usual explanation of the way in which certain major dynasties had been associated with Mutota, either by descent or by political subjection in his 'lifetime'. It is also stated that the Changamire dynasty had started with a junior relative of Mutota, who had broken away to found his own state. The Pacheco account had vaguely mentioned a relationship. As has been shown elsewhere, *because* the Mutapa and Changamire dynasties had been so famous, Shona informants had assumed from the eighteenth century onwards that there must have been a relationship. However, these sources were never consistent.[72] We can accept, at least, that Kupara thought that there was some kind of kinship connection. However, a brother of Changamire named 'Torwa' was apparently also mentioned. This is very odd indeed: whereas the Torwa dynasty had been mentioned frequently from 1506 to 1696, the *only* case of it being mentioned after that was by a Rozvi informant speaking to an educated African priest in the 1920s, and that may have been the result of feed-back from books.[73] Certainly the possibility arises that it was Abraham who raised the name of Torwa from documents and that Kupara went along with this.

This problem recurs in the next generation: the sons of Matope are given as Kupara usually gave them, *but* 'Nyahuma' is given the additional name of 'Mukombero' which does not appear in any of the other lists of Kupara's descendants. The same thing appears in the following generation: Nyahuma's son Chikuyo, who turns up as usual in Kupara's lists, gets the extra name 'Chisamarengo', which happens also to be the name of a brother of Matope and Nehanda in both the Pacheco and the usual Kupara genealogy. For Abraham, this was vindication of his basic stance, that oral traditions accurately represented the past of nearly five hundred years ago: with 'Changamire', 'Torwa', 'Mukombero' and 'Chisamarengo' he had all four of the personal names in the Alcáçova document of 1506.

The snag was, that Kupara never normally mentioned Changamire, Torwa or 'Mukombero' at all, and he didn't put the name 'Chisamarengo' together with his usual 'Chikuyo'. Was it possible that Abraham had actually suggested the contents of the Alcáçova document to his informants?

With the next of the rulers in Kupara's usual list, Chivere, Abraham was unable to suggest any correlation with the documents, which is logical in view of their failure to mention any specific Mutapas by their Shona names between the early 1500s and the early 1600s (Abraham, however, got an extra name for Chivere, 'Nyasoro', which was not usually offered by Kupara. This at least kept the series of 'double' names going.)

Kupara's next ruler in the list was 'Negomo'. Naturally, he also turned up in the Abraham genealogy, but with the name 'Chisamharu' added. Here, again, this name was not normally offered by Kupara, but this time we know where Abraham got it. As we have seen, Sicard had mistakenly identified Pacheco's 'Chisamharu' with the Sebastião baptized by Silveira in 1561, by the device of taking Pacheco's short chronology and stretching it by two centuries to make it fit the documents. Abraham must have spotted that Pacheco's 'Boroma' and 'Inhampando' belonged in the early eighteenth century, but he did not feel like challenging Sicard's dating of 'Chisamharo' to the 1560s.[74] After Negomo, Abraham's genealogy added Gatsi Rusere and Nyambu Kapararidze, and here the suspicion that Abraham was passing off material from the documents as traditional history becomes near certainty: Kupara had never mentioned these two to anybody else, and each of their double names was in the documents. Indeed, practically no mention is made of these two in the 'tradition'.

With Abraham's next Mutapa, Mavura, things become a little more certain, but at this stage it is worth summing up the sequence so far. Essentially, unless Kupara was in possession of traditional evidence that he would only give to Abraham, or unless there were other sources of traditional history that filled the crucial gaps in Kupara's genealogy, there was in fact *no* correspondence between Kupara's sequence of six father-to-son successions and the Portuguese documents' references to the 1490-1629 period.

'Mavura' might be a simplified version of the common word *mamvura*, but it is not a common name.[75] It turned up twice in Kupara's usual genealogy, as a son of Matope and as a son of Negomo, and it was also used for a powerful son of Nyamapfeka — the Hurungwe equivalent of Mutota — who allocated land to a dynasty that we know to have been in existence by 1696.[76] Abraham's equation of Kupara's Mavura with the one who ruled from 1629 to 1652 is entirely understandable. The fact that neither Mello e Castro nor Pacheco mentioned him will be discussed below. Kupara usually gave 'Siti' as Mavura's son and successor. If the mass of family detail that Abraham recorded was uninfluenced by the documents, then 'Siti' might well have been the 'Cicate Domingos/João' of 1652-63, *but* no document of the time mentions his names 'Siti Kazurukumusapa', and nor do Mello e Castro or Pacheco.

Kupara usually mentioned 'Mukombwe' as Siti's brother and successor, and here we have a name remembered by half the dynasties of northern Zimbabwe as an overlord who allocated their land.[77] The problem is that the only contemporary references to a name *like* 'Mukombwe' are the Alcáçova reference to a 'Mocomba' killed about 1490, and the Guião reference to a 'Macombe' reigning briefly after 1704. Neither of these fits the 'Macombe' who preceded the Christian 'Pande' in Mello e Castro, nor the father who founded the two warring houses of 'Boroma' and 'Inhapando' in Pacheco. Abraham, arguing that the 'Nhacunibiri' of the 1690s was not recalled by informants and that this represented a Portuguese mishearing of 'Mukombwe', was in this case trying to get an exact correspondence between traditional and documentary names, but this was twisting the latter very far indeed. I suggested that 'Mukombwe' was a name applied in retrospect to a powerful ruler or series of rulers in the late seventeenth century, mainly to the Mutapa ruling from 1663 into the 1680s.[78] (Whether he was 'Afonso' or 'Filipe' depends, as we have seen, on just how one interprets the documents.)

At this point, however, the genealogies collected from Kupara by other researchers diverge from the Abraham version. This is because all the other researchers were working in the context of Kasekete history. Thus Kupara, when consulted, gave genealogies that followed the lineage that ran from Mukombwe to Chihurinyanga, Kasekete and Chiwawa and so to the cluster of dynasties that occupy the Dande today. No-one pretended that this represented the main Mutapa dynasty. This means, however, that we can only compare the Abraham genealogy with the documents and the Mello e Castro and Pacheco histories.

A point that is worth bearing in mind is that, because Abraham put his separate accounts together in the way he did, we cannot be sure whether his post-Mukombwe genealogy comes from Kupara himself, other unnamed informants or the documents at either first or second hand. It is not impossible that Kupara, as well as specialising in the Kasekete lineage, took an interest in other, parallel, lineages of the Mutapa dynasty: he was very interested indeed in lineages, and as the medium of Mutota he would have been expected to know something of the genealogy of other descendants of Mutota than the Kasekete branch.

Another point to be remembered is that at that time Abraham's knowledge of the documents was incomplete, and he in fact complained that the number of documents declined as the eighteenth century wore on, which Mudenge has shown is not the case. Did Abraham try to make his 'traditional' version of the post-Mukombwe period 'fit' the documents, as he fairly obviously did for the earlier period? It is possible that he did in the case of the four sons of Mukombwe whom he recorded, as we will see, but the eight Mutapas that followed them in his genealogy differed so widely from those already available to him from the documents he had seen, that in this case at least it is not possible to suggest that he tried very hard to make the one fit the other.

Abraham's post-Mukombwean genealogy started off with four ruling Mutapas, sons of Mukombwe, who ruled from 1696 to 1735: Nyamaende Mhande, 1696-1707, Nyenyedzi Zenda, 1707-11, Boroma Dangwarangwa 1711-19 and Samatambira Nyamhandu, 1719-35. 'Mhande/Pande' can be found in the contemporary documents and Mello e Castro: 'Zenda' equals the 'Gende' of the contemporary documents, if one allows a certain amount of latitude; 'Dangwarangwa' was known to Abraham from Sicard, probably Schebesta and perhaps the original, but although it must be tempting to look for a ruler of that period corresponding to the powerful 'Boroma' of Pacheco's version, the fact remains that Mello e Castro recorded them as separate people. Similarly, 'Samatambira' was in Sicard/Schebesta/Moraes but not any later source, and 'Nyamhandu' was in all major sources from 1710 onwards. However, the contemporary documents make it quite clear that there were ten rulers in this period, not four, and that Abrahams's dates and linkages between Boroma-Dangwarangwa and Samatambira-Nyamhandu are quite erroneous. The reader can choose between informants with traditions that had become jumbled, and Abraham trying to interpret them by using an incomplete set of documents.

The eight Mutapas that follow in Abraham's genealogy differ so much from the documents and the Mello e Castro and Pacheco genealogies, that they could very well be the work of someone like Kupara trying to research into lineages not familiar to him. 'Nyatsutsu' of 1735-40, 'Nyamhandu II Chirongamabwe' of 1785-90 and 'Nyasoro' of 1810-35 are not reflected in any other source.[79] 'Dehwe Mupunzagutu' of 1740-59 is a combination of two brothers in Mello e Castro; 'Chiwayo' of 1790-1810 could be the 'Chicuéa' of Pacheco, but there is no contemporary document naming him; Changara, Kataruza and Dzuda are all historical and so, in a way, was Gupo, who was named by Abraham as son of 'Samatambira Nyamhandu' and father of 'Nyamhandu II'. The post-Mukombwean genealogy of Abraham is wildly inaccurate. Whereas Mello e Castro can be used with caution for interpretations of the 1700-1763 period, and Pacheco with even greater caution for the 1700-1862 period, the circumstantial detail given by Abraham of the lives of the rulers of this period is of no value at all if the rulers he names are such a pale reflection of reality.

b. The 1960 paper

Between December 1958, when the 1959 article was published, and September 1960 when he presented his next paper on the Mutapa dynasty to the Leverhulme conference at the university in Salisbury, Abraham moved from the world of *NADA* to that of academic history. His paper on Mutapa history from 850 to 1589 was based on that of 1959, but with some significant differences. Firstly, Abraham tried to project back his history by six hundred years from his previous starting point of c.1450. Secondly, he provided very full footnotes, although they were often vague when it came to giving proper references for documents. Thirdly, what had been presented in traditional terms, such as the move to Dande in search of salt, is now discussed in terms of 'demographic pressure and an increase of cattle-holdings'.[80]

On the other hand, some things remained the same: there was still the tone of absolute certainty. A further feature was a tendency, revealed by the footnotes, to argue for major developments on very thin evidence or none at all. Thus Abraham's date of c.850 for the start of a proto-Shona migration from Lake Tanganyika is based on the argument that, since 'Perso-Arabs' had reached the East African coast by c.850, and Shona contains no Persian or Arab words, therefore the Shona must have left Lake Tanganyika at about that time![81] A detailed conversation between a Mutapa and a Portuguese is given on no evidence except 'deduction' that this is what they might have talked about![82]

Differences between the 1959 and the 1960 works, as far as Mutapa history was concerned, were numerous. Abraham cited George Kupara and Chief Makope Madomasi of Mazowe to the effect that the ancestors of Mutota had lived at Great Zimbabwe.[83] Makope was a well-known 'expert' on traditional history himself. As a ruler of Budya descent, living next to a Rozvi group on the edges of the Mutota medium's sphere of influence, he had already given a tradition that mixed up eighteenth century Rozvi, fifteenth century Mutapa and seventeenth century Budya history. A related house to Makope's had already claimed that the first Mutapa had been sent by Mwari to occupy Great Zimbabwe, after its occupants had died in a famine, so perhaps this new claim was understandable, but one would like to know why George Kupara had not mentioned this to Abraham in 1958.[84] Abraham also obtained (from Chief Makosa and the medium of Koswa in modern Rushinga) the name of Mutota's father, which Kupara had never given.[85] Abraham also changed his mind about the first Changamire, making him a son of Matope rather than a collateral relative of Mutota as in 1959. This change, not Abraham's last in this case, did not agree with what Kupara said about the dynasty in 1958 or to other researchers.[86]

Further differences arose from Abraham's further researches: coming across traditions about a Mutapa 'Munembire' in Mutoko and about a

'Munembire Neshangwe' in Moçambique, Abraham went back to George Kupara. He was told that this was the son of Karembera, the brother of Chikuyo, and a ruling Mutapa whom Kupara had forgotten to mention before.[87] 'Mutapa Neshangwe Munembire' was thus written into history and given the reign c.1530-1550, but Kupara seems not to have bothered to mention him again to anybody else. As I have suggested before, these names are really references to the lands ruled by Mutapas or to lands from which they were thought to have come. Abraham may not have appreciated the pressures put on Kupara as a senior medium to accept 'children' that he had 'forgotten'.[88]

Abraham then went on to base an entire campaign on the name 'Munembire', and to try to build the claims of the Mukomohasha dynasty into the structure. This led to the Mutapas Gatsi Rusere and Nyambu Kapararidze being shifted out of the direct Mutapa line where Abraham had put them in the 1959 article and into a separate house; the wars of the seventeenth century could then be explained by inter-house rivalry.[89] A final change was that Abraham quietly dropped using the name 'Chisamharu' for the 'Sebastião' Mutapa of 1560-89, but — most confusingly — added the name 'Mupunzagutu'.[90] Abraham's 1960 paper stopped at 1589.

c. The 1961-1963 articles

As I have shown elsewhere, Abraham's ideas as to the relationships between the major Shona states of Mutapa, Torwa and Changamire changed from year to year,[91] but his major alteration to his earlier work in the 1961-3 period was to replace Mutota's father (in the 1960 version) 'Chibatamatosi' by 'Chikurawadyembeu'. According to Abraham, this 'Chikurawadyembeu's' ancestry was as follows: a *soko/chirongo* or *soko/mbereka* dynasty led by NeMbire settled in the north of the Zimbabwean plateau in about 1325 and gave rise to a 'vast, all-embracing Karanga empire between Zambezi and Limpopo' which later developed into the Mutapa 'empire'. NeMbire's daughter Negupo married one Mutota Churuchamutapa, and their daughter Senwa or Nehanda had a son, by an unknown father, who was called Chikurawadyembeu, who was installed as the ruler at Great Zimbabwe. The Mutota who had previously figured in Mutapa traditions was probably his son.[92]

This development simultaneously pushed back Shona history by another century, and seemed to show that oral traditions corresponded to the archaeology, which at that time saw a new people arriving at and improving Great Zimbabwe. Unfortunately Abraham's only proof put forward for this exciting revelation was an interview with Muchatera, the medium of Chaminuka. Muchatera himself was a *soko* Mbire living in southern Rusape, where, as we saw in Chapter Three, refugee Rozvi had settled in the nineteenth century not far from the *soko* Svosve dynasty descended from NeMbire. These Rozvi, who had been at the heart of the 1929-30 Rozvi revival we noted in Chapter Five, had a tradition about one Chikurawadyembeu who was the result of a very Biblical virgin birth, *but* they made it clear that this figure was equivalent to the Changamire Dombo of the late seventeenth century. Moreover, Muchatera had already indicated to Michael Gelfand that in his view, the 'Mutota' whose daughter 'Senwa/Nehanda' had this child 'Chikurawadyembeu' *was* the Mutota who founded the Mutapa dynasty.[93]

What Muchatera was claiming was that his own *soko* clan was superior genealogically to the *nzou* Mutapas and the *moyo* Rozvi; that his Chaminuka spirit which, he told Gelfand, impregnated 'Senwa/Nehanda', was similarly superior; that his spirit was supreme at Great Zimbabwe *and* that consequently he, Muchatera, was far superior to the upstart George Kupara and his Mutota spirit! (It is true that Muchatera dated all these events to the nineteenth century, but this did not deter Abraham from pushing it back to the fourteenth.) It was a magnificent claim, but it had no foundation. It did, however, get into a number of schoolbooks.

Abraham's 1961-3 articles made a few changes to his 1959 Mutapa genealogy, which were dealt with by Alpers in 1966. Alpers noted what was almost certainly a typographical error on Changara's dates in the 1960 paper, and also noted a Mutapa 'Nyadenga', c.1699-1702, who had turned up without explanation in Abraham's 1963 article.[93a]

To conclude this section on Abraham's contribution, there is no doubt that he did much to draw the attention of scholars to the possibilities of Shona oral traditions, but his tendency to jump to conclusions based on inadequate evidence did not help advance the discipline.

vii Rebuilding the structure: the Mutapa dynasty reconsidered

It has taken five hundred years for Mutapa oral traditions to evolve from what actually happened to the versions given in this century. It is clear that the only period in which modern oral traditions tell us anything useful about the Mutapa dynasty is that of about 1629-1700. Prior to that, we have only very vague memories of the conquest of the north by the early Mutapas. After that, we can use the Mello e Castro and Pacheco traditions to try to interpret the events recorded by the documents, but it is on the documents that we must rely when in doubt. This does not invalidate oral traditions in general, but it does warn us that we cannot hope to obtain usable oral traditions from states like Changamire or Mutapa that were destroyed well before their traditions were collected.

One has to recall the excitement that Abraham's 1959 article provoked at the time. Whereas it had long been known that there were Portuguese documents on the dynasty, for the first time it seemed to be possible to write Mutapa history from 'the other side of the hill' from the Portuguese camp. This, and the fact that Abraham continued to promise the imminent publication of his whole history for the next three decades, tended to reduce the amount of criticism that the work received. The works on Mutapa history that followed were mostly more concerned to use the various pieces of evidence to produce a coherent picture than to examine the validity of the evidence, piece by piece. Mudenge, Randles and I all criticised Abraham's basic 1959 article, while using it at the same time, but we did not go far enough. Here, I have tried to separate the evidence into its component parts, so that we can discuss it, section by section. From this discussion we can then try to assess the entire body of traditions about the Mutapas, concentrating mainly on the genealogy. This can be done by posing questions.

a. Have we one or two Changamire rebellions against the Mutapa?

Alcáçova in 1506 recorded a 'Changamir' rising against a Mutapa 'Mocomba', killing him and reigning four years before being killed by his enemy's son 'Queçarymgo'. Two researchers, John Thornton and Malyn

Newitt, have suggested that this was an oral tradition about a much earlier event, perhaps at Great Zimbabwe.[94] As Alcáçova was specific that the events started in about 1490 and that 'Queçarymgo' was still alive, we do in fact seem to have a real event, but the question was worth raising. Mello e Castro stated that the great rising of the Changamire was in the time of 'Mucombe' whom he placed just before the Christian 'Pandde' of the 1690s. Was this in fact a reference to events two centuries earlier? For about fifteen years, Abraham's initial view of 1959-61 prevailed among historians, and it was assumed that the Changamire dynasty had successfully broken away from the Mutapas to found the 'Butua' state at Kame in the 1490s, extending their power north and east in the 1680s-1690s to drive out the Portuguese. Therefore, references to the rise of the Changamire dynasty that were current in the 1680s-1760s period actually referred to the 1400s.

Independently, Mudenge and I showed that, if this was so, one had to reconcile an almost complete absence of any reference to the Changamire dynasty from 1506 to 1685 and consistent references to a Torwa dynasty in the south-west from 1506 to 1683. With some detail differences, we tended to agree that there were *two* Changamire rebellions against the Mutapa, an unsuccessful one of the 1490s and a successful one of the 1680s.[95] If this was so, then Alcáçova's 'Mocomba' and Mello e Castro's 'Mucombe' were not the same individuals.

b. How do we account for the short 'chronologies' of Mello e Castro and Pacheco?

As we saw, the Mello e Castro genealogy (Figure 90) put the foundation of the Mutapa dynasty only two or three generations before the 1690s, and the Pacheco genealogy (Figure 91) at about the same, thus making the state begin about 1600. The simplest explanation would seem to be that the wars and dynasty changes of the seventeenth century destroyed the traditions about the past, except for the legend/myth of Mutota, and that Nemapangere/Mutota, Nemangoro, Nebeza are *either* symbolic of the whole pre-Mukombwean (pre-1660s-1690s) period, *or* they simply represent the founding of the state and the intervening period has been telescoped or edited out. The fact that Pacheco and, indeed, George Kupara a century later, noted a 'Samarengo/Chisamarengo' that looks a lot like Alcáçova's 'Queçarymgo' would tend to support the second alternative. (Chief Makope's history from the 1940s put 'Samarengo' into the place usually occupied by Matope.)[96] *But* if this is so. . . .

c. How did George Kupara come up with the 'lost generations'?

If by 1763 and 1862, there were only two or three generations older than 'Mukombwe' in the genealogies, where did George Kupara get seven? There are several possible answers. One is that Mello e Castro and Pacheco were not good researchers, and didn't enquire properly. Thus, there was a 'true' 'long chronology' that was remembered by the people and duly produced by Kupara when asked in the 1950s and 1960s. In support of that, Kupara *was* able to place a 'Mavura' (one of two he recalled) in exactly the right place before 'Mukombwe', thus pushing the tradition back to 1629. Against that, we have the suggestion by Lan that there were a lot of spirit province names around Kupara's area and that he made up his genealogy out of these.[97] Also against that, we have to ask why the Kasekete dynasty could not remember any earlier than Chihurinyanga until Kupara rose to power among them, if it was descended from Mutota.

I confess that at this stage of my work I cannot answer these questions. Basically, my opinion is as follows: I think that the Kasekete dynasty really is of the same *nzou-samanyanga* group as the Mutapas, perhaps connected to the historical Kamota house.[98] I think that the descendants of Chihurinyanga and especially Chiwawa had no interest in recalling earlier ancestors, but that memory of earlier ancestors did survive in the area. This was supported in a confused fashion by the shifting set of spirits and their provinces and backed by the legend of Mutota which reflected in a very distorted fashion the rise of the Mutapa state on the northern plateau. I thus can accept that Kupara's memory of Mavura is genuine even though Mello e Castro and Pacheco did not mention him. However, nobody else in Kupara's genealogy, from Negomo right back to Mutota, is linked to anyone historical — with the possible exception of 'Chisamarengu' who could well be Alcáçova's 'Queçarymgo' remembered out of sequence.

d. So what use is the Kupara/Abraham genealogy?

The eighteenth century, post-Mukombwe section is demonstrably useless and does not correspond to history as we know it from contemporary sources of Mello e Castro and Pacheco *except* that it does focus the action in the right area, the plateau and eastern Chidima.

The section from Mavura to Mukombwe is credible in outline, and it does partly fit what we know about the political geography of the time, because the Dande was sometimes used by the Mutapas of this period, *but* the amount of detail on the family relationships of the Mutapas of that time is suspicious: unless one believes that there really was a Mutota spirit passing on information from the past, then Kupara must have got his information from the common historical knowledge of the people of Dande, and I doubt very much that they remember the seventeenth century in that kind of detail. I suspect embellishment by Kupara or Abraham.

The pre-1589 period of the tradition, in my view, proves nothing more than the belief of the people of the Dande that they had a very long ancestry. I have already suggested that Kupara's claim that everything of importance in this period happened close to his home is at odds with what we know of the period from the documents. There are no clear correlations with documents,[99] and I find the detail of family relationships unconvincing, for the reasons given above. As for the legend of Mutota, Matope and Nehanda, and the march from Guruuswa, I remain convinced that the latter is a memory of gradual migrations over many years from one part of the plateau to another and not from the plateau to Dande as Lan has it,[100] and that the legends of the conquest tell us something about the early centuries of Mutapa history, but in *very* vague form.

e. So does all of this invalidate 'traditional' history?

Not really. Most of the traditional history written so far has been far more cautious than that of the Mutapas, and consequently it has far fewer pretensions to be exploded. I do not regard either my own or Mudenge's work as being the last word on the history of the Mutapas and the northern Zimbabwe plateau, and oral traditions and documents combined can be used to good effect, provided that they are treated with care. For such future work, I supply the following tentative genealogy, based on the documents and interpreted by a cautious use of Mello e Castro and Pacheco: see Figure 96.

We start with 'Mocomba' of c. 1490, killed by a Changamire who is fairly obviously not a blood relative, as nobody suggests this until three centuries later. The survival and come-back of his son 'Queçarymgo' (Chisamarengu?) in c. 1494 is dramatic but no less improbable than the returns of Octavius Caesar and Napoleon III. We then have to go on to Gatsi Rusere and his son Nyambu Kapararidze. Mavura Filipe, who fights the latter, is variously described as his 'brother' or 'uncle', and here we have to be cautious because of the differences between Portuguese and Shona terms.[101] Both Domingos 'Cicate' and the 'Filipe' of 1679 claimed to be sons of Mavura Filipe, while Afonso Cupiça claimed to be his brother.

From now on, to understand the reasoning behind the construction of the genealogy, we have to understand something of the dynamics of Shona politics, as seen in the second, third and fourth chapters of this book. Basically, we have two conflicting tendencies: firstly, the tendency of fathers to pass on power to their sons, and secondly the tendency of brothers of rulers to seek the title when the ruler dies. This can lead to a third tendency — of an uneasy 'rotation' of power between the houses — which does not stop the first two processes from going on. Thus, if we have a ruler who stays in power for a long time, he will have many sons. These will very probably combine against their father's brothers and *their* sons, but they will also fight each other for the title, until one of them achieves dominance. On his death, the whole process may repeat itself, especially if he has been in power long enough to have many adult sons when he dies. The losers may combine to form a semi-artificial house, but, unless they manage to get at least a share of power within a generation or two, they will fade into political and historical oblivion, and oral traditions will make it look as though primogeniture or filial succession applied.

The ten Mutapas who ruled from 1694 to 1709 look like a set of the sons of the Mutapa 'Mukombwe' who ruled from c. 1663–c. 1692,[102] with one of his brothers (Nyakunembire) opposing the first two sons who were in alliance. Of course, very likely some of these ten were from other lineages, but Mello e Castro's account does seem to suggest something like this. The winner was João o quinto Nyamhandu, who ruled for a quarter of a century and who started off the whole process again. He seems to have left six sons who fought each other in the late 1730s-late 1760s period and who fought the 'Boroma' house. As I have suggested, this was probably an 'artificial' house made up from some or all of the descendants of the 1694-1709 rulers, and as its descendants in the 1860s gave Changara a favourable mention he must have been a 'Boroma' man, which means that Chikoka and his son Ganyambadzi must have been 'Nyamhandu'. Karidza, Kambwe and Mutanyikwa were also probably 'Boroma'. Kataruza was 'Nyamhandu', so probably his predecessor Dzeka was 'Boroma', and 'Kandeya I' would have been 'Nyamhandu' too, though the rotating house system did not work as smoothly as that all the time. This excludes four of Mello e Castro's 1694-1709 Mutapas who were not actually mentioned at the time, and who are roughly equivalent to an actual seven short-lived rulers, and eight of Pacheco's who cannot be shown to have ruled. It also, as is clear, gives up Abraham's 1959 genealogy as a bad job.

It has taken rather a long time to arrive at this tentative genealogy, but in view of the fame of the Mutapas it is, in my view, worth it. It is true that we end up with rather less 'history' than we used to possess. We must take Nyatsimba Mutota, Nehanda Nebedza, Matope Nyanhehwe, Neshangwe Munembire, Chivere Nyasoro, Negomo Chisamharu, Siti Kazurukamusapa, Boroma Dangwarangwa, Samatambira Nyamhandu, Dehwe Mupunzagutu, Nyatsutsu, Nyamhandu II and a number of other Mutapa rulers who have sat securely in Mutapa history for the last thirty years or more, and push them out of 'history' into the world of myth, invention and sheer carelessness to which they belong. This means that we are left with the Mutapas of the documents, and it is very rarely that we can use any oral traditions of this century to add new dimensions to what the documents reveal. Nor is it always easy to use even the 1763 and 1862 collections of oral traditions. At least, though, in having less 'history' we will at last have something that is a little closer to the truth than the so-called traditions that misinformed us for so long.

SECTION 4

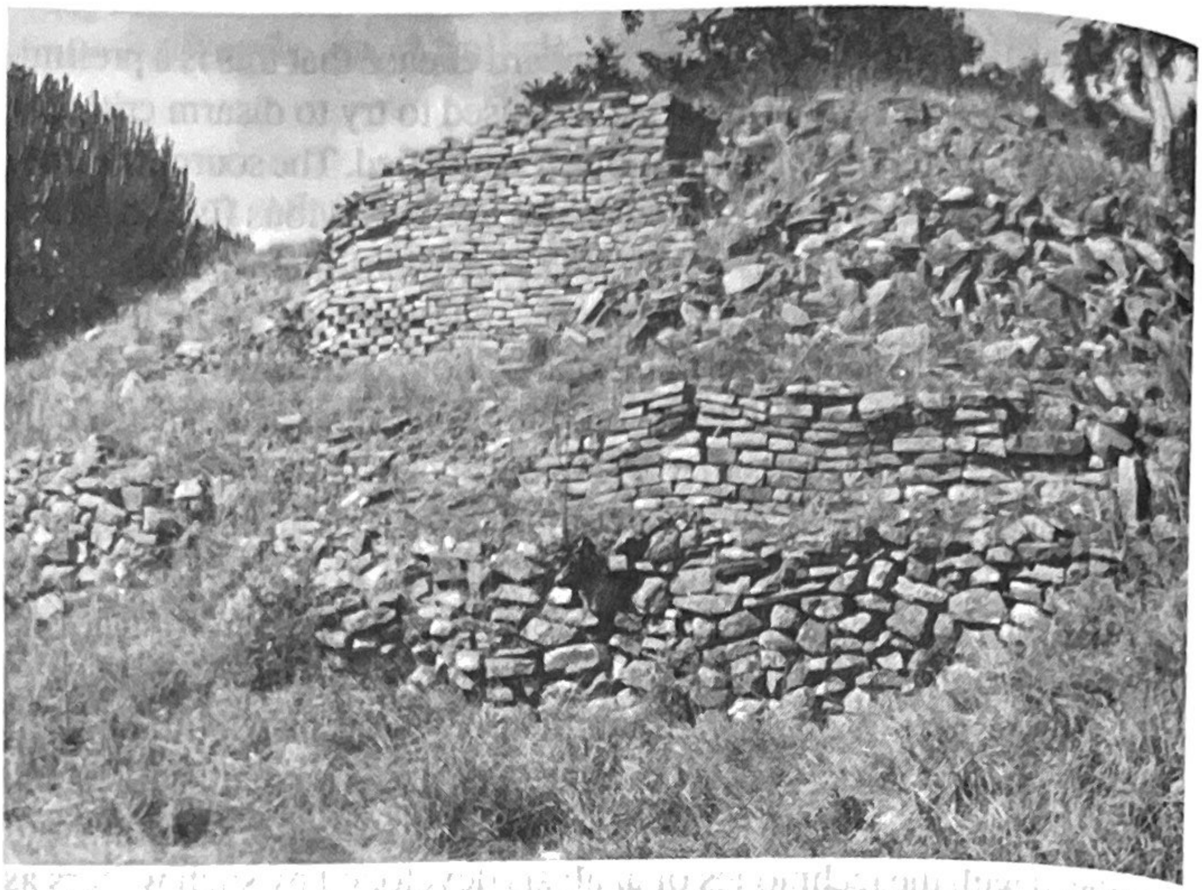
Towards an Analysis of Shona Oral Traditions

Looking back at the previous three sections of this book, the reader might be tempted to see in miniature the progression of pre-colonial African history from the 1960s to the 1980s. In Section One we have the young researcher setting out in 1973, full of optimism, to recover part of a previously unknown past. In Section Two, we have writing of yet another solid pre-colonial history, based largely on oral traditions, of the kind that was often presented for a doctoral dissertation in the early 1970s. This was first drafted in 1975-1976. In Section Three, we have the much more sceptical analysis of the traditions of the great states, and the conclusion that oral traditions tell us far less of the past than had been supposed. This might be taken to parallel the scepticism and disillusionment of researchers of the 1980s, that led many to abandon pre-colonial studies entirely.

Such an analysis might be elegant but it would also be quite wrong. When I started work in 1973 I was not at all sure that any usable data would emerge; the first major criticisms of the traditions of the Mutapa and Changamire Rozvi were made in the mid-1970s.[1] In re-working the chapters of Section Two for this book I re-examined the evidence for many of the dynasties of the centre and south, often using new material, and came once again to the conclusion that oral traditions can be used to good effect to recover the pre-colonial past, providing that one does not expect too much.

In this final section, I attempt to assess oral traditions themselves, with a view to their use in the future. Very little attempt to do so has been made so far by local historians. Anthropologists have of course examined myths,[2] but it was not their main business to look at things from an historical point of view. Looking at the work of all the historians who were working on pre-colonial history in the early 1970s whose names were catalogued in Chapter One, hardly any of us took the time to sit back and start thinking about the nature of the oral traditions that we collected. Keith Rennie was probably the main exception.[3] The reason is not difficult to find: at that time we were so obsessed with actually recovering the past — and with finishing our respective assignments before our funds ran out — that we simply dodged the issue, though at least some of us recognized some of the main characteristics of the traditions and dealt with them empirically. This section will amount to a belated attempt to remedy that failure.

Inevitably, I will have to use the standard excuse that this is a preliminary look at the question. This is usually used to try to disarm criticism in advance, but in this case I think the term is justified. The source material is that which is referenced in the footnotes to the previous five chapters, unless some other source is given. It is therefore mainly taken from central and southern Shona oral traditions, though I am going to take a short cut and simply use the term 'Shona'. The way in which I am going to define oral tradition includes literally millions of statements made by the Shona-speakers to each other and to the occasional stranger. No one has heard, and no one ever will hear, all of these statements, but clearly my handful of actual personal interviews, and all my other sources put together, cannot be more than a tiny proportion of them. Therefore, no one from the Shona-speaking world can reasonably expect this analysis to cover every aspect of every tradition: its purpose is to start the ball of discussion rolling. Moreover, as in the rest of this book I am addressing two audiences at once. One is the largely academic world, which is well acquainted with the techniques of analysis developed by such writers as Jan Vansina, Joseph Miller and David Henige,[4] and which needs to know what the main characteristics of Shona traditions are. The other is that of the people themselves, who will know at least some of these traditions. Many of them may find the idea of actual analysis faintly shocking: even very well educated people will tend to resist the notion that what grandfather told them is mythical. They can take comfort in the fact that, if quite a lot of grandfather's stories are myths, some are more or less true.



'Ndokubva Tumbare naChiundura vanzi uyai muvake gomo iro ndichazogara nenyanga dzenzou, ndokubva vavaka. Ndokugarapo. Kuzoti vagara apo akange achitaura naMwari, achiti kana paine chaatadza onzi watadza. Ndokubva afa ndokuuya mwana wake, akange achigara ipapo. Ndokubva atiza ndokuenda kuPutukezi. Ndokubva avamba kurwa neMaputukezi' 'Tumbare and Chiundura who had been defeated were told to come and build a mountain for him to sit on, with elephant tusks, and it was built. He stayed there. When he was staying there he was talking to Mwari, if he made a mistake Mwari would tell him he had made a mistake. After his death, there came his son, he stayed at that very place. He ran away and went to the Portuguese. He started fighting with the Portuguese': UZHD Text 106 Rusape. For all the limitations of oral traditions, they can reach back as far as three centuries into the past. This version of a Changamire Rozvi tradition recalls the occupation of the capital site of Danangombe (shown above) and the wars of the 1690s, and it tallies with a document of 1831.

(Photo: National Museums)

CHAPTER 7

Shona Oral Traditions

i Introduction

Here we start a discussion of Shona oral traditions on a note of cautious optimism.

Readers may, at this point still be feeling a little gloomy after going through the last chapter, with its step-by-step demolition of a lot of the Mutapa oral tradition that used to be the mainstay of pre-colonial Zimbabwean history. Is Shona oral tradition ever reliable? The answer is 'yes', provided that the researcher is wary.

For example, two informants in Bocha in 1973 and another in 1972 recalled that in 1896 the Rhodesians had gone as far south as Dema and fired their guns at the mountain.[1] This really happened, though the reasons why some people spoke of this and others did not, and the different interpretations they put on the story, varied considerably. In the early 1970s in Buhera, informants recalled that people used to go to 'Bwanye' in the Portuguese territory to buy cloth and guns with ivory. 'Bwanye' or 'Buene' is a real place, an island at the mouth of the Gorongoza river near Chiluane, which was the main Portuguese base in the Sofala region for much of the nineteenth century.[2] In 1904 people in Marondera still recalled Izidoro Correia Pereira's name, though nowadays schoolbooks have helped the name 'Gouveia' of Manuel Antonio de Sousa to overlay memories of most other Portuguese names. Nevertheless, 'Payiva' — Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrada, who only came to the central plateau in 1889 — was still recalled there in 1969-1970.[3] Rukara' s history of the Rozvi, dealt with in Chapter Five, recalled the name 'Usibamubamu' used for the Rozvi leader of the 1850s and 1860s, in sources of the period, which I do not think he had read because he would not have resisted the temptation to borrow a great deal more than that name if he had.[4] Names of Ngoni groups that were recorded in the 1830s such as Zwangendaba were still recalled in many places in the early 1970s .[5] Finally, I think that the combination of references to 'Matema/Magunde/Hiya' *dziva* peoples, discussed in Chapter Four, does relate to the Portuguese references to *'mahiya'* raiders in the 1760s-1790s.

I cite these cases where oral traditions can be checked against external sources in the hope that I can convince the diehard sceptics that there is something of value in oral traditions. However, most oral traditions do not place much weight on references to external factors. Why should they? They are preserved for the benefit of the people of the community, not the 'outsider' historian. Even when 'external' factors are recalled in tradition, it is often to prove an internal point: thus Headman Mutsago recalled the Dema mountain incident mentioned above to prove his contention — made to a European who might pass on his claim to Chieftainship to the government — that his ancestor had been a ruler and one friendly to Europeans. Chief Marange did not mention this for the same reason, though his *semukadzi* Mushunje did mention the story and used it to strengthen *his* family's position. NC Taylor may have had an African wife or two and Mutekedza Chiwashira may have taken her/them, but the reason why the Mutekedza dynasty stressed this incident so much was that the story was being used as an argument in the struggle between the two houses of Mutekedza.

On the other hand — and here I turn to my other audience, those members of the Shona world who sometimes tend to believe all their traditions — many of the events recounted in oral traditions are impossible or, if possible, they are simply clichés, stereotypes that are found widely and are used to explain a situation. These often refer to the remote past, but not always. One of them, the 'faithless messenger' cliché, refers to the coming of colonial rule. It says that, when the European government came to the district, the true ruler sent a messenger to represent him to the Native Commissioner. The messenger, often a relative, told the naive NC that he was the ruler, so he was given the insignia that made him a Chief and he returned to rule the people. The true ruler was thus made helpless. This story works at several levels. In the first place, as we saw in the last five chapters, Shona rulers and houses were very ready indeed to use outsiders, whether Rozvi, Ndebele, Portuguese or Rhodesians, to advance their positions in internal politics. The badges given out by the Rhodesian government were not baubles but assumed a considerable importance to many, and the possession of a badge (and the salary and rights that went with it) mattered a good deal.[7] However, the story assumes that the losers never dared mention their case to anybody for half a century or so, which is not very likely, and that the same events took place in exactly the same way in other places across the country at the same time, which same time, which is a lot less likely: the 'faithless messenger' story turns up in Bikita Rozvi history, in Buhera history, in that of Mataruse and even in Malawi. Clearly this is a cliché, and while on the one hand it laments the coming of alien rule and the ending of the more direct methods used to hold power in the past, on the other it is part of the world-wide commentary on the difference between appearance and reality, like the European tales of a princess and her maid changing clothes.[9]

If my 'true believer' readers argue that all of the 'faithless messenger' stories are true, what of moving mountains? It is said that Zhombwe mountain in Murehwa quarrelled with nearby Hurungwe mountain and set out to attack it. It stopped short, but the tracks can be seen to this day.[10] This cannot be true, but it is linked to a cliché about the Rozvi moving mountains. Once, in moving Zhombwe from Rusape to Murehwa, they are said to have succeeded, but most versions — as with Tikwiri, Ndarikure, Hurungwe and Mumurwi — claim that they failed, often being crushed by the tilting mountain.[11] This cliché in turn is linked to stories of the building of a tower to the moon and its inevitable collapse. Elsewhere in Africa this seems to be the Babel myth that shows why people are different, but among the Shona it seems very nearly always to be told only of the Rozvi, and stresses first their power in the past and secondly, as in so many 'Rozvi' stories, the lesson that pride cometh before a fall.[12]

There are many other clichés and myths: those that relate to the ending of periods of rule, such as the 'vanishing king' who disappears into a cave, pool or rock;[13] those of political trickery, such as the woman who serves as a Fifth Column,[14] the Rozvi or Korekore who drop a hair into their beer so as to trick wives out of their host,[15] the 'king in the basket' who overhears his enemies' plans,[16] the incomers who cheat the local ruler out of the best part of a killed animal and thus get his recognition;[17] tales of ritual combat between enemies' animals,[18] tales of the taming of bees, elephants and lions,[19] traditions about crocodiles and snakes,[20] the black dog.[21] (This last is also a regional myth, where quite unrelated groups share a tradition, adapting it to their own purposes, such as origin-traditions of Mbire in the east and *guruuswa* in the north,[22] the catechists of Chikomba,[23] and the Fifth Column women noted above.) The story of the bringing of fire,[24] the carrying of fire or flour over a river,[25] or the march around the country's boundaries after the conquest[26] all relate to political legitimacy So, in a different way, do severed heads of rulers,[27] and perhaps the regional myth of rival groups pulling their ancestor's body in two.[28] Whirlwinds carrying people to the top of a mountain,[29] magic drums and rolling stones,[30] poisoned food used to kill the invader,[31] and the waif who can bring rain by song are more obscure.[32]

I hope that by this time I have made my point to my Shona audiences: many will have heard one version of one of these clichés or myths and, perhaps, believed it. Placed next to all the other examples of the same cliché, it becomes clear that these are not strictly factual accounts, though they often relate to something factual in the past, like the power of the Changamire Rozvi.

However, much of Shona oral tradition is not so obviously clichés or myth, nor is it directly checkable with other historical sources. Just what it is, and just how far we can trust it, is the subject of the main part of this chapter.

ii Oral traditions: another attempt at definition

In this section,we have a definition of oral tradition, aimed at the general public rather than academics.

Many writers have defined oral traditions in the past.[33] In trying to apply them to the Shona oral traditions I have not always been happy with the way the definition fitted the situation as I saw it. I will therefore try my own definition for the purpose of this chapter, in the hope that it will serve as a basis for discussion.

Firstly, the term 'oral history' makes a very useful distinction between the statements of people about things of their own lifetimes, and what occurred earlier. Vansina makes the dividing line between oral history and oral tradition the line between the present generation and those now dead, whereas Henige suggests that there should be 'at least a few' generations before statements become 'oral traditions' proper.[34] I follow Vansina here, adding the obvious point from my own work that there is a blurred dividing line: some informants think they saw things as little children, when in fact they were probably told about it by their parents when they were small. Thus, when Chief Chivero told me about the First Chimurenga of 1896-97, we know from church records how old he was, but when he spoke of an incident involving the Kaguvi medium in a drought in the late 1880s he *may* have observed the incident but he might have got it from his parents.[35]

So, eliminating 'oral history', what is 'oral tradition?' Vansina defines it as 'verbal messages which are reported statements from the past beyond the present generation . . . spoken, sung or called out.'[36] My only quibble is that such statements may be 'about' the past rather than 'from' it. Thus in Bocha in 1973 I was told that in the time of the Gaza Nguni people (Gaza or others) were flung from the top of Mapembe mountain. Only one person mentioned it, a European, and I am pretty certain that it came from E.A. Ritter's *Shaka Zulu,* not from the Bocha past at all — but if that story grew it might well enter oral tradition. There are plenty of cases where the input *about* the past has occurred in the informant's lifetime, yet it is not *from* the past: Rukara's inclusion of Mapungubwe in Rozvi history in Chapter Five is an obvious case. Miller's definition follows Vansina on the point of oral tradition being one generation or more back from that of the teller, but stresses 'narrative' strongly.[37] As we will see, that definition is too restrictive for the Shona. I propose to try a simple one: 'statements about the world before the speaker's lifetime".

Oral traditions among the Shona fall into a number of classes. One is *environmental.* This would include ancient pan-African beliefs about the beginning of the world ('when the rocks were soft . . .'), inferred beliefs about the world derived from the idea that there were only a few ancestors around ('Mbiru built the wall on Gombe mountain to keep out the lions . . .') and direct reportage ('my grandfather told me that when he was a boy that whole valley was forest . . .'). Another category is *economic.* This would include recalled data about agriculture ('we did not grow so much maize then because of grinding difficulties . . .'); trade ('the price for a hoe was two goats . . .'); and so forth. The first of these two categories dealt with things, the second dealt with the relationship between people and things. The third, *religious* oral traditions, deals with the relationship between people, things and the supernatural. This might include traditions of the origin of a religious cult like those of Kaguvi, Karivara, Musikavanhu or Mutota;[38] traditions of the relations between religion and politics such as those of the clashes between Mwari and the Rozvi or Chaminuka and Lobengula;[39] or traditions that relate to what the proper relationship between humans, things and the supernatural ought to be.[40] A fourth category, *family* oral traditions ('your grandmother had four living children and two stillbirths . . .'; 'my grandfather had three wives who were X, Y and Z . . .') merges into what the historian more usually thinks of being as *the* oral traditions, *political* oral traditions ('when A was ruler, he raided the people of B, and when he died his second son C became ruler . . .'). Both of these deal primarily with people by themselves. At this point I am wondering if I can put the remaining categories together into one: *artistic* oral traditions. These include praise poems, explanations for physical markings ('we south-eastern people pierce our ears because that commemorates the Gaza who ruled us . . .') or explanations for artwork ('I make a red and white bracelet for my child because her grandmother used to wear those colours . . .').[41] Whether more categories or less are needed, I think we have enough for discussion.

It must be made clear that there is often interlocking between categories: when Headman Mutsago in 1973 demonstrated elephant killing with an axe and showed me the tusk he held, he was not just repeating an oral tradition that goes back to the sixteenth century,[42] but he was also trying to show that, by keeping a tusk, he was not a subordinate of Marange. The story of the early Mutapa politics and the genealogies given by George Kupara and Muchatera in the last chapter were intended to prove their respective religious claims of the 1960s. A tradition that people never starved in the good old days may be true (just) but it may also be a protest against the colonial division of land.[43] Accurate or not, the oral tradition contains a message, as Vansina puts it,[44] although at times the message is a little hard to deduce, as in the case of the preservation of the memory of the Bwanye trade route.

iii From memory to listener

This section deals with the question of who keeps oral traditions, to whom they are told, and how they are passed on.

As Vansina has demonstrated, there is a corpus of tradition which is what people in a community recall, and there is a reason why these things are recalled.[45] In the case of Shona oral traditions I think it will help to consider first the audience for whom they are intended. Are they esoteric, private and intended for only a limited number of initiates, are they aimed at a wider audience, or what? Clearly, some things are meant to be private: it is quite likely that a mother won't tell even her own son some details of family history, whereas she might tell her daughter.[46] The story about Gutu Makuvaza's illegitimacy, whether true or not, was certainly not well known in the Gutu district.[47] Just how far does secrecy extend? Aaron Hodza once commented to me that 'The people don't tell you everything', to which I readily agreed. In view of the way in which oral traditions are transmitted, nobody can be told everything, but Hodza's remark reflected an aspect of modern Shona society of which I do not think he approved: this is a tendency, in the face of a cold and unfriendly twentieth century, to retreat into a cosily ethnic 'Shona' world that holds its 'Shona' past to itself and disapproves of analysis as being too 'clinical'. One of my interpreter-guides of 1973 turned up at the university many years later, to sit silently in my office for several minutes before bursting out with 'Why don't you do European history?'

Yet this is not the only face of Shona oral tradition. Quite clearly, many Shona oral traditions are intended for *outward* transmission, and this applies especially to political oral traditions, but also to most of the other categories. Obviously, many oral traditions cannot be kept within the smallest unit, the family in the limited sense, but must on the contrary be extended to those others who need to know the message: other families, houses, or dynasties, or super-powers like the Rozvi, Ndebele, Rhodesians, Portuguese or ZANU (PF). There is little point in developing a magnificently-argued claim to a title or to land if you can't tell it to anybody, just as, in the religious oral traditions, a spirit medium cannot keep her/his oral traditions so secret that there are no customers. Of course, a touch of secrecy is good for business in most categories of tradition — it makes the recipient of the tradition so much more grateful — but total secrecy is not good for propaganda, which is what so much of oral tradition is.

Obviously, colonial rule exaggerated this tendency, because it puts a high value on getting one's way by intrigue rather than war and because there was always the implied threat of the state in the background, but this need not be pushed too far: looking at the histories collected in 1903-1906, one is struck by the difference between the districts where the people took a sullen 'don't know' attitude and those where full and valuable histories were collected. Moreover, histories were collected before colonial rule. Bebereke of the NeManwa dynasty can hardly have hoped for much from Mauch when he told him his history in 1872,[48] while Pacheco's informants were talking to a representative of one of the weakest powers on the Zambezi,[49] yet they thought it worth while telling him their extremely biased Boroma-house version of Mutapa history. It seems that, *provided* that the outsider asks nicely, traditions are not all that secret.

We can now look at those who hold the traditions. If there is a corpus of information existing in the memories of the people, not everybody has access to all parts of it. Some kinds of information, like stories about the time when the rocks were soft or *mandiwonerepi* (little people) are known to everybody, but members of one dynasty would not normally be expected to know the history of another, neighbouring one. Indeed, members of one house within one dynasty might not possess the details of the history of a rival house. Naturally, family histories are much more restricted. In short, people keep those parts of the corpus that are most appropriate to them.

The transmission of oral traditions is still not exactly known to us. In *Shona and Zimbabwe*[50] I suggested that they are passed on by a gradual learning process, without formal instruction, in the absence of initiation.[51] I have had no reaction to this, one way or the other, and really it could only be tested by observation of the way in which a whole generation acquires traditions over a half century or so. Nevertheless, there is another method of transmission that needs to be considered. Shona spirit mediums (*masvikiro)* claim that when they are possessed they are speaking with the intelligence of a real person who lived in the past. In other words, George Kupara claimed that, when 'Mutota' possessed him, a man of the fifteenth century (or whenever Kupara imagined Mutota lived), with a knowledge of the intervening period from a viewpoint in the hereafter, was speaking through his lips. As this belief affected Kupara's evidence, it needs looking at. We need to ask 'Are there real spirits everywhere?' 'Do only the Shona have them?' and if the answers are 'No', 'How do *masvikiro* get their evidence?' As many of my Shona readers do believe in spirits, these questions matter.

Clearly, if there are spirits everywhere, the task of the historian would be much simplified if they could be contacted through mediums. A short talk with Tupac Amaru, Lincoln, Napoleon, Mao Zedong, Ashoka, Shaka, Nkrumah or Tewodros II would solve many problems. Unfortunately, no medium has been able to become sufficiently possessed to convince any historians of the outside world. Unless it can be shown that the Shona are somehow different from the rest of humanity, it would follow that their *mhondoro* and *mudzimu* spirits are not real either. If that is so, then where does the information of the *masvikiro* come from? Anthropologists seem to be more or less agreed that, consciously or unconsciously, the candidates for mediumship set out to acquire information from the corpus of knowledge of the community.

This brings us to the question of specialized 'historians' or keepers of oral traditions. In the early 1960s, influenced by Vansina's early work which mentioned the specialist *abacurabwenge* of Rwanda and others, and by Abraham's use of George Kupara, historians of Zimbabwe often assumed that *masvikiro* were the specialist historians of the Shona. They were also influenced by a delusion still fashionable today, that truth or right lies in the opposite to one's enemies' views: thus, if the Rhodesian Front promoted Chieftainship for its own purposes, then the *masvikiro* who were often opposed to the Chiefs must be 'right'. This was fine politically, but when academics placed special value on the testimony of *masvikiro* — as they obviously did, from letters from that period — they failed to confront the issue of *why* a *svikiro's* evidence was superior. I suspect that this was partly because they were reluctant to confront the issue of whether *mhondoro* or *mudzimu* spirits existed at all.

Yet, if all retention of knowledge in oral tradition or documents involves a process of selection with 'news' either joining the corpus or being forgotten, *masvikiro* are obliged to be more selective than most people. An elder member of a house or dynasty will obviously select, consciously or unconsciously, those items of history most favourable to his/her faction, but she/he can also say 'I don't know'. A medium has trouble doing this. Moreover, whereas a junior or local medium can quite easily assimilate a reasonable version of the corpus of knowledge of the local community, a senior one supposed to be in touch with the history of a large number of communities could very well run into trouble. In short, I am not certain that *masvikiro* are not worse informants than ordinary people. Obviously, if they are getting their information from the same common pool of knowledge, they cannot be better!

We have similar problems with local 'traditional historians'. Researchers are often told: 'You must see X, he really knows the history', and very often X's accounts are fascinating. But if X has spent most of his life seeking out information, that information is going to come from a very wide number of sources. So, you might point out, does an academic historian's. Yes, but academic historians use footnotes. If a 'traditional historian' like Chief Makope Madomasi gave an account of the history of the region, he didn't say 'The people of A told me X, and the people of B told me Y, and I think X is more likely because of Z'; instead, he gave a solid, unreferenced account that left the researcher to guess what the sources were. Rukara's Rozvi history was of a similar kind. In short, the 'local expert' should always be listened to, but not necessarily believed. This caution is also necessary with the work of writers like Aaron Hodza. He was a keen collector of praise poetry, but he was *not* a trained historian, and his histories, like his praise poems, are an amazing amalgamation of bits and pieces welded together.[52]

The final answer seems to be that there is no inherently reliable type of informant: the testimony of these who know less can be as useful as those who know more, a single comment from the back of the audience, such as a Mudzimuirema man's capping of his Chief's words by adding that the people used to buy slaves from Sena, may be worth more than a whole interview. All an historian needs is infinite time to collect traditions, and as much time to puzzle over them, rather than a 'perfect' informant.

Moving from those for whom the traditions are intended back to those who transmit them has caused us to less miss out the actual transmission process. Essentially, I do not think that the Shona ever transmit all their oral traditions in one performance. Indeed, if one thinks of the six interlocking categories that I outlined before, it becomes clear that to exhaust everything the entire community knows at once would take days of testimony. Nor do I think that the same informant ever tells the same political oral tradition the same way twice: at the very least there will be differences in wording. This is because there is no fixed text and no system of mnemonic objects such as Ganda graves. Similarly, as political oral traditions consist of a mutually supporting narrative history and a genealogy, which may or may not be recorded at the same time, the more versions of a genealogy we have the less uncertain we become. Praise poems assume some knowledge of both on the part of the hearer.

Oral traditions may be transmitted anywhere: in a court, in a field, beside a house, and it does not follow that at the more formal meetings the researcher is going to hear more than in a private meeting — or *vice versa.* It is clear that controversy can both preserve and suppress oral traditions: the rarity of political successions in the twentieth century Chivero and Mudzimuirema dynasties seems to have led to the loss of a lot of internal political history. A major dispute might either lead people to suppress certain details of their history *or* to descend on any convenient researcher the way the Gumunyu Rozvi descended on Keith Robinson to spread the word. There is simply no way of predicting these things in advance.

A final word on this section: if the reader gets pessimistic about such an apparently confused system of transmission passing on data that is at all reliable, re-read the first section of this chapter! Informal processes can sometimes do nearly as well as the finest pre-colonial state propaganda system.

iv The content of traditions

The oral traditions of the Shona are made up of uncounted and uncountable millions of words. Out of those few that have been written down, I attempt to analyse their meaning. This has to be seen as a first attempt.

Here we will be looking at what Shona oral traditions are, at least ostensibly, talking about. In many cases they refer to much the same things as oral traditions in other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. In others, they have features that appear to be quite unusual. I had originally hoped to be able make a study of oral traditions elsewhere in, at least, Bantu-speaking Africa, but this would have slowed down the production of this book very considerably. Readers will therefore have to be content with occasional comparisons.

a. Environmental oral traditions

Like very many people, the Shona believe that in the very remote past the world was soft and wet, even the rocks being soft. The fact that very many rocks on the Zimbabwean plateau do look as though they might once have been soft, with depressions like footprints, strengthened this belief, but it is pan-African in extent. The earliest versions of this tradition collected among the Shona claim that there were already people living in this world.[53] What is apparently most unusual is that traditions of the creation of the world and traditions of the creation of humanity have very rarely been recorded; when they have been recorded, there is some reason to suspect outside influences. In any case, stories of creation and Adamic figures are not integrated into other traditions in the way that Woot of the Kuba or Kintu of the Ganda are integrated into their traditions.[54] This apparent lack of interest in creation myths is odd in view of the strong missionary influences in the country.

Only four years after the foundation of Chishawasha Mission, the NC of the district recorded a tradition of a man and woman coming into a soft world (around Goromonzi?).[55] This Biblical tradition does not seem to have become established in the area, for no local history after that seems to mention it. (It is always more difficult to write that a tradition does not exist rather than that it does.) In 1929 Leo Frobenius recorded a creation myth, with one or two Biblical-seeming overtones.[56] Both Posselt and Bullock thought that Frobenius 'led' his informants, and there seem to be some similarities between this 'Karanga' tradition and those collected by Frobenius from the Kuba in 1905.[57] After that, oral traditions equated Mwari with the Christian God the creator, but remained very vague as to the details of creation.[58] Only in the 1980s did oral traditions of the creation of the world and of humanity get published, and again they remained vague in the sense that they did not pretend to provide a progression from the creator to any specific people or peoples.[59]

Oral traditions about the transition from this 'wet' environment to that of today also seem to be very rare. A tradition of 1904 claimed that the coming of the Rozvi Gwangwava to the Charter district led to the introduction of fire (read: Rozvi over-rule) to the people, and that the fires started then dried up the land,[60] but generally there seems to have been an almost complete separation of 'environmental' ideas about the early state of the world and 'political' traditions about the Shona dynasties, which is why I discuss 'creation' stories at this point, rather than later. Similarly, traditions about *mandiwonerepi*, the 'little people' and *njuzu*, water-spirits, are universal and therefore classifiable as part of the environment: they can speak and the *njuzu* live in villages, so they are like humans in a way, but the *mandiwonerepi* are tiny, vain and dangerous to children and the *njuzu* villages are under water, so they are not human. They do not usually have names, and do not appear to interlock into 'political' oral traditions to any noticeable extent: people still believe in *njuzu* today, but figures in oral traditions do not normally seem to meet them.[61] (Books have led to *mandiwonerepi* and *njuzu* being confused with images of 'Bushman' hunter-gatherers and European mermaids.)[62] On the other hand, in a few places the first inhabitants are thought of as having had odd features like four eyes or only one arm, leg, eye, etc., *but* they are nevertheless treated as historical figures and turn up in political traditions. We will be looking at them below.

The physical extent of the environment as remembered in oral traditions must be compared with that which the people would have actually known in the past: with intercontinental trade reaching the Zimbabwean plateau from the eighth century, there were traders moving from the south-western goldfields to the Zambezi and the sea for over a thousand years. They carried news about far lands with them, and it is reasonable to assume a fair knowledge of regional geography among the people. With traders from the Zambezi and travellers from the Venda country reaching the Great Zimbabwe region, in 1871-2 alone,[63] just how far the actual knowledge of the people in the past reached is uncertain: stories of salt water to the west could be the Makgadikgadi salt pan or just possibly the Atlantic,[64] but the extent of 'Shona geography' to the north and south remains unknown. Certainly the northern Shona would have heard of Lake Malawi,[65] and the southern Shona would have known of Delagoa Bay,[66] but how far that knowledge would have extended in the other direction is unclear.

It is therefore interesting to note that in the first major collection of traditions in 1903-6 all the traditions of origin that were collected named places of origin within the Zimbabwean plateau region.[67] At that time, any suggestions that the Shona came from north of the Zambezi or from *tanganyika* (meaning Lake Tanganyika) seem to have been those of the NCs themselves, but even these were very rare.[68] Most origins named such territories as Chidima, Mbire, Manyika, 'Burozvi' and so on. By the 1920s writers such as Marwodzi and Posselt were converting *tanganyika* into the recently-named Tanganyika Territory, and this idea is now fairly firmly fixed in many traditions.[69]

Guruuswa was first noted as a land of origin in 1904, and further references appeared in the 1920s, 1940s and 1950s.[70] The publications of Donald Abraham in 1959-63 converted *guruuswa* into the province or empire of Guruuswa, writ large on the political map of the Zimbabwean plateau, and schoolbooks have now made this place of origin very well known indeed.[71] In *Shona and Zimbabwe* I attempted to get this into perspective by pointing out that *guruuswa* as a land of origin seemed to have been used almost entirely by peoples living in an arc of the northern Zimbabwean plateau (and its neighbouring lowlands) to refer to their places of origin up-river, where there were more open spaces filled with grass than where these groups lived now. Moreover, in nearly every case those groups which used *guruuswa* as a land of origin were much longer-established than their neighbours. I therefore suggested that a journey from *guruuswa* represented a series of migrations out of the general area of the central Zimbabwean plateau over several centuries.[72]

David Lan, working in the dry lowlands of the Dande, turned *guruuswa* into a beautifully complex structure combining the origin of humanity, ancestors, female descent, wetness, and so forth.[73] Apparently the people of Dande see it this way, but this does not alter the fact that the Dande example is a special case: not only do some areas where *guruuswa* traditions are used, such as Sanyati, lack the dramatic contrast between wet highlands and dry lowland, *but* people living *in* the 'wet' environment of Lan's Dande informants, such as the modern Guruve and Centenary areas and even, it seems, Makoni,[74] use *guruuswa* to refer to an up-river region that is no wetter and possibly slightly drier than their own.[75] Moreover, Lan's creation theory does not seem to apply elsewhere in the Shona world as it should, and one cannot prove that *guruuswa*=long grass=reeds as in Xhosa creation myth without bringing in a much broader range of evidence, including awkward cases like the Kuba who think that creation must take place *down*-river![76]

A third case of a 'general' origin is traditions of coming 'across the big water', *mhiri kwegungwa.* Examples of this were picked up in oral traditions of people like the Hera in the 1970s, but I do not know when they first turned up in the record.[77] This could very well be derived from modern school geographies that show the Zambezi loop and the sea, or just possibly a much older realization that the Zimbabwean plateau is in a salient formed by these two 'big waters'.

I deal with the fact that the Shona do not seem to have had any common traditions of origin in this sub-section on environmental traditions, along with the 'wet world' and non-human things like *njuzu,* in order to stress the point that Shona oral traditions seem to differ considerably from those of other peoples in this respect. Each Shona dynasty does of course have its tradition of origin, but it is really very factual and realistic in tone, much more like the Icelandic sagas than Biblical Genesis, though like the sagas such dynastic traditions of origin are not as historical as they look.[78]

Other environmental traditions tend to crop up as allusions in 'political' oral traditions. Perhaps the most common is that which stresses the prevalence of wild animals. It is quite true, of course, that the country was much 'wilder' and that there were many more predators such as lions, but one senses a little exaggeration. Thus it was said that the Gombe *zimbabwe* built by Mbiru was built to keep out lions, which it patently was not, and another 'Refuge' site in Zvishavane was given a similar reason for construction.[79] The Debwe Njanja even claimed that they failed to settle in the modern Mashava region because it was 'too wild', which is improbable as that was where the Mhari settled.[80] I suspect that this stress on the wilderness of the past environment comes partly from the fact that, in theory, each of us has 1 024 ancestors ten generations back but Shona oral traditions — even those collected by women—tend to recall mainly a string of male ancestors. Since there were so few people, they must have been more endangered by wild animals, seems to be the assumption, and they must have relied a lot on hunting. Moreover, the hunter was seen as the kind of person who was most likely to travel farthest and thus to discover and settle a new territory, thus his descendants tended to see his environment as being 'wilder' than that of the recent pre-colonial past.

Environmental traditions about the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are now forming part of a considerable literature,[81] but this is the work of researchers of the 1980s, and I do not feel competent to comment on them. In the 1970s we were only just beginning to think in environmental terms.

b. Economic oral traditions

I am almost tempted to refer the reader again to the researchers of the 1980s for information on economic oral traditions, because they have been asking questions that the historians of the 1970s were also only playing with, but in fact some progress was made then, and it is possible briefly to discuss the content of oral traditions on the economy as they were perceived at that time,

In the 1970s researchers found that the Shona retained a fairly coherent set of traditions on the economy after about 1850. This date can be inferred from the lack of traditions on actual gold mining, which was ending or which had ended by that time,[82] and by the references to such sites as

Chiluane, Bwanye and Sena rather than inland *feiras* in the trade network. Detailed information was available about most aspects of agriculture, herding, mining of iron, gold-washing, salt-making, trade, hunting for meat and ivory, preferred soil types, and a host of other topics.[83] What was perhaps missing was a set of precise dates — we know now that certain changes in maize types occurred earlier than oral tradition/history had suggested[84] — and comparative statistics, but even there the problem may have been in the researchers, not the traditions. In the Save valley a set of questions about the prices of hoes at certain points turned out to reveal a consistent and logical pattern of which the individual informants must have been unaware.[85]

Oral traditions on the economy, not surprisingly in view of their shallow time depth, do not stress economic change. Myths about the bringing of fire to 'savages' who did not have it were political, not economic in message,[86] and 'cultural heroes' who are said to have brought agriculture (Matope and Gwangwava) and iron (Gwangwava) are very rare indeed and linked in a few traditions that mention such things to political conquest by others.[87]

The 'message' of economic oral traditions is not always easy to deduce, as was noted above. Possibly traditions about the *gororo* cattle thieves and *rufimbi*, the magic that put whole villages to sleep, which began to be recorded from 1926, reflect the growing sense of constriction felt by the Shona as their herds on the flat lands began to expand beyond anything known before, at the very time when land alienation was being stressed by Land Apportionment.[88] Far more work remains to be done on the correlation between traditions of this kind and the twentieth century.

c. Religious oral traditions

Here we have to be careful to recall the definition of 'oral tradition' being used here: 'statements about the world before the speaker's lifetime'. We have to keep in mind the distinction between current religious beliefs and oral traditions *about* religion in the past. Already, in this chapter, technically speaking I have broken this rule: people in the 1920s may have believed that *mandiwonerepi* existed then, people certainly believe now that *njuzu* exist, and as there is no suggestion at all that these were inventions of this century, therefore they are assumed to have existed in the past — but not often mentioned in historical traditions. Yet in many cases oral traditions mention elements of current religious belief, such as witchcraft, in the context of past political history, such as the deposition of some Nenguwo rulers, and we are left to assume that conditions were the same then. I am not going to try to analyse current beliefs, which have a full literature,[89] but will be looking at their depiction in oral traditions proper.

I am also going to concentrate on 'traditional' religion. Just as there are oral traditions about colonial officials like Wiri' Edwards,[90] so there are traditions about missionaries such as Bernard Mizeki and Modumedi Moleli [91] — or rather, statements that are at present moving from the category of 'oral history' to that of 'oral tradition'. Oral traditions about Christianity and Islam among the Shona go back to at least the seventeenth century, [92] and they are likely to suffer considerably from contamination by books. Thus, if we get oral traditions about Gonçalo da Silveira of 1560-1, school texts may well be the source. [93] However, all oral traditions about 'traditional' religion have been collected in a world in which a lot of Christian ideas have been circulating, so we have to be very conscious of the dangers of feed-back in that direction as well.

A very basic classification of religious oral traditions among the Shona would seem to be (i) charters of foundation, which explain why the people should have followed a religious authority in the first place, and (ii) reinforcing traditions that explain why they should continue to follow an existing religious authority. Not all religious authorities have both kinds of tradition and, although this classification is useful in assessing the tradition's message, there are clichés shared between different religious traditions and cases where a tradition can be in either category depending on the version chosen. Consequently, thematic discussion is not possible. Morever, as most of the work in this field has been done by researchers interested in reconstructing religious history rather than in the traditions themselves, most of the evidence comes from secondary sources and the details of the tradition can rarely be checked.

The Shona high god, known by a remarkable number of different names, but chiefly as Mwari, has no charter of foundation. This is scarcely surprising, as (logically, if Mwari created everything) there was no one to record His/Her own creation, if there was one. Reinforcing traditions that concern Mwari must be uncountable, because if Mwari is generally reckoned to be responsible for such widespread disasters as droughts or such special ones as lightning strikes, then every time such things are mentioned in economic, political or family oral traditions, Mwari will be, too.[94] The greatest reinforcing tradition concerning Mwari, however, is clearly that which links the Changamire state to the high god and which explains the *mfecane* in terms of pride going before a fall. This is of course a political as well as a religious oral tradition, like some others. There are very many versions of the tradition, and there is hardly space here to give them the discussion they need.[95] The story of the Rozvi ruler trying to 'kill' the voice of Mwari which speaks from many different objects and people is an early one.[96] The variant that heightens the link between the Rozvi and Mwari by making the first great Rozvi ruler a 'son' of Mwari was not recorded until the 1930s, and it could well be a borrowing from the Christian New Testament.[97]

Below Mwari come a few spirits that are apparently not part of any Shona dynasty, though this has not stopped at least one of the mediums from trying to prove such a link. This was Muchatera, one of the mediums of the Chaminuka spirit in the 1950s-1970s, who — as was pointed out in the last chapter— tried to put his spirit and his *soko* lineage in a genealogically superior position to both the Mutapa and Changamire dynasties. In this case, his founding charter was a variant of the 'virgin birth' used by the neighbouring upper Save Rozvi for Chikurawadyembeu/ Dombo, and it included the 'voice from the people and objects' story used earlier by the Rozvi to link Mwari to the fall of the Changamire state.[98] Another founding charter for Chaminuka used the device of plates of food appearing by the power of the spirit, a cliché also used of Bonda, the 1896 leader.[99] The great reinforcing tradition of Chaminuka is, of course, that of the death of the medium of Chaminuka at the hands of the Ndebele in 1883, already covered in Chapter Two. His alleged prophecies, his ritualised death and the disasters that are supposed to have followed his death are apparently common to both the Rwizi and the Muchatera branches of the cult that developed in the 1950s and 1960s, but only the former seems to have developed the tradition that the medium of the 1880s had organised the local Shona against the Ndebele.[100] As we saw in Chapter Two, he was in fact their ally against other Shona.

The other similar religious oral tradition is that of Kaguvi, which is not linked to any dynasty but to a stylised family of Sororenzou (the high god), his son Chaminuka and his daughters Seme, Ronzi, Chapo and Nehanda. A youth found in the woods by the girls is entrusted with the herds of Sororenzou, and, by providing his ability to make it rain for them he was rewarded with marriage to Nehanda. This founding charter comes from the Catholic nephew of the 1896 medium of Kaguvi, and ties up the cults of Mwari, Chaminuka, Nehanda and Kaguvi very neatly indeed.[101] As the 1896 Kaguvi medium converted to Christianity on the scaffold, reinforcing traditions about the spirit are a bit rare.

The Kaguvi cult is said to have begun with a homeless youth able to bring rain by singing, and the traditions of the Karivara cult dealt with in Chapter Two include this cliché but the difference is that here the charter is that Karivara's father had a rain charm, and the 'waif' tradition is used to reinforce the charter.[102] Rain charms are a local cliché in the Save valley region, being used to explain the Nyakuimba-Musikavanhu cult as well. Here the charm is the founding charter, and subsequent developments of the tradition like the Musikavanhu ruler/medium's immunity to Gaza bullets, is a reinforcement. (Immunity to bullets is practically a pan-African cliché.)[103] A derivative tradition is that of Pfupajena in Duma, but here the foundation charter seems to be Pfupajena's courtship of Chapo, former holder of the Musikavanhu charm.[104]

Karivara/Munyaradze, Nyakuimba/Musikavanhu and Pfupajena/Mazungunye are religious oral traditions with dual political roles, and their religious element derives from the ability to bring rain because certain charms gave their bearers that power in the beginning, even if later the power shifted to straightforward spirit possession. Yet the Munyaradze and Musikavanhu dynasties and the great Duma confederacy were political powers, with some if not most of their strength coming from plain manpower. All the other religious cults of the Shona not so far mentioned — Mutota, Matope, Nehanda, Karuva, Dzivaguru and a host of others — derive their religious power from political power in the past. It is believed that if real people in the past were sufficiently important, in the after life they can influence the high god, bringing rain and dealing with the affairs of humans.

The *content* of the traditions about these senior *mhondoro* cults is practically identical with those about political dynasties, where they are not absolutely identical, because the personalities are the same. Thus the Pacheco version of the tradition of Mutota. Matope and Nehanda involves a small group of hunters who enter a region, commit incest, use deceit to drive a princess into a pool and found a dynasty. Clearly, it is the last part that matters: if Mutota and his sons had really been a small band of hunters they would never have been recalled at all. And so it goes, right through Shona oral tradition: even though the message may be dealing with a group of ordinary-seeming people in a lonely environment, if they are mentioned by traditions at all we assume that they must have been of political importance in the past. Thus, although Karuva/Chikara of Choma is depicted in recent traditions as a lone man cutting hut poles and is not the ancestor of any local dynasty, we assume that he must represent a whole dynasty in reality — and this is confirmed by an account of a century earlier that talks of a princess commanding many warriors who really did rule the land.[105]

The categories of 'founding charter' and 'reinforcing tradition' can probably be found in all of these dynastic cults, though researchers have not recorded them. Matope's founding charter is his incest with Nehanda, and one of his reinforcing traditions is his alleged decree that power in the Mutapa state should be shared between the Boroma and Nyamhandu houses. That this decree is *ex post facto* justification is beside the point.[106]

d. Family oral tradition

Here I must confess ignorance as to the main body of content of this kind of tradition. As there may well be a million Shona families — using the narrow sense of a married couple and their children — this is not for lack of data. Rather, whereas anybody collecting traditions has had to consider family traditions in so far as they affect informants or the dynasty being discussed, studies that look at families *per se* are rare. Of the very few that have been started, it is sad but not very surprising to note that even when women collect traditions about their own families from their mothers and aunts, they still cannot record the same numbers of women as of men in ascending generations. On the credit side, quite remarkable details of marriages, childbirths and other factors have been recorded, but we need a lot of such studies before we can start to sum up the content of these traditions.

However, it may be that, in the body of political oral traditions relating to ruling dynasties, it is possible to recover some aspects of family history and even the role of women from sources not specifically intended for that purpose. Thus, in Chapter Two we saw how the expansion of the Njanja followed lines demarcated by the houses of the wives of Neshangwe, while any researcher using the sources for that history of the Mhari outlined in Chapter Four might be able to interpret that history in terms of the politics of the wives of Tavengerweyi. Granted, this would still be the history of ruling-class women but given the present shortage of recorded histories, even this would be useful.

e. Political oral traditions

We can best discuss these by pointing out yet again that there is no central or common Shona political oral tradition. There is no common Shona ancestor-figure like Shyaam of the Kuba, Kintu of the Ganda, or Gikuyu of the Kikuyu. Even within regions claiming former domination by one group, like the Mutapa state, Mutota is only the ancestor of some of the 'Korekore',[107] while even the Rozvi do not claim a common ancestor. It is not surprising that some Shona-speakers have felt the lack of a common tradition and have tried to remedy it, usually by joining together similar totem groups and explaining their differences by the need for members of a totem group to intermarry without committing incest.[108] In short, we are dealing with a considerable number of completely distinct lineages, which is possibly why pre-colonial Shona history has been neglected for so long. We also have no common tradition of a place from which the people came: there is no 'downstream' as in Kuba tradition, no hole in the ground or descent from the sky, no common tract of territory. As I have pointed out before, *guruuswa* is a very localised place of origin found in traditions of some people only, around the northern end of the Zimbabwean plateau, while 'Mbire' seems to mean either Mbire I or Dande to the peoples of far north-east, or Mbire III or Hwedza to the peoples of the south-east.[109] The lands from which the Shona dynasties come are generally perfectly ordinary territories of the Zimbabwean plateau, often inhabited by groups related to the dynasty that made the migration. (Few dynasties claim to have been forever where they are now.)[110] A very few seem to have picked up exotic places of origin like Swaziland, the 'Sotho' country or Zomba in Malawi, as we have seen,[111] and occasionally invention is very obvious: the Nemarundwe *nzou* dynasty claims to come from the north, and specifically from Chirundu, the main transit point into Zambia. The play on words is obvious.[112] What is quite impressive about traditions of origin is that sometimes people remember the name of a real place but do not know where it is: Rutanga hill in Ngowa traditions and Dzete as the homeland of Mashayamombe and Maromo are cases in point.[113]

Most political oral traditions start with a migration. Sometimes the reason for leaving the home territory is recalled: the accidental killing of a leader in a hunting accident, escaping an *ngozi* spirit after a suicide, land shortage, civil wars or invasions by outsiders.[114] Other traditions simply state the bare fact of emigration. Some traditions tend to present the migrants as a small band of hunters or even as a lone hunter, for the reasons given above.[115] Actually, such a migrant group would have to have numbered at least a few score, maybe more, or it would never have achieved the power that would have led to the establishment of a dynasty at all, and if one looks carefully at traditions one can see that usually a fair number of non-agnates accompanied the main lineage.[116] In the case of the Chivi dynasty, the traditions collected over time show the founder-figure Tavengerweyi being slowly converted from one of a whole dynasty, with non-agnates accompanying him, into a typical lone hunter.[117]

Migration traditions sometimes stress the 'pull' factor — the attraction of underpopulated and game-rich land.[118] Some traditions state that a scouting party was sent out in advance to look for new lands before the migration started,[119] and the point made earlier, that the whole Zimbabwean plateau region was crossed by trade routes along which news could travel, needs to be borne in mind: there is no need to take seriously the claims of some traditions that the migrants were moving into utterly unknown lands. Migrations seem to have involved a series of short-range migrations from point to point, with the migrants getting the permission of rulers to stay and plant crops on the way.[120] The distances of migrations of this kind were not very great by world standards — four hundred kilometres would be a long one, and most were far shorter.

The original inhabitants of the territory taken over by the migrants are depicted in various ways. If large numbers of them are still around and politically important, they are realistically depicted, and this is true in the vast majority of cases. Sometimes it is said that there were very few of them.[121] In a few cases, attempts are made to show that the original inhabitants were uncivilized, naked, hairy and ignorant of fire (government), though there are often traditions from these same autochthones that deny this.[122] In other, equally rare, cases, the autochthones are seen as having odd features, like four eyes, or as being exceptionally clever at magic.[123] However, most autochthones are seen as being completely normal.

Conquest is often described as being quite straightforward invasion, but sometimes clichés, like the use of a woman as a Fifth Column[124] or tricking the autochthones into accepting an inferior cut of meat, are used.[125] A more realistic theme is the infiltration of an existing territory by the immigrant(s), who win the favour of the ruler, marry into his dynasty, gain in numbers and eventually overthrow him. The Njanja, Rufura and Mhari all have traditions about this — and those they expelled tend to agree with them.[126] The use of outside forces — either neighbouring dynasties or the Changamire Rozvi — is often mentioned as a factor that aided the conquest.[127]

As far as the political oral traditions and their holders are concerned, the real point of the story is only beginning with the conquest. It explains how a certain lineage has the right to a certain tract of land, and most political oral traditions are fairly explicit on the hills, streams and strongholds that the dynasty once held, whether accurately or not. In a few cases a cliché about the conquering ruler marching round the newly-acquired land is used.[128] The remainder of the tradition is concerned with the succession to the title, and very, very many oral traditions start with 'the first ruler was X' and proceed steadily to 'and thus I should be the next Chief'.

As we have seen in the last five chapters, if we are sure of anything at all, it is that there was no such thing as a 'Shona succession system'. We see filial, collateral and rotating-house successions occurring in no particular order, the occasional return of members of long-excluded branches of the dynasty to power, changes of the dynastic title and even of the totem to exclude unwelcome relatives from power, and a host of other political devices — but we must never forget that all these traditions and genealogies reflect a perfectly normal political situation in the real past, in which might was right.

Political oral traditions also include reference to foreign relations and the great states of the past. These include wars, alliances, marriages, raids, and — in the case of the great states — appeals to their justice. Reference to the Gaza, Ndebele and Rozvi are much more common than those to the Mutapa, and if stories about the Rozvi that were gathered in the 1970s had more of a fairy-tale quality than those of the 1900s — such as the Rozvi tricking people into giving them wives — this is probably simply the result of the increasing time since the 1830s and the idea that the Rozvi chief-installers of the twentieth century had to foster, that theirs was some kind of mystical power.[129]

f. Artistic oral traditions

Here, it will be recalled, I was proposing a category that was supposed to cover oral and physical artistry. This is not my field, and I can only comment briefly on the praise-poems.[130] These are of several kinds, but those that have the greatest content relating to the past are the clan praises. These contain references to places and events of the past, but they depend on the hearer being sufficiently aware of the other oral traditions to understand what is meant. As our main collection is a composite one, with occasional inventions by the collector, its historical value is uncertain.

v Traditions, society and the historian

By way of a conclusion, and also as a beginning to future studies, this section tries to look past the keepers and collectors of traditions to assess the value of Shona oral tradition, in its entirety, in a few paragraphs. If it does nothing more than provoke discussion it will have done well enough.

As Vansina has pointed out, oral traditions are a reflection of the society that keeps them.[131] The history assembled in this book gives us a closer view of the workings of Shona society in the pre-colonial period than *Shona and Zimbabwe*. I believe that this book will be of considerable use to those interested in evaluating changes in Shona society over the last century or so. Nevertheless, we need to be very careful in our handling of the evidence presented here, and especially the oral traditions referred to in the footnotes.

As I pointed out at the beginning of the book, there was no way that I could carry out interviews in such a large area in such a short time, and a very high proportion of the oral traditions cited come from collections made by others, mostly officials and missionaries but partly by educated

Shona-speakers.[132] Is there a difference between these reports and articles and what the informants actually said? Undoubtedly, as far as style is concerned. If one compares Stanlake Samkange's Zvimba history with the official report of 1965, or Jere Leonard Makuvire's Chivi history with that of Peter Forrestal, or my collection of the story of Chikurawadyembeu with that of Fritz Posselt,[133] one can see that in each case the version that is closest to the original Shona is much richer and fuller in style than that of the officials, who naturally tended to condense and paraphrase, especially if they were combining two or more versions of a tradition into one. This trait was also true of many of the Shona writers in the past, whether those intending to publish for schools, like Jason Machiwenyika or those trying to push a political claim, like M.V.J. Rukara.[134] On the other hand, the content and message of the two kinds of recorded tradition seems to be rather similar — or is it?

Here we have to look at ways of dealing with oral traditions before we can discuss their relation to society. There seem to be two main trends. We have those researchers who look at simple things and make them complex, and we have those who look at complex things and make them simple. In the latter category we have to put Donald Abraham in the 1950s and early 1960s. His articles and papers tend to present the most obvious myths as though they were history, whether in Makoni or Mutapa. Another is Aeneas Chigwedere, who in his first book managed to make Seed's imaginary ancestor-figure into a historical character, and another was J.W. Posselt, who solemnly wrote that the claim that the world had once been a series of marshes must be untrue because lightning would have started fires long before Gwangwava did![135]

At the other extreme we have those for whom a simple statement must conceal something much deeper and more significant: Herbert Aschwanden, Leo Frobenius, Luc de Heusch, David Lan and Harald von Sicard represent this way of thinking — though a seminar involving all of them is not possible in this world, unfortunately.[136] Fairly obviously, I see my stance as being somewhere in the middle: the simple *can* mask the complex and *vice versa*, according to the evidence.

Turning to the Shona informants themselves, we can see that they, too, simplify the complex and embroider the simple: Gora may have fled from the fireworks at Edward VII's coronation celebrations in Salisbury, but that was not why he failed to become Chief; there is no proof that the Nehanda medium of 1896 could not be hanged until her snuff was taken from her; Mashayamombe Chinengundu's head was not flown to Britain in 1897. On the other hand, the immigration of the Mhari into the modern Chivi area was much more complex than tradition is now making it; the *mfecane* was not simply a result of the Rozvi defiance of Mwari; and Mbiru's retirement into a cave on Gombe mountain means more than an old man's fear of his sons.

Nevertheless, looking at the content and message of Shona oral traditions — those I have so far read or heard — it is clear that they do not reflect all aspects of society; indeed, they would be most unusual if they did. Overall, they do not lay much stress on the role of women, or even retain memories of their names as often as they do those of men; they do not reflect sufficiently the non-agnate or 'commoner' majority of the population, concentrating instead on ruling lineages; they do not mention spirit mediums of any kind nearly as often as might have been expected. It can of course be argued that most of the oral traditions to which I have access, and on which I am basing these judgements, were aimed at a European audience or readership, but my impression is that those oral traditions that were recorded by Shona for Shona, so as to speak, also have these limitations.[137]

The aspects of society that the oral traditions *do* reflect give a picture that, obviously, forms only one part of the Shona past, that of the relatively poorer, smaller-scale society that existed after the end of the period of *zimbabwe* construction round 1700.[138] The traditions tell of lineages that are very conscious of totem relationships and are very worried about incest. They quite often tend to put the blame for quite general events on individuals, so that Mutekedza Chiwashira gets blamed for the 1896 Chimurenga and Changamire Chirisamhuru for the *mfecane*. They tell of lineages with very strong suspicions of their relatives, so that Bangira of the Mashayamombe dynasty is unfairly accused of betraying his brother Chinengundu in 1897 in order to get the title. The story that the 'mad Mambo' Rupandamananga failed to feed the people in a famine — itself a very rare suggestion that this was the ruler's duty — is used solely to justify the fact that his own people betrayed him in battle.[139] The traditions also stress boundaries and wars with neighbours. From actual historical studies using documents and oral traditions, we can see that this overall picture is not untruthful, though perhaps it errs on the gloomy side: peace and happiness do not make news.

I wish that I had the time and opportunity to make a really comprehensive study of the content of the oral traditions of many more African societies. It is my impression that, whether in the language of the DC or the informant, Shona traditions do not have the richness and variety of those of the great states of central and east Africa. For example, in sorting out the clichés used in oral traditions by the Shona, I was struck by the fact that there do not seem to be very many, overall. As was pointed out, creation myths have very rarely been recorded, which seems to be most unusual. It can be argued that this is because so many of the central and southern Shona dynasties appear to be fairly recent creations themselves, but there does not seem to be a very great deal of difference between their traditions and those of territories like Manyika and Maungwe that we know have been founded three or four centuries ago, and which retained some features of the pre-1700 societies like *zimbabwe* and female official positions.[140] In short, just as the Icelandic sagas differ from the Mahabharata, so the oral traditions of the Shona appear to differ from those of the Kuba and Rwanda. They are the traditions of tough, independent, bands of men defending their granite hills, not those of complex and courtly societies of great states. Great Zimbabwe and Kame must presumably have had some of the characteristics of the more recent Shona, but from an historian's point of view it is a great pity that Diogo Simões Madeira's interests were not more historical, and that he collected no pre-1600 traditions.[141]

I began this chapter on an optimistic note, and it is on that same optimistic note that I wish to end it, and to bring this book to a close. Leaving aside details of dating to an appendix, I can sum up by claiming that Shona oral traditions give us a reasonable basis for a history of the Zimbabwean plateau, but one going back only to about 1700 and often not as far. It is bad luck that the Changamire and Mutapa states ended before colonial rule could bring accurate recording of their traditions, just as it is bad luck that the Teve and Ngezi dynasties suffered a similar fate.[142] We know from documents that the Makoni dynasty of Maungwe is at least a century older than its traditions suggest,[143] but there does seem to be reasonable correspondence between documents and traditions in Manyika.[144] Elsewhere, we have virtually no chance to check traditions except with each other. Generally speaking, these seem to stand up fairly well: just as minor houses of dynasties, which cannot succeed to the main title, do not retain long genealogies like those of the major houses, so the dynasties inside the Mutapa and Changamire/Ndebele states' areas seem to have short genealogies; outside these states, the picture is different. The length of a genealogy is not related to the size of a dynasty and its territory, so that little Chivero and Rwizi go back to the early eighteenth century while the powerful Mhari start round about 1800. Moreover, although Shona dynastic traditions almost never give the personal names of neighbouring rulers, so that one cannot have the tie-in between dynasties once hoped for,[145] I believe that the general pattern of migration and settlement and relations between different dynasties makes sense — and I believe that this is basically the sense of the evidence and not any preconception of my own. As I hope I have made clear, having discarded some migration traditions as improbable or untrue, I remain convinced that the remainder actually occurred. Anybody who argues for absolute stasis will have to prove a fantastic set of inventions by a lot of informants over a century.

The virtues of the Shona oral traditions are clear. At best, they give us a reasonably coherent political history over two pre-colonial centuries, and an economic history going back to about 1850. At worst, they tell us what lay behind the beliefs and actions of the people from the coming of colonial rule to the present. At best, at worst, or at some point in between, they remain an absolutely fascinating means of coming to understand one part of Zimbabwe's past.

APPENDIX I

Generational dating for Shona dynasties

In 1980 I briefly outlined generational dating.[1] Here, I give more details of the method used. We have very few contemporary documents with which to date events. Unless we abandon all attempts to think in terms of a relative chronology, we have to work from genealogies, even though we know that these vary very greatly in their levels of inaccuracy. In effect, we have to start with a 'least unlikely' genealogy. We also have to abandon regnal dating, in view of the very varied ways in which Shona rulers succeeded each other. (Where, as in the genealogies of the Ndau dynasties, which are possibly affected by Gaza 'custom', or in the earlier generations of many other Shona dynasties, we appear to have a succession of ruling fathers and sons, we can be fairly certain that ruling brothers and cousins have been conveniently forgotten, so we have to regard such sections of genealogies with even more suspicion that usual. More recent parts of most Shona genealogies show a more probable picture of ruling brothers and successions from different houses alongside straight father-son successions.)[2]

It has been shown that, in early colonial days when the natural deaths of rulers were recorded before modern medicine was likely to affect matters very much, we get a number of average figures for the number of years between the death of a father and the deaths of all of his sons. (Most Shona genealogies tend to put the sons of a polygynist ruler in approximate order of age without regard to which mother bore them.) Thus the eldest son of a whole line of sons died, on average, 23 years after his father and the very youngest 60 years after his father. A rough average for the whole line of sons was 42 years. For an elder but not necessarily the eldest son, we can use 28 years.[3] Historians have to use their judgement as to which figure to choose, especially between 23 and 28 and between 42 and 60.

Working back from a known historical death-date of a son or sons, it is possible to give a generational death-date for the father, marked * to indicate that it is not a real date. (If it is possible to get two or more death-dates for the sons, an average death-date for the father can be calculated from them.) We then add a variation figure ± 20 years to be on the safe side,[4] and then work backwards through the generations on the same principle, increasing the variation by ± 4 years every time, thus ± 24, 28, 32, 36, 40 and so on. If we have different houses that can be dated thus, when we arrive back at a common ancestor we can take an average.

Occasionally, in a string of the rather suspect father-son successions that tend to occur in genealogies, we get a tradition that one of these rulers lived for a very long time, so the 28-year generation can be increased to 38 years. Obviously the inaccuracy is increasing the further back one gets, just as the increasing variation figures suggest. It must be stressed that much depends on the interpretation of the genealogy: Paul Carbery got a death-date of * 1733 ± 40 for Makoni Muswere, by assuming that Makoni Mukuru was a 'middle' son dying in 1889, 42 years after his father Ruredzo, whereas, if as I think, he was the youngest of all his brothers, then Muswere would have died in *1717 ± 36. Often the historian ends up with alternative death-dates for an early ancestor that are much less compatible than these.[5]

Given the lack of early documents that relate to the rulers in the genealogies, it is hard to check the level of inaccuracy of this system. Using this system to date the combined Kasekete-Mutapa genealogy given by Kupara, we get a death-date of *1492 ± 60 for the 'ancestor' Mutota, which is not bad under the circumstances, but from Chapter 6 of this book we know enough about Kupara's genealogy to be suspicious. The genealogy of the Chikanga-Mutasa dynasty of Manyika, working back from the death of Mutasa Tendai in 1902, gives us a death-date of *1800 ± 24 for his grandfather Chikanga Pfete, who actually died in 1795.[6] However, to warn readers who might be unduly encouraged by such close datings, the generational death-date for Gambiza Chivese is *1818 ± 28, whereas the traditions of 1904 made him a contemporary of Zwangendaba of the 1830s.

For dynasties not dated by documents it is very hard to check 'events' by comparing traditions. It was once hoped that a set of 'tie-ups' between the genealogies could be established,[7] but unfortunately Shona oral traditions do not often name specific rulers in neighbouring dynasties, using instead their hereditary titles. Nevertheless, looking at the whole body of genealogies and traditions used here, the situation is not as bad as might have been expected. Shona traditions often state which dynasty arrived first in a region, and they are often fairly consistent without, as far I can tell, trying very hard to make events fit each other by consulting neighbouring traditions. Thus the Mbiru dynasty has generational dates much older than those of the descendant Masarirambi branch, while both are older than the generational date for the first ruling Gambiza. We get a similar sequence for Chivero and Mashayamombe in the Chegutu area and for Seke, Chinamhora and Hwata-Chiweshe in the Harare region and for Gutu, the *shiri* Bonda, the Ngowa and the Mhari in the south.

A further point is that there does not seem to be much relationship between the strength and power of dynasties and the length of their genealogies except where groups have lived in the 'shadow' of a great neighbouring state such as those of the Changamire, Ndebele or Mutapa. In such cases, genealogies of groups known to have preceded the state tend to be short. The same thing happens where houses of an ordinary dynasty have lost the right to succeed: they tend to have very short genealogies even though they are descended from an ancestor who obviously ruled long ago.[8] On the other hand, very small but independent dynasties such as those of Chivero or Rwizi may have very long genealogies but some powerful groups such as the Mhari or northern Hera have quite short ones.

To conclude, we can no longer entertain the high hopes that were once held for Shona oral traditions, that it would be possible to reconstruct from them a history that reaches back into the far past. As things are, it is very hard to get any traditions reaching back before about 1700. At that period one has to distinguish between dynasties like Chivero or Mbiru with weak migration traditions that probably predate that time, and those with roughly equivalent generational dates like Seke or Chinamhora, which still have strong migration traditions and can thus be taken to have become established not long after 1700. Between 1700 and 1900, however, taking all the traditions together there is a surprising degree of agreement between them, an agreement that is not apparent to those who have kept them. It is the relative consistency of these traditions that has convinced me for so long that they remain a worthwhile subject of study. Granted that the main purpose of the oral traditions was political, with a concentration on land and the right to control it, with care and persistence it should be possible to deduce quite a lot about the economy, society and other kinds of history from them for two whole pre-colonial centuries.

REFERENCES TO APPENDIX I

1. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 330-331
2. Rennie, 'Ndau', 567-590; Henige, *Chronology*, 71-94
3. Beach, 'Shona generation', 45-53.
4. D.H.Jones, 'Problems of African chronology', *J.Afr. Hist.*, xi, 2, 1970, 167.
5. Carbery, 'Maungwe', 18.
6. Bhila, *Trade and politics*, xiii.
7. Alpers, 'Mutapa-Rozwi complex,' 205-206.
8. Analogies are often suspect, but just as the shade of a great tree often stunts the growth of plants around it, so great states seem to have reduced the need to keep long genealogies, on the part of their closer subjects.

APPENDIX II

Genealogies

These follow the sequence given in the list that follows. Genealogies are as central to Shona oral traditions as maps, and are more difficult to reproduce. Most genealogies have a triangular shape, and in the case of the Shona this is exaggerated by the tenfold population increase in this century. The ideal presentation would be a set of fold-out charts, but these would take up space as great as the rest of the book, so an attempt has been made to compress each genealogy into a page or less. This has meant the exclusion of very many non-essential names, and Arabic numerals are used whenever possible to show many sons and brothers existed between named men. Few women occur in the genealogies or the originals on which they are based. In most cases the genealogies are compromises, attempting to reconcile different versions collected over the years in the Per/5 files, and notes try to explain anomalies. Other sources used include the National Archives files A 3/18/28, EC 3/1/1-3. N 8/1/1 and N 3/33/8 and J.D. White's unpublished 'Chiefs and Headmen' lists, as well as the sources cited in the chapter references.

The genealogies follow the normal rules for such figures, with the most senior persons being placed at the top and the left of the page. Standard symbols and abbreviations include: ag. acting; b/o brother of; c. about; d. died; dsi. died without issue; dep. deposed; f/o father of; k. killed; pre. before; pred. predeceased; reg. ruling; res. resigned; ret. retired; s/o. son of; = married. Broken lines indicate uncertain descent or descent over an unknown number of generations. Roman numerals attempt to give the order of rulers, though this is often uncertain, and do not allow for the varying status of rulers as Chiefs or Headmen in this century. Dates are either calendar, from documents, or generational (marked *) from genealogies. These latter can often be calculated to give very varied results.

Spellings have sometimes been corrected, but often obsolete or inconsistent versions have been left as in the original, pending verification. Not only are there regional variations, but in the south Ndebele and Venda influence is shown. Most names from Portuguese documents have been left as in the original.

The heading of each genealogy gives the title of the dynasty, the name of the territory (where this is different from that of the dynasty), the *mutupo* (totem) and *chidawo* (praise name) of the dynasty in recent times, and the name of the people of the dynasty where this differs from the territorial name.

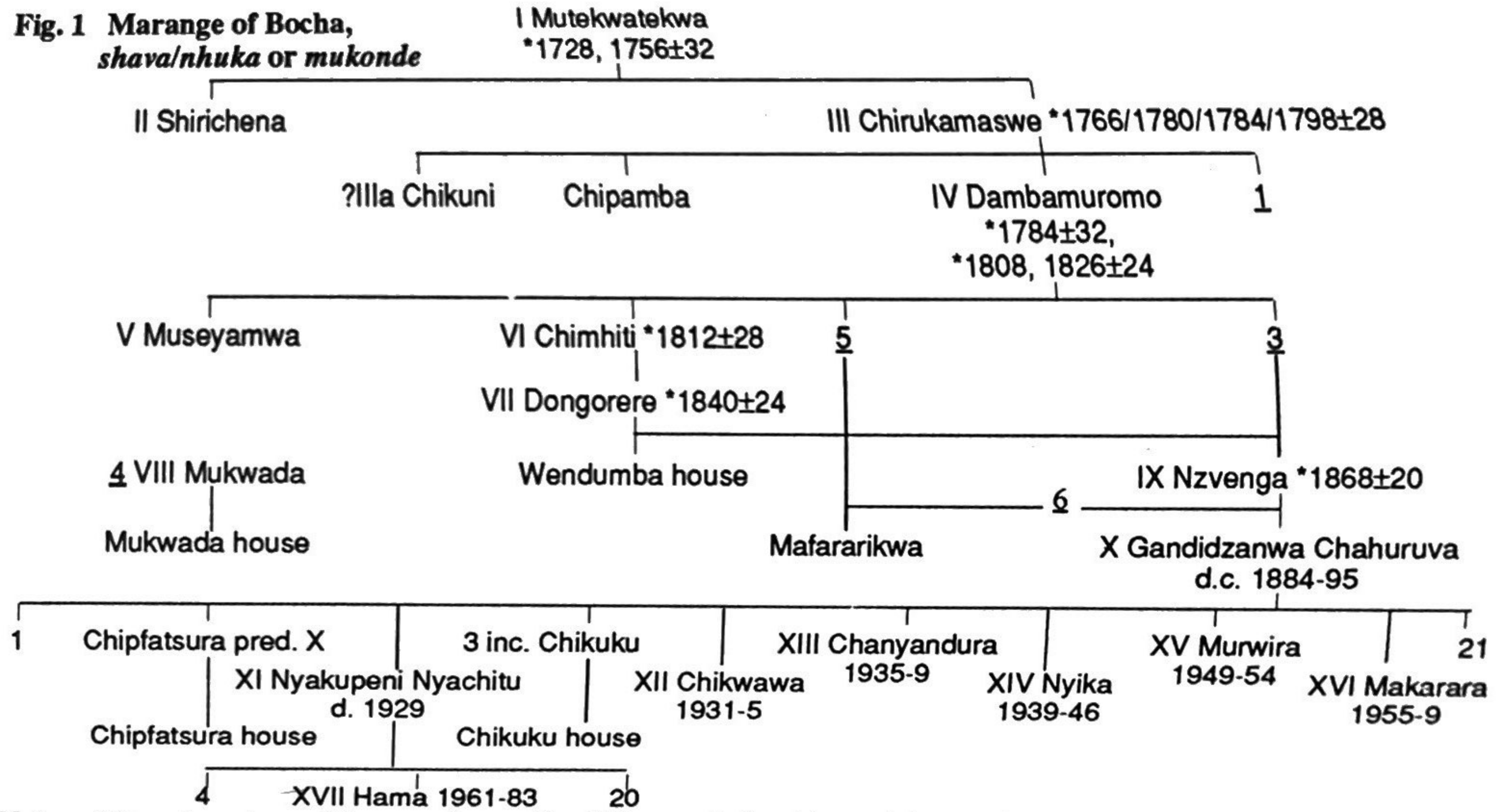
Fig:

1. Marange of Bocha, *shava/nhuka* or *mukonde*
2. Mbiru-Nyashanu of Buhera, *shava/museyamwa*
3. Masarirambi-Mutekedza of West Buhera, *shava/museyamwa*
4. Karivara and Munyaradze of South Buhera, *shava/wakanonoka*
5. Ngezi of Rimuka, Tonga, *mutonga/mupamombe*
6. Chivero of Chisvipi, *shava/mwendamberi*
7. Rwizi of Chitungwiza, *shava/mazarura*
8. Mushava of Mwenezi Range, *shava/musimuvi*
9. Nherera of Matanha, *shava/mvuramavi*
10. Neuso of Chwaya, *shava/murehwa*
11. Gora of Matanha, *gwai/mukuruvambwa*
12. Mashayamombe of Mhondoro, Dzete, *mhara/mbuya*
13. Maromo of Zvihota, Dzete, *mhara/mbuya*
14. General relationships of Njanja houses of Zvinjanja, *moyo/sinyoro*
15. The Chikono house of the Njanja
16. The Charwe, Dondi and Marudya houses of the Njanja
17. Gwangwava-Musarurwa of Narira, Rozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*
18. Murambwa of Chikomba, Rozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*
19. Nyika, Rozvi, *soko/mudyanavana*
20. Benhura, Rozvi, *dube/wakapiwa*
21. Nyandoro of Sunga, *nhari/unendoro*
22. Samuriwo of Mani, *moyo/wakapiwa*
23. Nyamweda of Nharira, *moyo/ziruvi*
24. Seke of Harava, *shava/mamvuramavi*
25. Chinamhora of Chishawasha, *soko/murehwa*
26. Musana of Satwa, *gumbo/makuwapasi* or *madyirapanze*
27. Chikwaka, *mbano/matemayi*
28. Masembura, *moyo/muzukuru*
29. Rusike of Mpatwe, *moyo/wadyagora*
30. Mangwende of Nhowe, *moyo/muzukuru*
31. Svosve of Mbire III, *soko/mondizvo* or *vudzijena*
32. Mudzimuirema of Chirimuka, *soko/gumeme*
33. Chihota, Manyika, *mbizi* or *tembo/mazvimbakupa samaita binga*
34. Hwata, Hera, *shava/mufakose*

35. Chiweshe, Hera, *shava/mutenesanwa*
36. Chingombe muRozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*
37. Rozani or Mbavha, Rozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*
38. Chiduku, Rozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*
39. NeManwa, Manwa, *shumba/mugariri* or *garabwe*
40. Hama, Shawasha, *shoko/mutadza*
41. Chingoma, Romwe, *dziva/mabire*
42. Bankwe, Kalanga, *shumba/hasani*
43. Chizungu, Rozvi, *chuma/gwai*
44. Murove, Rozvi, *chuma/gwai*
45. Shindi or Nebwine, Rozvi or Mubwine, *shava-mhara/marombedze*
46. Nyamondo, Rozvi, *moyo/sahayi* or *zariro*
47. Negove, Rozvi, *moyo/zariro*
48. Negari, Rozvi, *moyo/sahayi-mondizvo*
49. Mtubayedzi (Mutevaidze), Rozvi, *moyo/sahayi*
50. Gurajena, Zvidzvi, *dziva/nyakuzvidzwa*
51. Gororo, Ndau, *beta/wabeta*
52. Madzivire, Ndau, *beta/mutukuti*
53. Nemarundwe, Rundwe, *zhou/siwana*
54. Serima, *tsiwo/gushungo*
55. Wozhere, Hungwe, *shonga-nyati/chirombowe*
56. Gutu and related dynasties, Rufura, *gumbo/madyirapazhe*
57. Ndanga, *gumbo/madyirapazhe*
58. The Ngowa of Musipambi and Maziwofa, *dziva-hove/musaigwa*
59. The Ngowa of Mazvihwa, Mataruse and Bvute, *dziva-hove/musaigwa*
60. Chitaura-Maburutse and Nerutanga, Nobvu, *dziva/pakuru*
61. Gambiza, Hiya, *dziva/nyakuzvidzwa*
62. Ndanga, Bonda, *shiri/mawokomavi*
63. Masunda and Mpakame, Bonda, *shiri/mawokomavi*
64. The Mhari, general relationships
65. Chivi and Mapanzure, Mhari, *shumba/murambwi*
66. Nhema, Mhari, *shumba/masinere*
67. Banga and Munikwa, Mhari, *shumba/bangure* and *murambwi*
68. Madamombe, Mhari, *shumba/murambwi* and *mufandawora*
69. Chirimuhanzu, Manyika-Govera, *tembo-shumba/mazi*

70. Shiku, Manyika, *tembo/musinauta*
71. Nemavuzhe, Govera, *ngara/wamambo*
72. Zimuto, Govera, *ngara/wamambo*
73. Mapanzure, Hera, *shava/museyamwa*
74. Chiwundura, Chamaya, *shava/nyakudirwa*
75. Matenda, Hera, *shava/museyamwa*
76. Mahlebadza, Rufura, *gumbo/madyirapazhe*
77. Neshuro, Mbire, *shoko/vudzijena*
78. Mudavanhu and Mapiravana, Zumba, *shoko/mayedza*
79. Nyakunuhwa, Mbire, *shumba/chipamutoro*
80. Charumbira, Nini, *shumba/sipambi*
81. The Pfumbi, *mbedzi-ngwenya/ruvimbi*
82. Chitawudze or Sitauze, Twamamba, *mbedzi/tembwani*
83. Mposi, Lemba, *zhou/sadiki*
84. The Dumbuseya, Wedza and Mazeteze, *moyo/masukume*
85. Rozvi kinglists and/or genealogies collected between 1894 and 1906
86. Typical Gumunyu genealogy
87. Mujuru's genealogy of 1957
88. Washaya's genealogy of 1961
89. Typical Jiri genealogy
90. Named Mutapa rulers according to contemporary documents
91. Mutapas according to Mello e Castro, 1763
92. Mutapas according to Pacheco, 1862
93. Kasekete, Chitsungo *nzou,* Chiweshe *nzou* and Muzarabanhi
94. The George Kupara/Mugota genealogy (after Garbett)
95. D. P. Abraham's genealogies (combined and simplified)
96. Tentative 'least unlikely' Mutapa genealogy

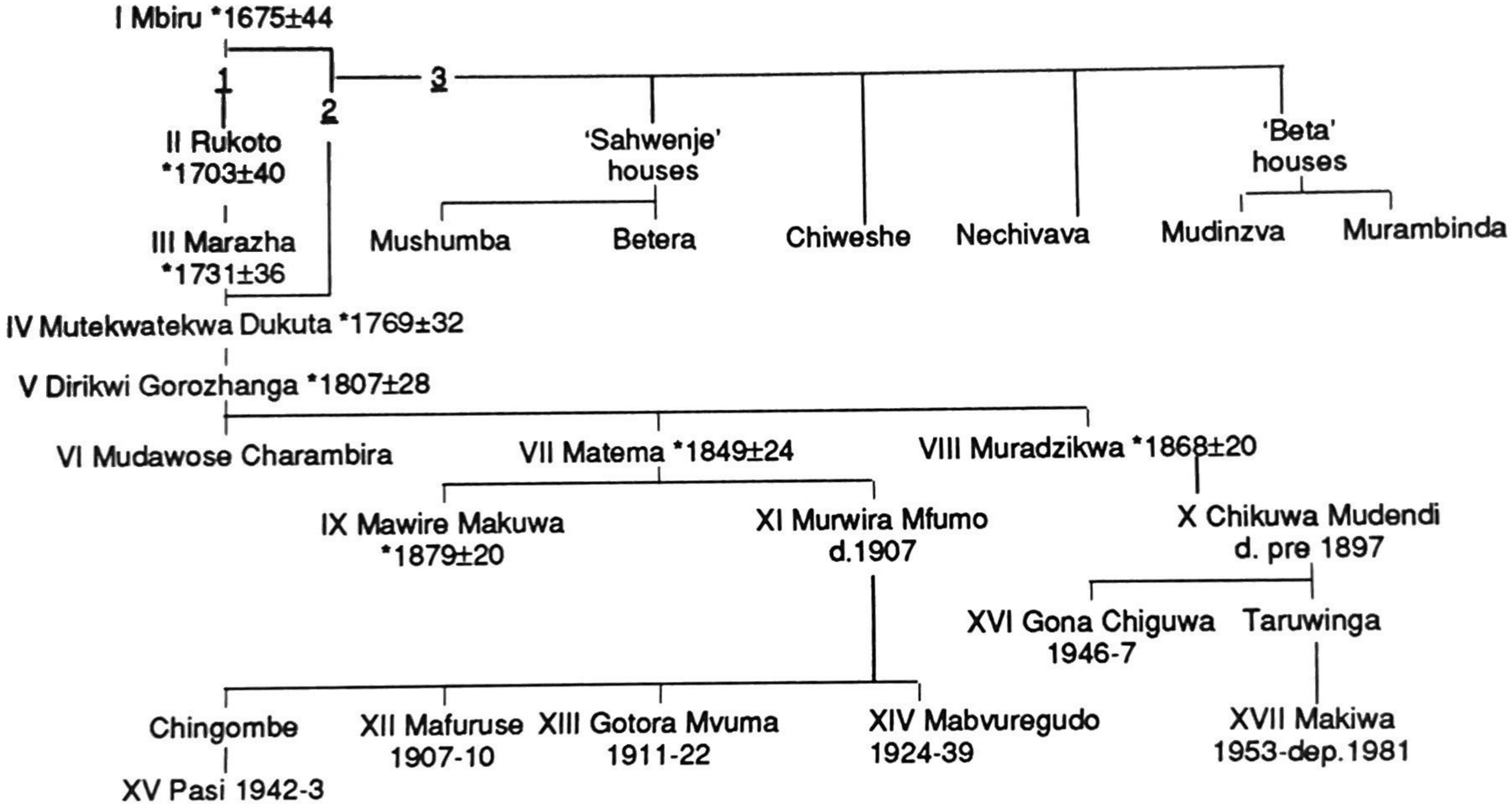
Fig. 1 **Marange of Bocha,** ***shava/nhuka* or *mukonde***


I Mutekwatekwa
*1728, 1756±32
II Shirichena
III Chirukamaswe *1766/1780/1784/1798±28
?IIIa Chikuni
Chipamba
IV Dambamuromo
*1784±32,
*1808, 1826±24
1
V Museyamwa
VI Chimhiti *1812±28
5
3
VII Dongorere *1840±24
4 VIII Mukwada
Wendumba house
IX Nzvenga *1868±20
6
Mukwada house
Mafararikwa
X Gandidzanwa Chahuruva
d.c. 1884-95
1
Chipfatsura pred. X
3 inc. Chikuku
XIII Chanyandura
1935-9
XV Murwira
1949-54
21
XI Nyakupeni Nyachitu
d. 1929
XII Chikwawa
1931-5
XIV Nyika
1939-46
XVI Makarara
1955-9
Chipfatsura house
Chikuku house
4
XVII Hama 1961-83
20

Notes: different versions of the genealogy offer different relationships and thus different dates: 1 UZHD Text 73 Mutare: Chief Hama noted, as sons of Chirukamaswe, Chikuni, Dambamuromo, Muwoko, Domborerwe, Chipamba, Zvirumwidza, Mukomborwe and others before going on to name the living places of Marange rulers in what are usually seen as junior generations. So IV may not have been eldest or elder son of III. 2 Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2. 3 all other genealogies. 4 ancestry not clear. 5 1931 genealogy. 6 UZHD Text 71 Mutare.

Dating: i.last son of X d. 1959, so unlikely X d.pre-1882 ii. with 2-3 brothers senior to IX (if 3 and 5 are right), IX probably a middle/youngest son of IV, so IV d.c. *1808/*1826; if 2 is right, IV d. *1784, so III d. *1766/*1780/*1784/*1798. iii. 1931 and 1954 genealogies make II and III father and son, but 1949 genealogy makes them brothers.

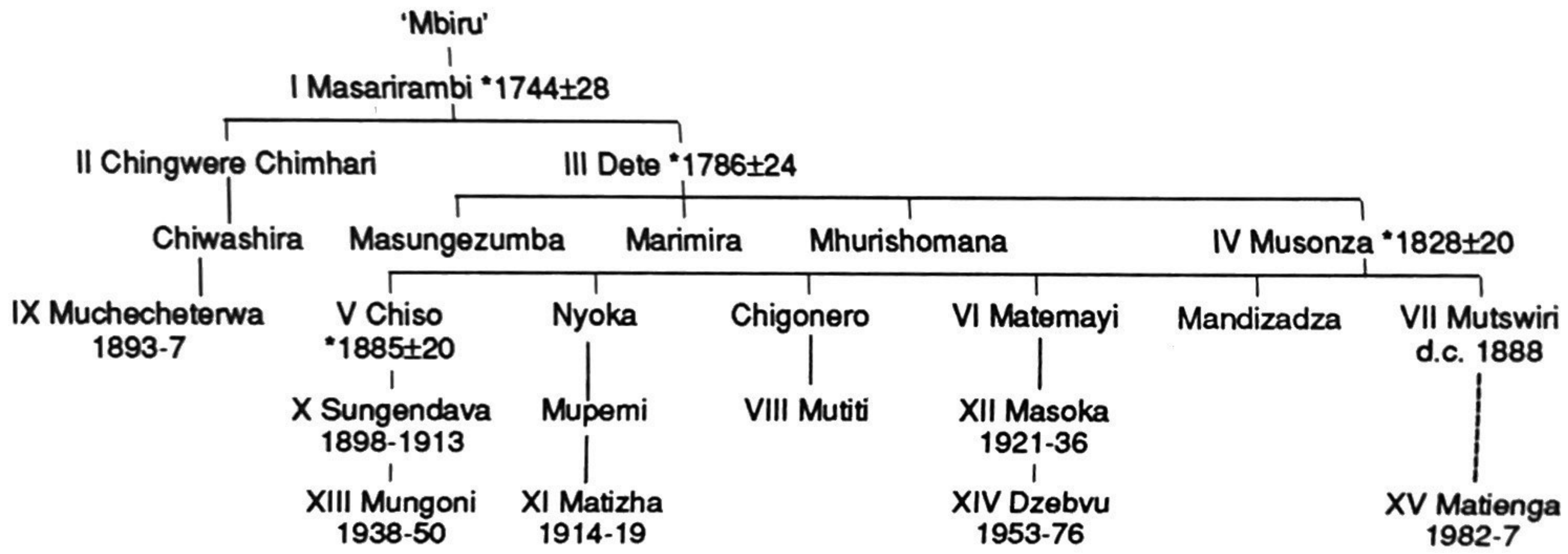
Fig. 2 **Mbiru-Nyashanu of Buhera,** ***shava museyamwa***


I Mbiru *1675±44
1
2
3
II Rukoto *1703±40
III Marazha *1731±36
IV Mutekwatekwa Dukuta *1769±32
V Dirikwi Gorozhanga *1807±28
'Sahwenje' houses
Mushumba
Betera
Chiweshe
Nechivava
'Beta' houses
Mudinzva
Murambinda
VI Mudawose Charambira
VII Matema *1849±24
VIII Muradzikwa *1868±20
IX Mawire Makuwa *1879±20
XI Murwira Mfumo d.1907
X Chikuwa Mudendi d. pre 1897
XVI Gona Chiguwa 1946-7
Taruwinga
Chingombe
XV Pasi 1942-3
XII Mafuruse 1907-10
XIII Gotora Mvuma 1911-22
XIV Mabvuregudo 1924-39
XVII Makiwa 1953-dep.1981

Notes: 1: I-IV according to Posselt, 1904. 2: I-IV in recent genealogies. 3: all these houses claim descent from 'Mbiru'.

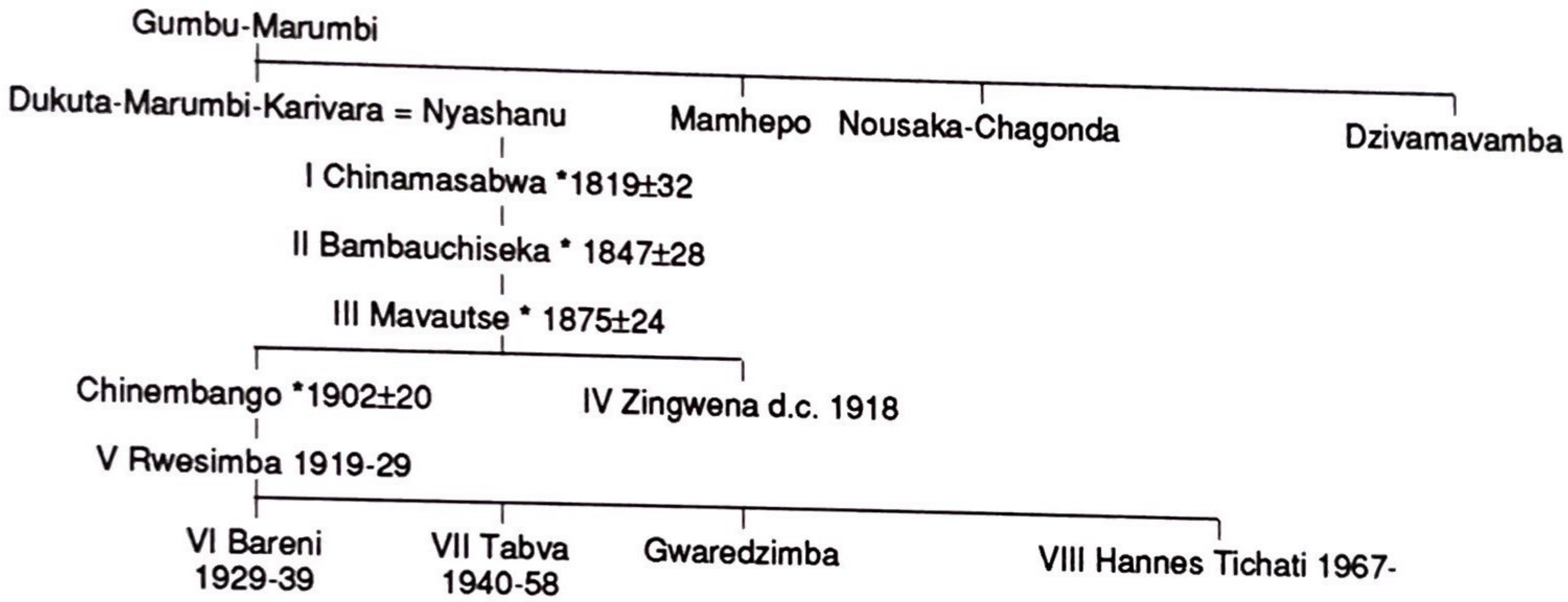
Dating: death of VII calculated as median between IX *'elder'* and XI *'youngest'* brothers, *death of V similarly, but* VII assumed to be *'middle'* son because had long reign and VI probably older. IV, III and V all get 10 years added because of long reigns.

Fig. 3: Masarirambi-Mutekedza of West Buhera, *shava/museyamwa*


'Mbiru'
I Masarirambi *1744±28
II Chingwere Chimhari
III Dete *1786±24
Chiwashira
Masungezumba
Marimira
Mhurishomana
IV Musonza *1828±20
IX Muchecheterwa 1893-7
V Chiso *1885±20
Nyoka
Chigonero
VI Matemayi
Mandizadza
VII Mutswiri d.c. 1888
X Sungendava 1898-1913
Mupemi
VIII Mutiti
XII Masoka 1921-36
XIII Mungoni 1938-50
XI Matizha 1914-19
XIV Dzebvu 1953-76
XV Matienga 1982-7

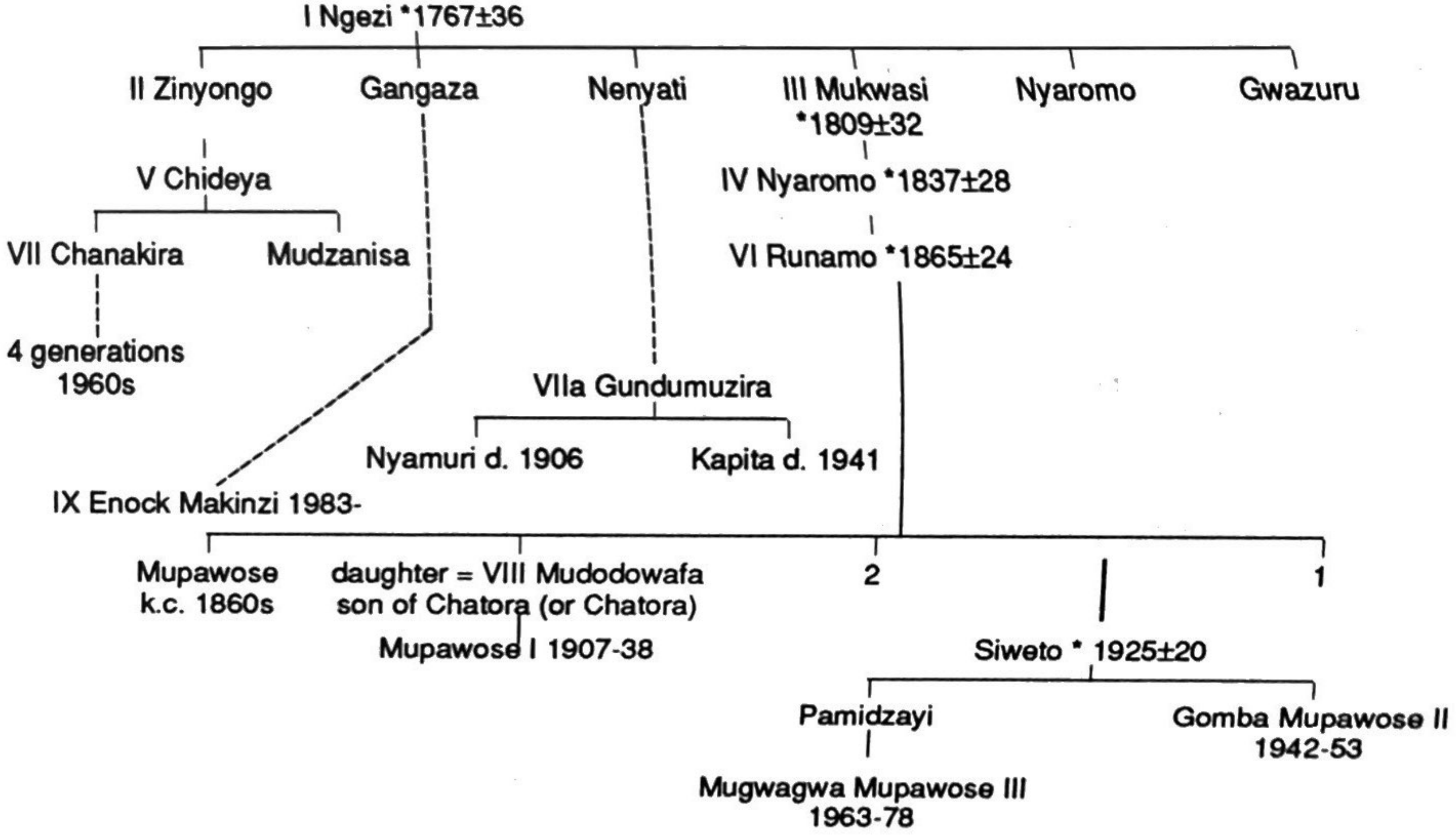
Dating: VII probably died in the late 1880s, prior to the unstable period of 1889-93, and was the youngest son of IV, whose death-date is probably more reliably calculated from VII than X, but IV and III are more probably middle than youngest sons, hence the dates suggested.

Fig. 4: **Karivara and Munyaradze of South Buhera, *shava/wakanonoka***


Gumbu-Marumbi
Dukuta-Marumbi-Karivara = Nyashanu
Mamhepo
Nousaka-Chagonda
Dzivamavamba
I Chinamasabwa *1819±32
II Bambauchiseka * 1847±28
III Mavautse * 1875±24
Chinembango *1902±20
IV Zingwena d.c. 1918
V Rwesimba 1919-29
VI Bareni 1929-39
VII Tabva 1940-58
Gwaredzimba
VIII Hannes Tichati 1967-

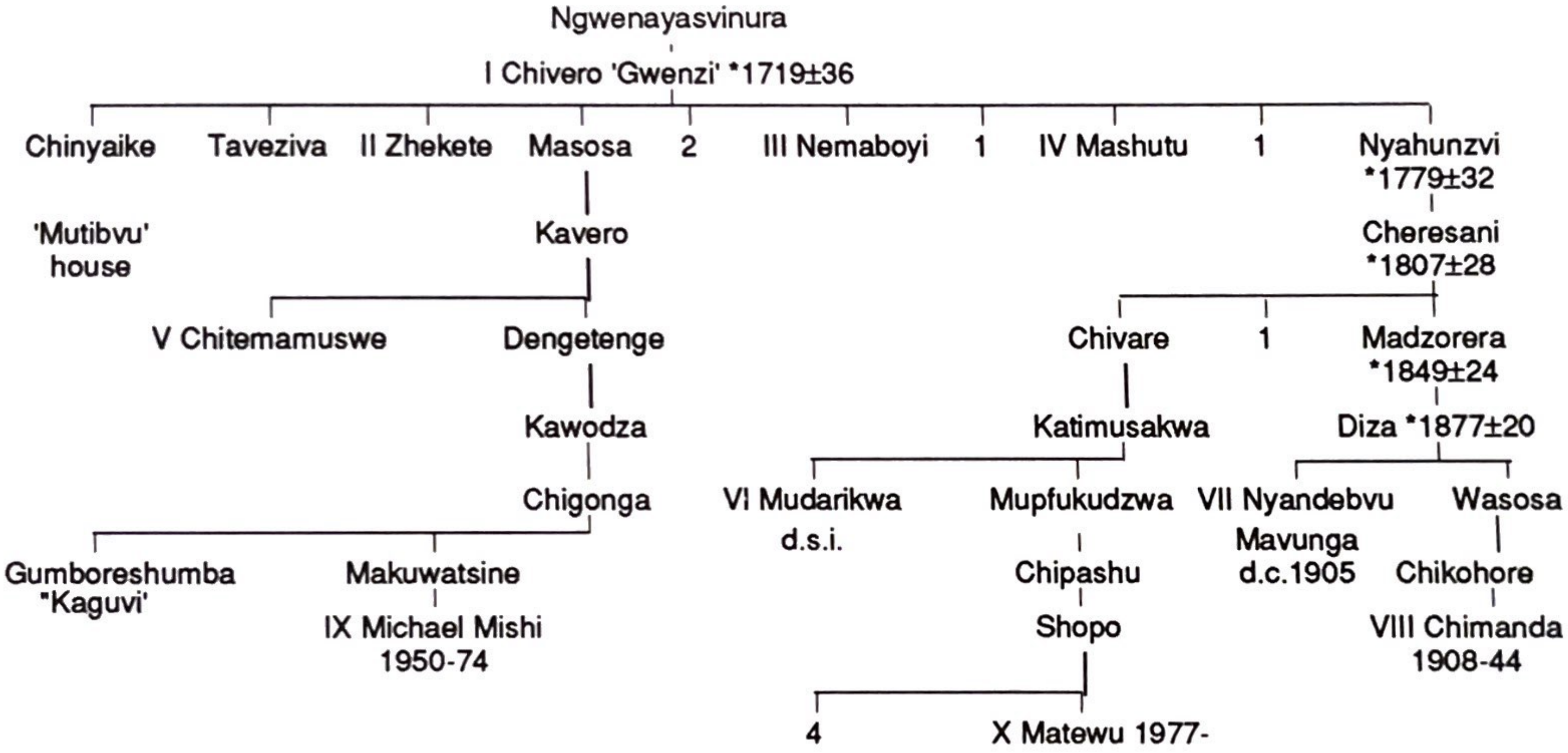
4

Fig. 5: Ngezi of Rimuka, Tonga, *mutonga/mupamombe*


I Ngezi *1767±36
II Zinyongo
Gangaza
Nenyati
III Mukwasi *1809±32
Nyaromo
Gwazuru
V Chideya
IV Nyaromo *1837±28
VII Chanakira
Mudzanisa
VI Runamo *1865±24
4 generations 1960s
VIIa Gundumuzira
Nyamuri d. 1906
Kapita d. 1941
IX Enock Makinzi 1983-
Mupawose k.c. 1860s
daughter = VIII Mudodowafa son of Chatora (or Chatora)
2
1
Mupawose I 1907-38
Siweto * 1925±20
Pamidzayi
Gomba Mupawose II 1942-53
Mugwagwa Mupawose III 1963-78

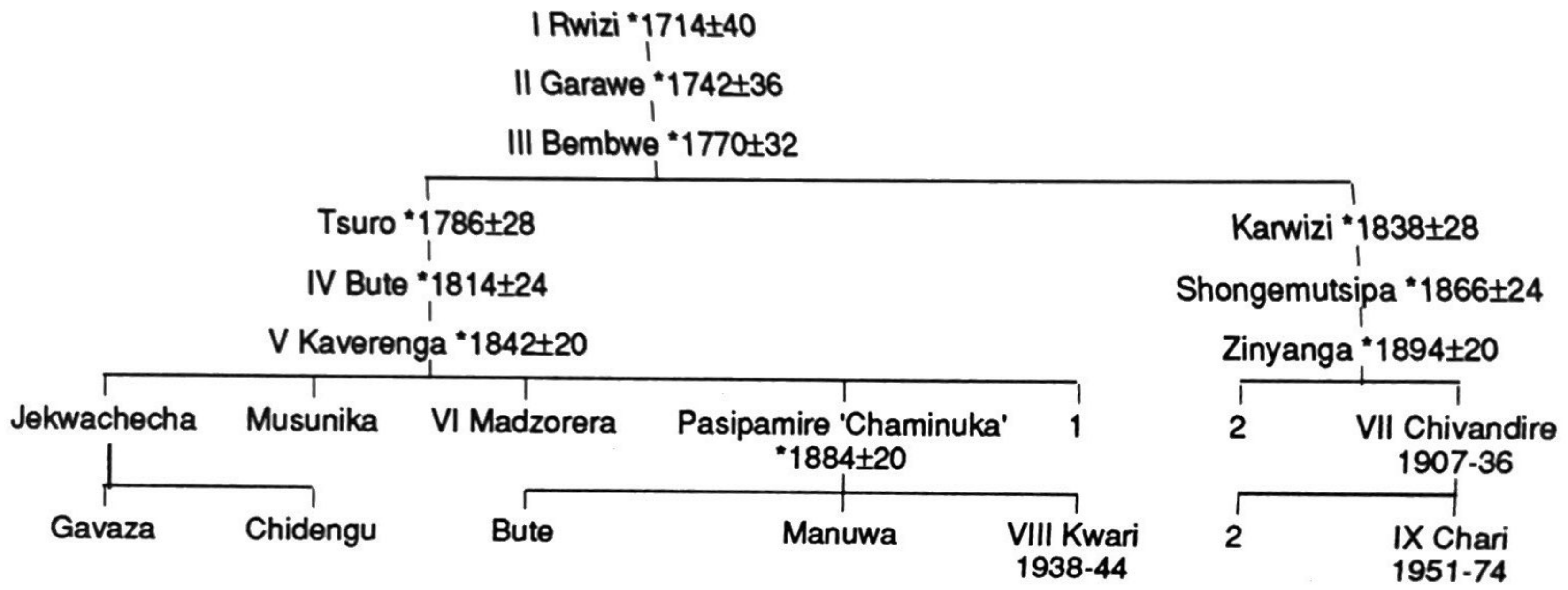
Notes: i. the precise order of I's sons is probably undiscoverable now. ii. if V and VII ruled, II probably did also. iii. in 1940 and 1942 Chideya house was placed under Nyaromo and it was claimed that Zinyongo was never ruler and that his descendants were unknown. This claim was by Gomba and Chanakira. The 1963 genealogy puts Chideya under Zinyongo, also on Chanakira evidence!

Fig. 6: Chivero of Chisvipi, *shava/mwendamberi*


Ngwenayasvinura
I Chivero 'Gwenzi' *1719±36
Chinyaike
Taveziva
II Zhekete
Masosa
2
III Nemaboyi
1
IV Mashutu
1
Nyahunzvi *1779±32
'Mutibvu' house
Kavero
Cheresani *1807±28
V Chitemamuswe
Dengetenge
Chivare
1
Madzorera *1849±24
Kawodza
Katimusakwa
Diza *1877±20
Chigonga
VI Mudarikwa d.s.i.
Mupfukudzwa
VII Nyandebvu Mavunga d.c.1905
Wasosa
Gumboreshumba "Kaguvi'
Makuwatsine
Chipashu
Chikohore
IX Michael Mishi 1950-74
Shopo
VIII Chimanda 1908-44
4
X Matewu 1977-

Notes: the 1948 genealogy makes Masosa son of II, in 1949 it was amended as above. A 1977 version made Chivare, Madzorera, Cheresani and Wasosa sons of Nyahunzvi, omitted Katimusaka and replaced Diza by Nyatsanga.

Fig. 7: **Rwizi of Chitungwiza, *shava/mazarura***


I Rwizi *1714±40
II Garawe *1742±36
III Bembwe *1770±32
Tsuro *1786±28
IV Bute *1814±24
V Kaverenga *1842±20
Karwizi *1838±28
Shongemutsipa *1866±24
Zinyanga *1894±20
Jekwachecha
Musunika
VI Madzorera
Pasipamire 'Chaminuka' *1884±20
1
2
VII Chivandire 1907-36
Gavaza
Chidengu
Bute
Manuwa
VIII Kwari 1938-44
2
IX Chari 1951-74

Dating: Pasipamire was actually killed in 1883, but VIII's death-date makes it unlikely that he would have lived much longer under normal circumstances. III's date is arrived at by making Tsuro and Karwizi 'eldest' and 'youngest' sons and taking an average. The 1959 genealogy split the dynasty completely by making Tsuro s/o II and Karwizi s/o I, leaving III apart and 'd.s.i.' Rwizi and Karwizi were sometimes confused.

Fig. 8:
Mushava of the Mwenezi Range, *shava/musimuvi*

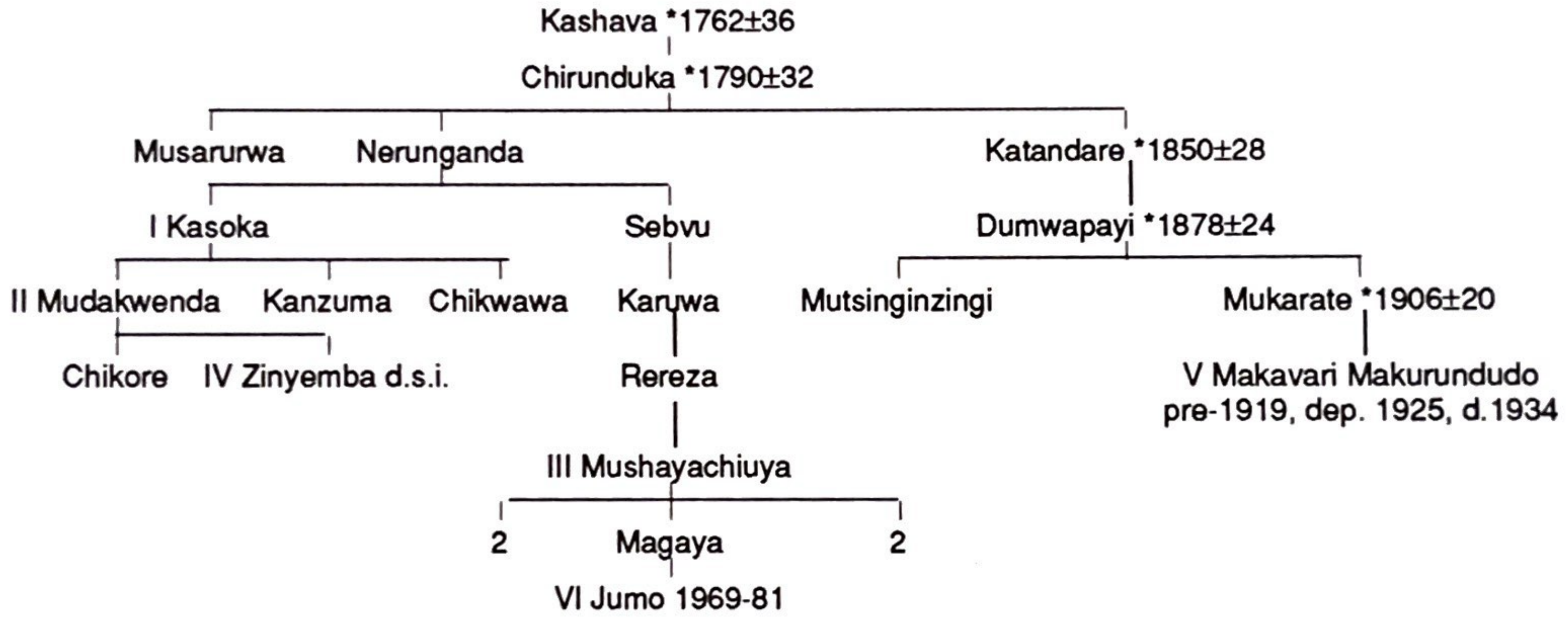

Kashava *1762±36
Chirunduka *1790±32
Musarurwa
Nerunganda
Katandare *1850±28
I Kasoka
Sebvu
Dumwapayi *1878±24
II Mudakwenda
Kanzuma
Chikwawa
Karuwa
Mutsinginzingi
Mukarate *1906±20
Chikore
IV Zinyemba d.s.i.
Rereza
V Makavari Makurundudo
pre-1919, dep. 1925, d.1934
III Mushayachiuya
2
Magaya
2
VI Jumo 1969-81

Fig. 9: Nherera of Matanha, *shava/mvuramavi*

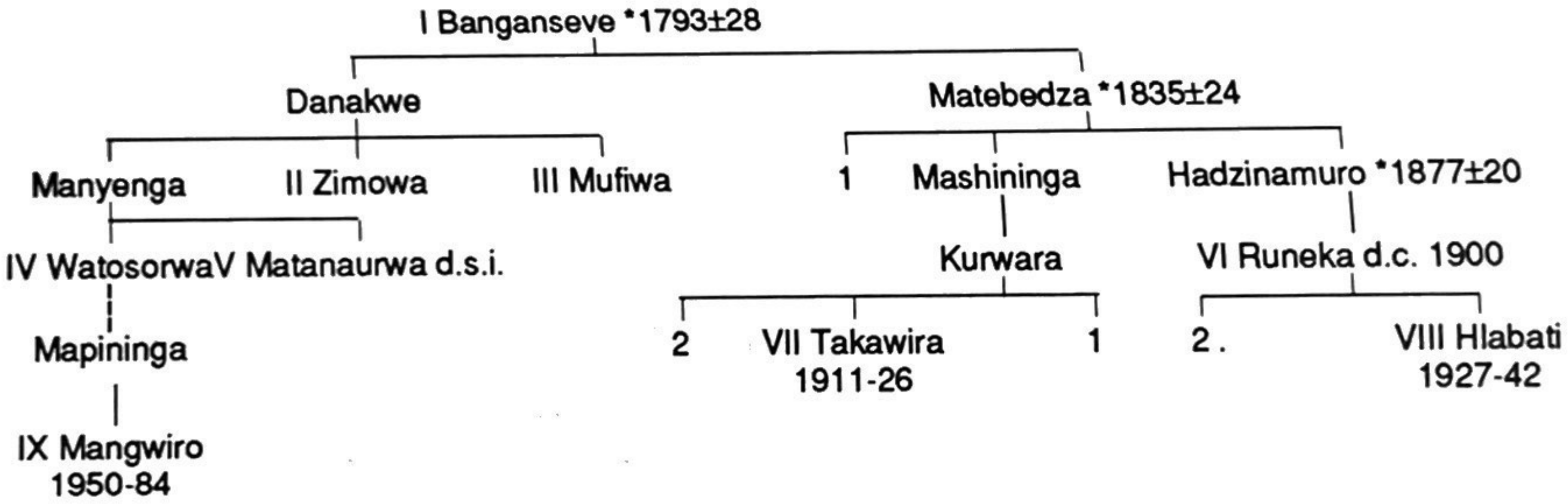

I Banganseve *1793±28
Danakwe
Matebedza *1835±24
Manyenga
II Zimowa
III Mufiwa
1
Mashininga
Hadzinamuro *1877±20
IV Watosorwa
V Matanaurwa d.s.i.
Kurwara
VI Runeka d.c. 1900
Mapininga
2
VII Takawira 1911-26
1
2 .
VIII Hlabati 1927-42
IX Mangwiro 1950-84

Fig. 10: Neuso of Chwaya, *shava/murehwa*

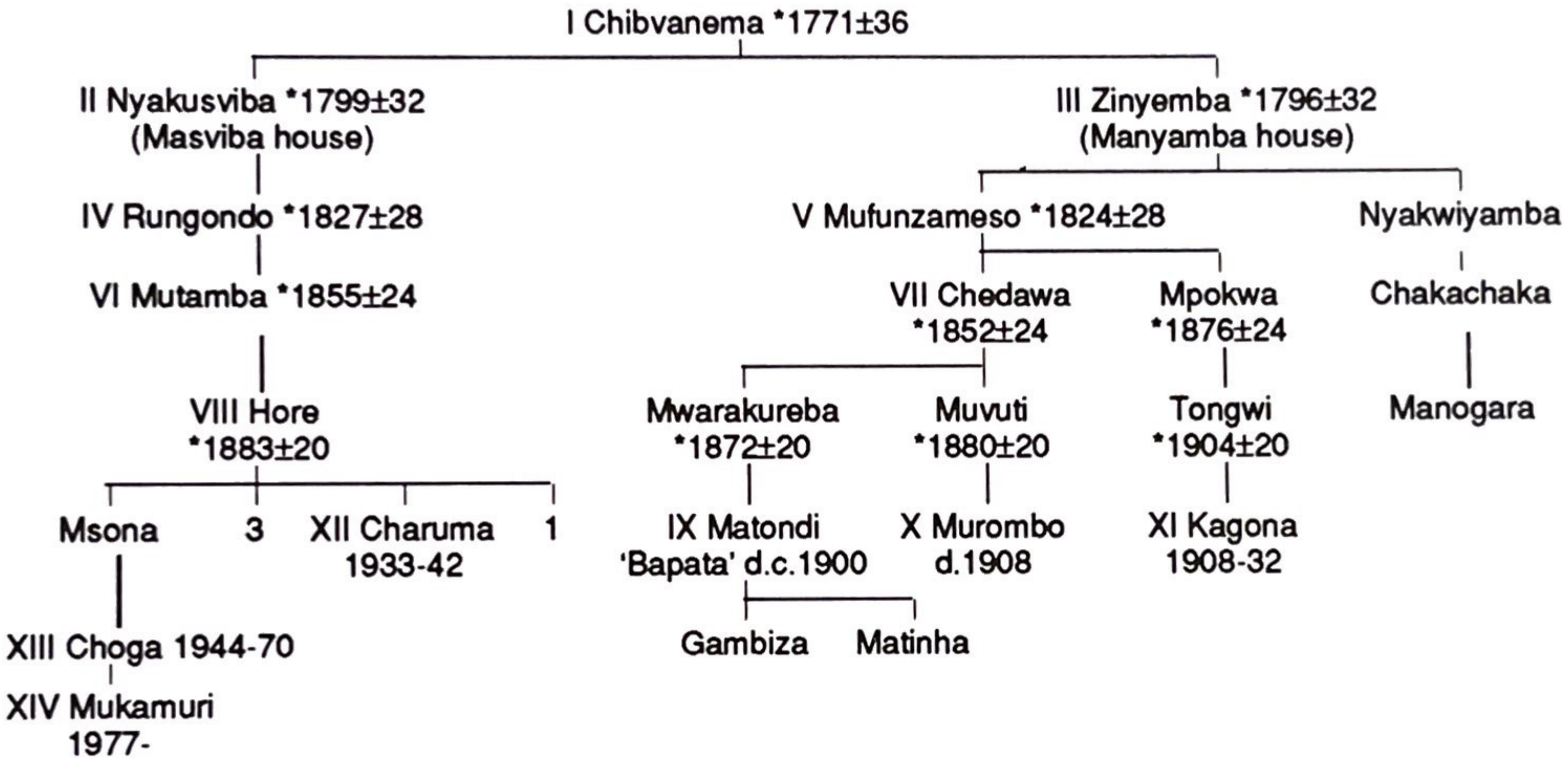
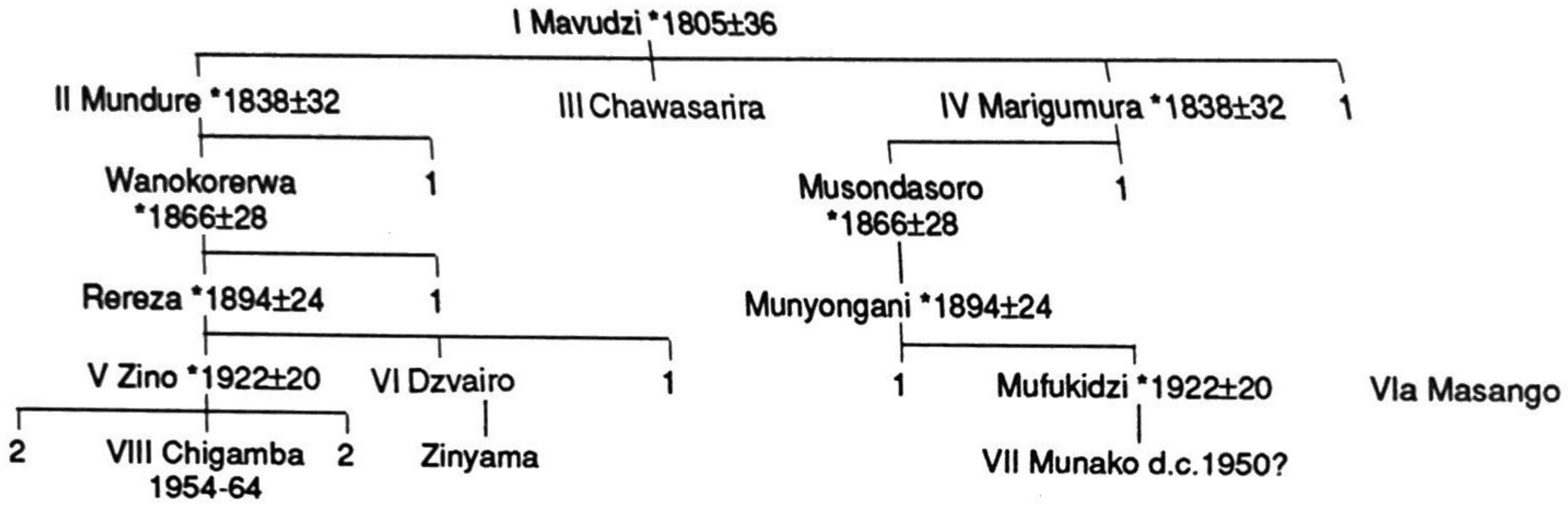
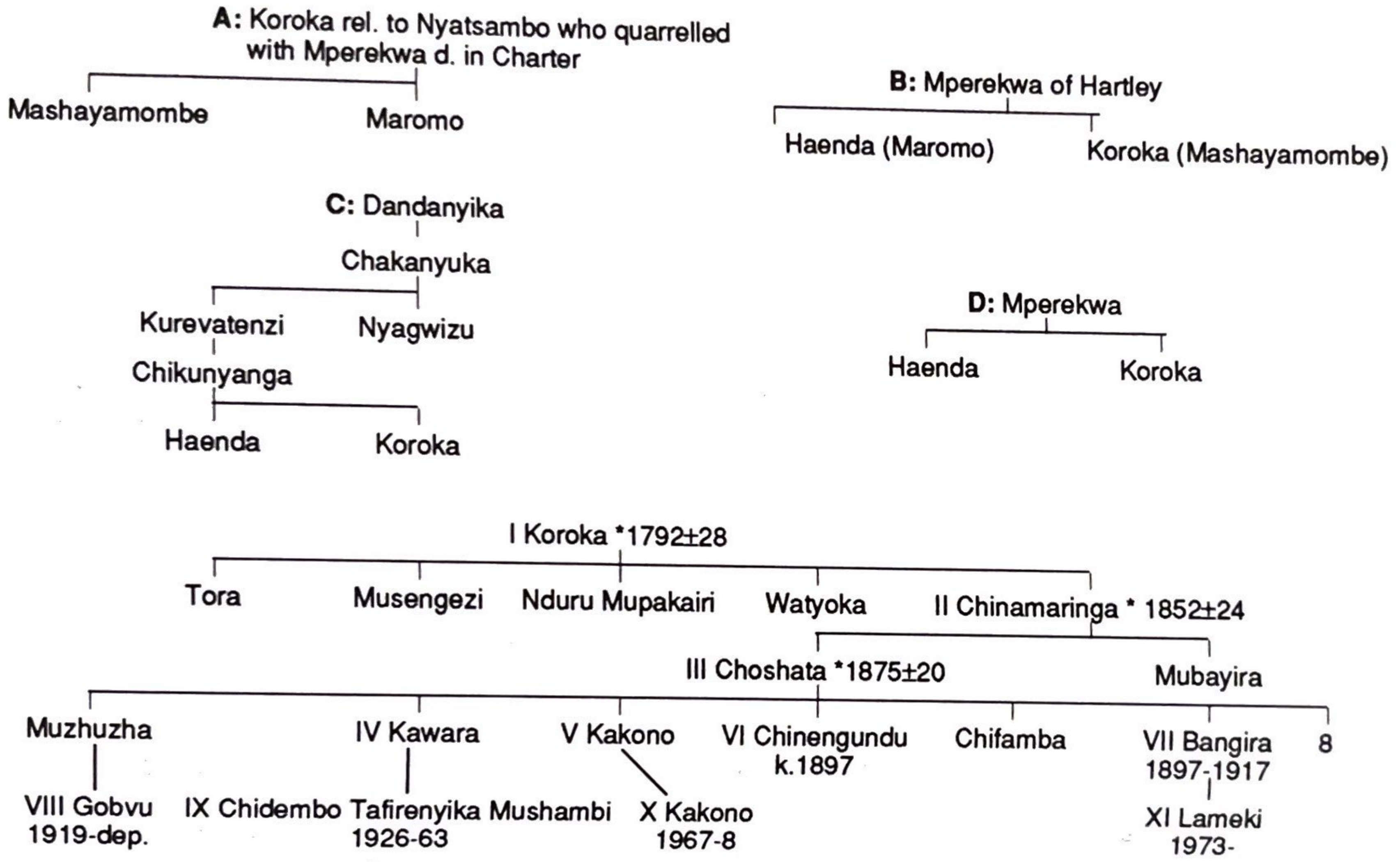

I Chibvanema *1771±36
II Nyakusviba *1799±32 (Masviba house)
III Zinyemba *1796±32 (Manyamba house)
IV Rungondo *1827±28
V Mufunzameso *1824±28
Nyakwiyamba
VI Mutamba *1855±24
VII Chedawa *1852±24
Mpokwa *1876±24
Chakachaka
VIII Hore *1883±20
Mwarakureba *1872±20
Muvuti *1880±20
Tongwi *1904±20
Manogara
Msona
3
XII Charuma 1933-42
1
IX Matondi 'Bapata' d.c.1900
X Murombo d.1908
XI Kagona 1908-32
XIII Choga 1944-70
Gambiza
Matinha
XIV Mukamuri 1977-

Fig. 11: Gora of Matanha, *gwai/mukuruvambwa*


I Mavudzi *1805±36
II Mundure *1838±32
III Chawasarira
IV Marigumura *1838±32
1
Wanokorerwa *1866±28
1
Musondasoro *1866±28
1
Rereza *1894±24
1
Munyongani *1894±24
V Zino *1922±20
VI Dzvairo
1
1
Mufukidzi *1922±20
VIa Masango
2
VIII Chigamba 1954-64
2
Zinyama
VII Munako d.c.1950?

Note: in the 1967 modification to the Delineation Report and a note of 14/6/67 in the Per 5/HM file, IV is said to have ruled as a very old man in 1896, and VI in 1930-4, while a non-agnate, Masango, apparently ruled between VI and VII. But if VII died before 1954, then IV died long before 1896.

Fig. 12: Mashayamombe of Mhondoro, Dzete, *mhara/mbuya*


A: Koroka rel. to Nyatsambo who quarrelled with Mperekwa d. in Charter
Mashayamombe
Maromo
B: Mperekwa of Hartley
Haenda (Maromo)
Koroka (Mashayamombe)
C: Dandanyika
Chakanyuka
Kurevatenzi
Nyagwizu
Chikunyanga
Haenda
Koroka
D: Mperekwa
Haenda
Koroka
I Koroka *1792±28
Tora
Musengezi
Nduru Mupakairi
Watyoka
II Chinamaringa * 1852±24
III Choshata *1875±20
Mubayira
Muzhuzha
IV Kawara
V Kakono
VI Chinengundu k.1897
Chifamba
VII Bangira 1897-1917
8
VIII Gobvu 1919-dep.
IX Chidembo
Tafirenyika Mushambi 1926-63
X Kakono 1967-8
XI Lameki 1973-

Note: The Mashayamombe and Maromo dynasties agree on their common origin but differ as to the degree of relationship. A: NC Jackson, 1903 B: NC Posselt, 1904 C: *MLG, DDA, Per/5 Maromo* D: *MLG, DDA Per/5* Mashayamombe.

Fig. 13: Maromo of Zvihota, Dzete, *mhara/mbuya*

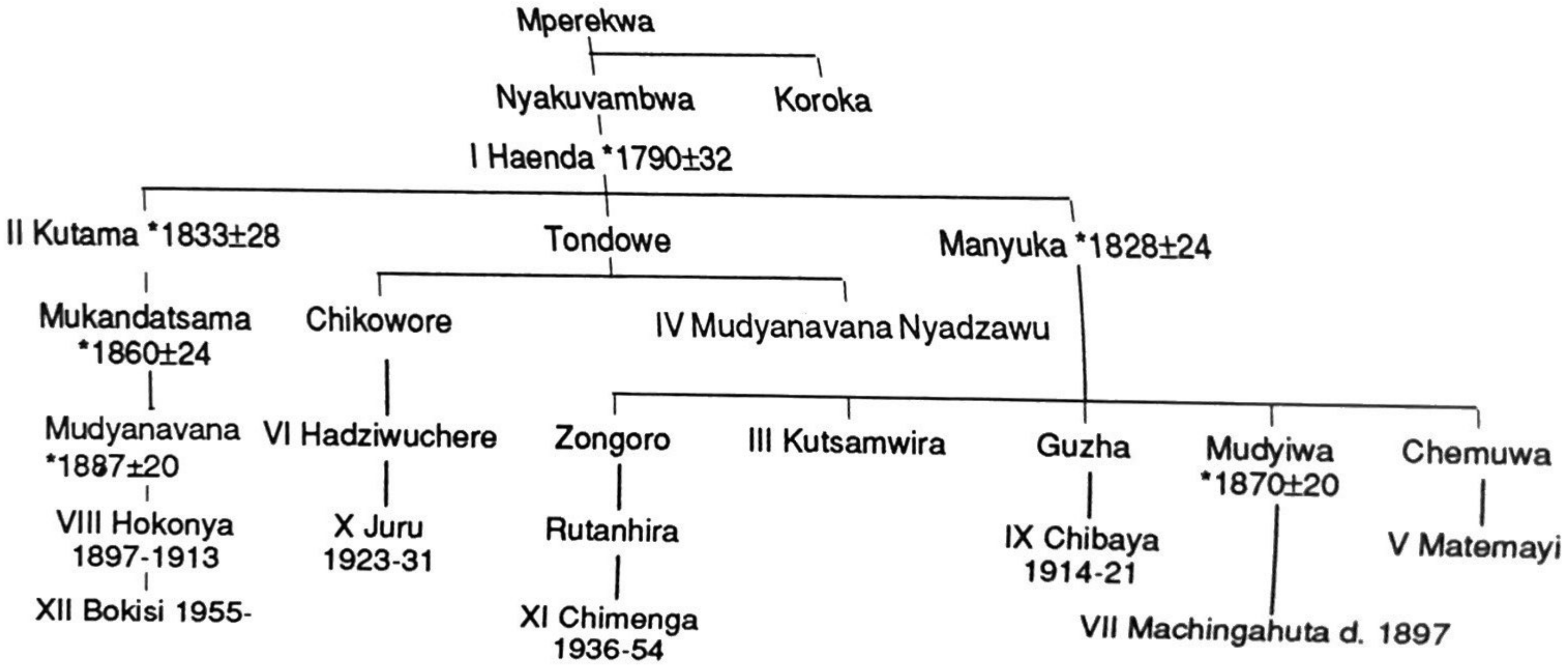
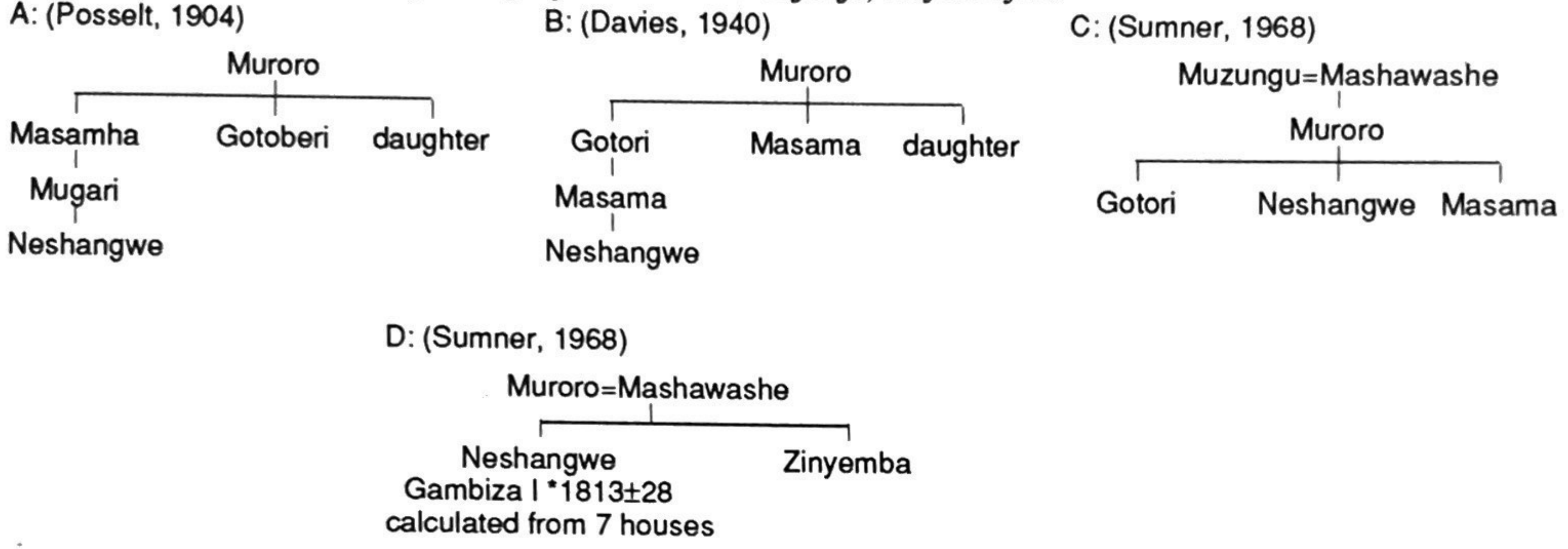

Mperekwa
Nyakuvambwa
Koroka
I Haenda *1790±32
II Kutama *1833±28
Tondowe
Manyuka *1828±24
Mukandatsama *1860±24
Chikowore
IV Mudyanavana Nyadzawu
Mudyanavana *1887±20
VI Hadziwuchere
Zongoro
III Kutsamwira
Guzha
Mudyiwa *1870±20
Chemuwa
VIII Hokonya 1897-1913
X Juru 1923-31
Rutanhira
IX Chibaya 1914-21
V Matemayi
XII Bokisi 1955-
XI Chimenga 1936-54
VII Machingahuta d. 1897

Fig. 14: General relationships of Njanja houses of Zvinjanja, *moyo/sinyoro*


A: (Posselt, 1904)
Muroro
Masamha
Gotoberi
daughter
Mugari
Neshangwe
B: (Davies, 1940)
Muroro
Gotori
Masama
daughter
Masama
Neshangwe
C: (Sumner, 1968)
Muzungu=Mashawashe
Muroro
Gotori
Neshangwe
Masama
D: (Sumner, 1968)
Muroro=Mashawashe
Neshangwe
Gambiza I *1813±28
calculated from 7 houses
Zinyemba

i. Chikono
a. Chivese house & Gunguwo sub-house
b. Makumbe house & Mombeyarara sub-house

ii. Charwe
a. Munyimi house
b. Nzuwa house & Ranga & Kwenda sub-houses

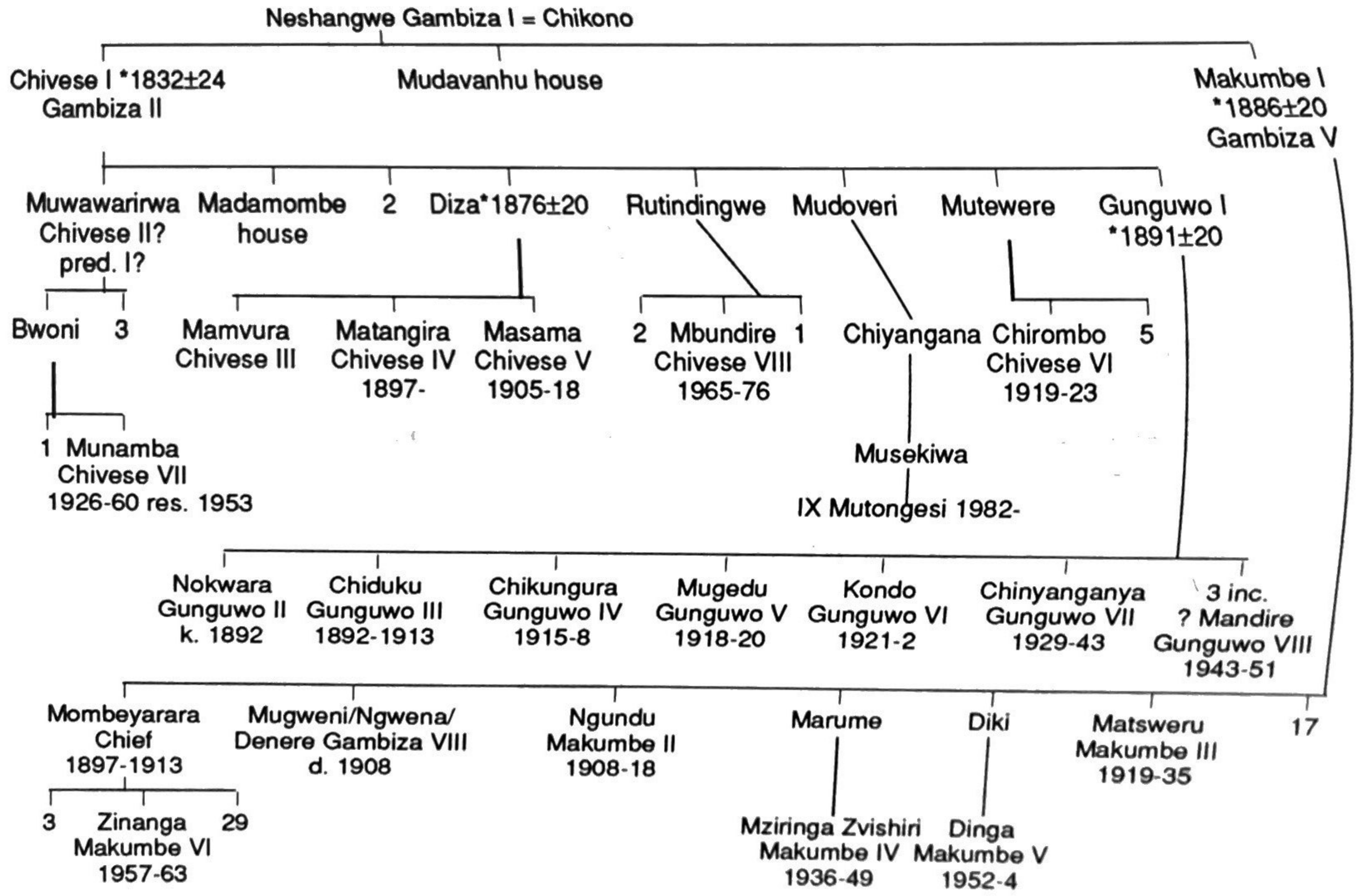
iii. Dondi
a. Zhakata house
b. Tambawoga-Svinurayi house
c. Chitsunge house

iv. Marudya
a. Mukoroverwa-Marara house

v. Chinanga
a. Gwekwerere house

Note: Whereas this relies on Sumner for relationships junior to Neshangwe, there are at least four versions of his ancestry. The Njanja are divided into five major houses descended from Neshangwe's senior wives, and the Gambiza title was shared between them until the beginning of this century. At least two tiers of junior titles existed within these female houses, but one (the recent Neshangwe title) was shared between two of them.

Fig. 15: the Chikono house of the Njanja


Neshangwe Gambiza I = Chikono
Chivese I *1832±24 Gambiza II
Mudavanhu house
Makumbe I *1886±20 Gambiza V
Muwawarirwa Chivese II? pred. I?
Madamombe house
2
Diza*1876±20
Rutindingwe
Mudoveri
Mutewere
Gunguwo I *1891±20
Bwoni
3
Mamvura Chivese III
Matangira Chivese IV 1897-
Masama Chivese V 1905-18
2
Mbundire Chivese VIII 1965-76
1
Chiyangana
Chirombo Chivese VI 1919-23
5
1 Munamba Chivese VII 1926-60 res. 1953
Musekiwa
IX Mutongesi 1982-
Nokwara Gunguwo II k. 1892
Chiduku Gunguwo III 1892-1913
Chikungura Gunguwo IV 1915-8
Mugedu Gunguwo V 1918-20
Kondo Gunguwo VI 1921-2
Chinyanganya Gunguwo VII 1929-43
3 inc. ? Mandire Gunguwo VIII 1943-51
Mombeyarara Chief 1897-1913
Mugweni/Ngwena/ Denere Gambiza VIII d. 1908
Ngundu Makumbe II 1908-18
Marume
Diki
Matsweru Makumbe III 1919-35
17
3
Zinanga Makumbe VI 1957-63
29
Mziringa Zvishiri Makumbe IV 1936-49
Dinga Makumbe V 1952-4

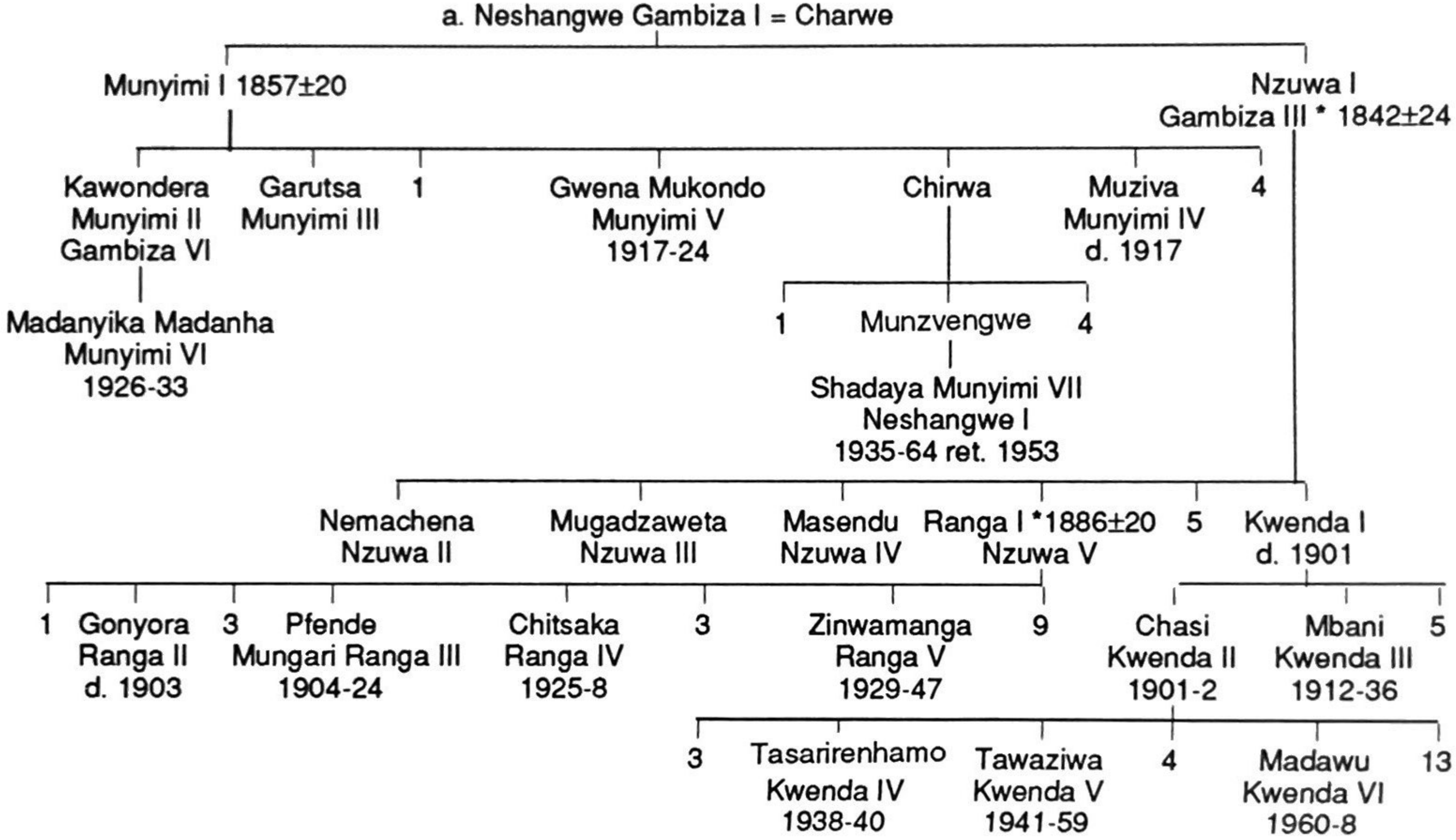


Fig. 16: The Charwe, Dondi and Marudya houses of the Njanja

a. Neshangwe Gambiza I = Charwe

Munyimi I 1857±20
Nzuwa I
Gambiza III * 1842±24
Kawondera
Munyimi II
Gambiza VI
Garutsa
Munyimi III
1
Gwena Mukondo
Munyimi V
1917-24
Chirwa
Muziva
Munyimi IV
d. 1917
4
Madanyika Madanha
Munyimi VI
1926-33
1
Munzvengwe
4
Shadaya Munyimi VII
Neshangwe I
1935-64 ret. 1953
Nemachena
Nzuwa II
Mugadzaweta
Nzuwa III
Masendu
Nzuwa IV
Ranga I *1886±20
Nzuwa V
5
Kwenda I
d. 1901
1
Gonyora
Ranga II
d. 1903
3
Pfende
Mungari Ranga III
1904-24
Chitsaka
Ranga IV
1925-8
3
Zinwamanga
Ranga V
1929-47
9
Chasi
Kwenda II
1901-2
Mbani
Kwenda III
1912-36
5
3
Tasarirenhamo
Kwenda IV
1938-40
Tawaziwa
Kwenda V
1941-59
4
Madawu
Kwenda VI
1960-8
13

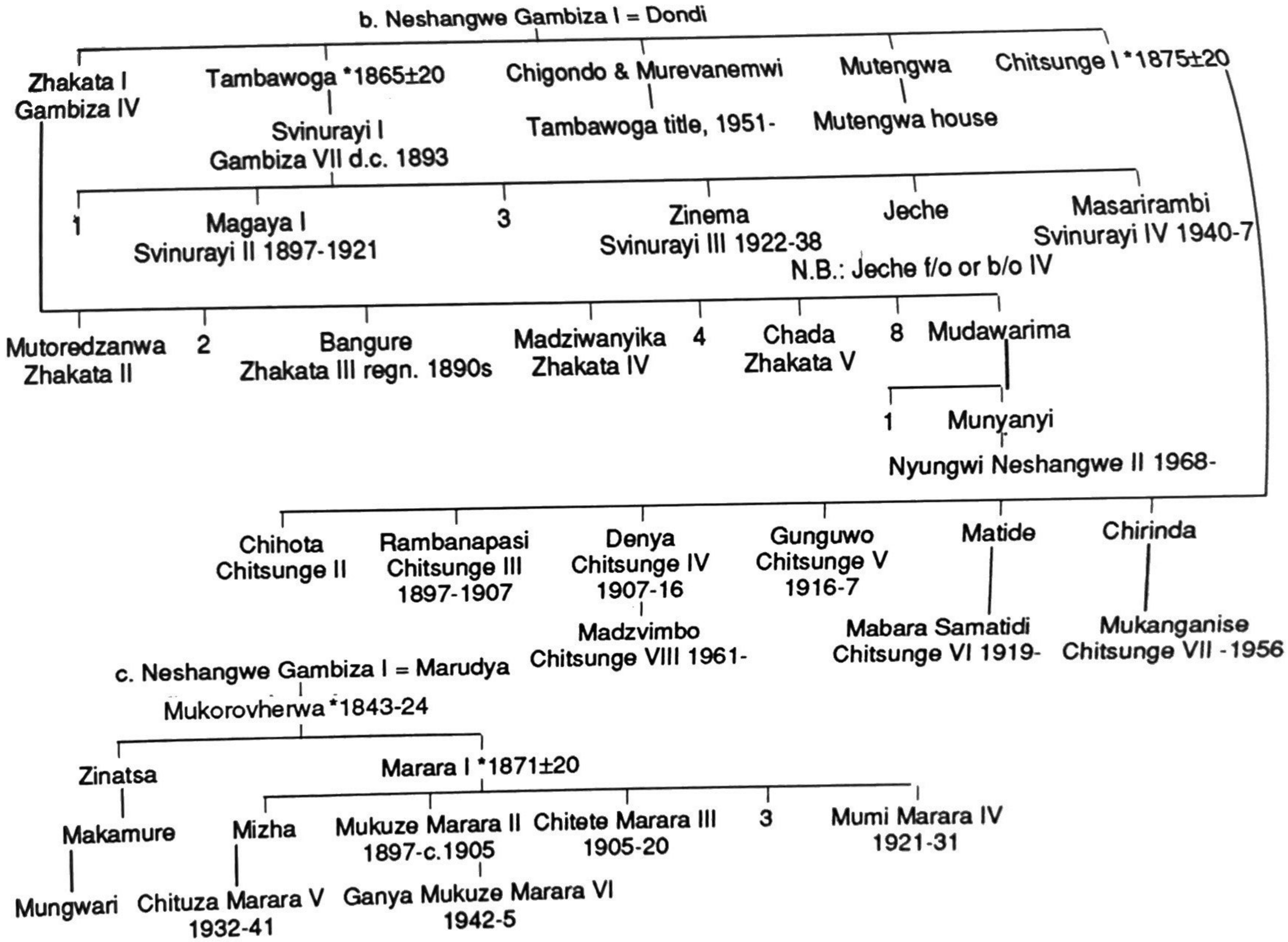
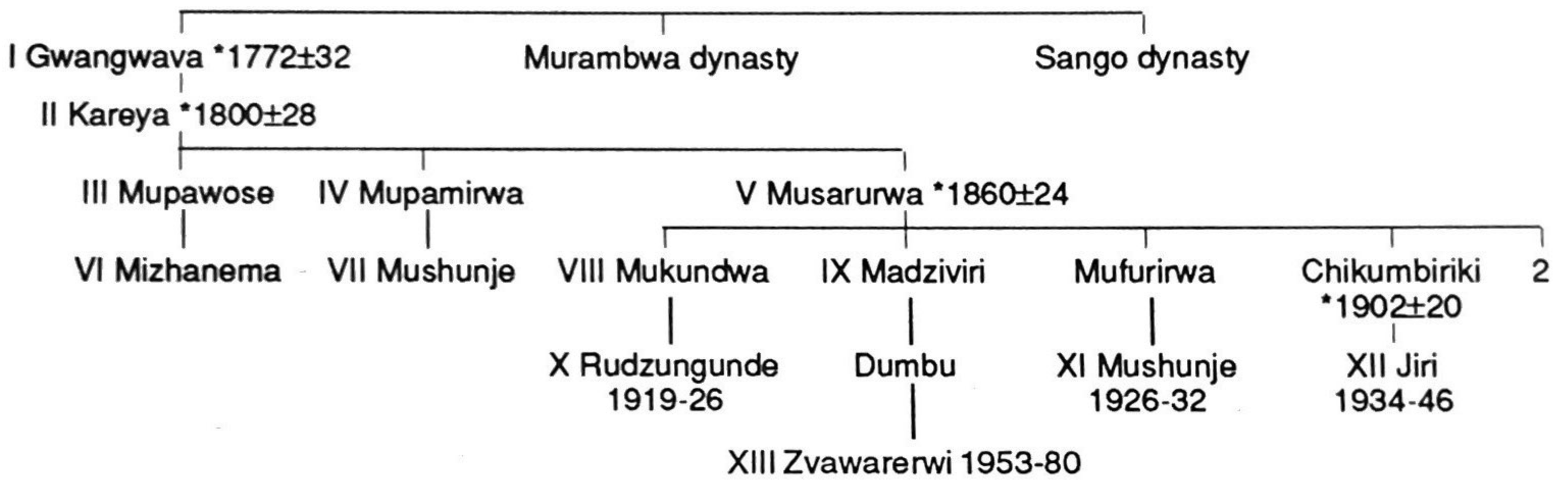
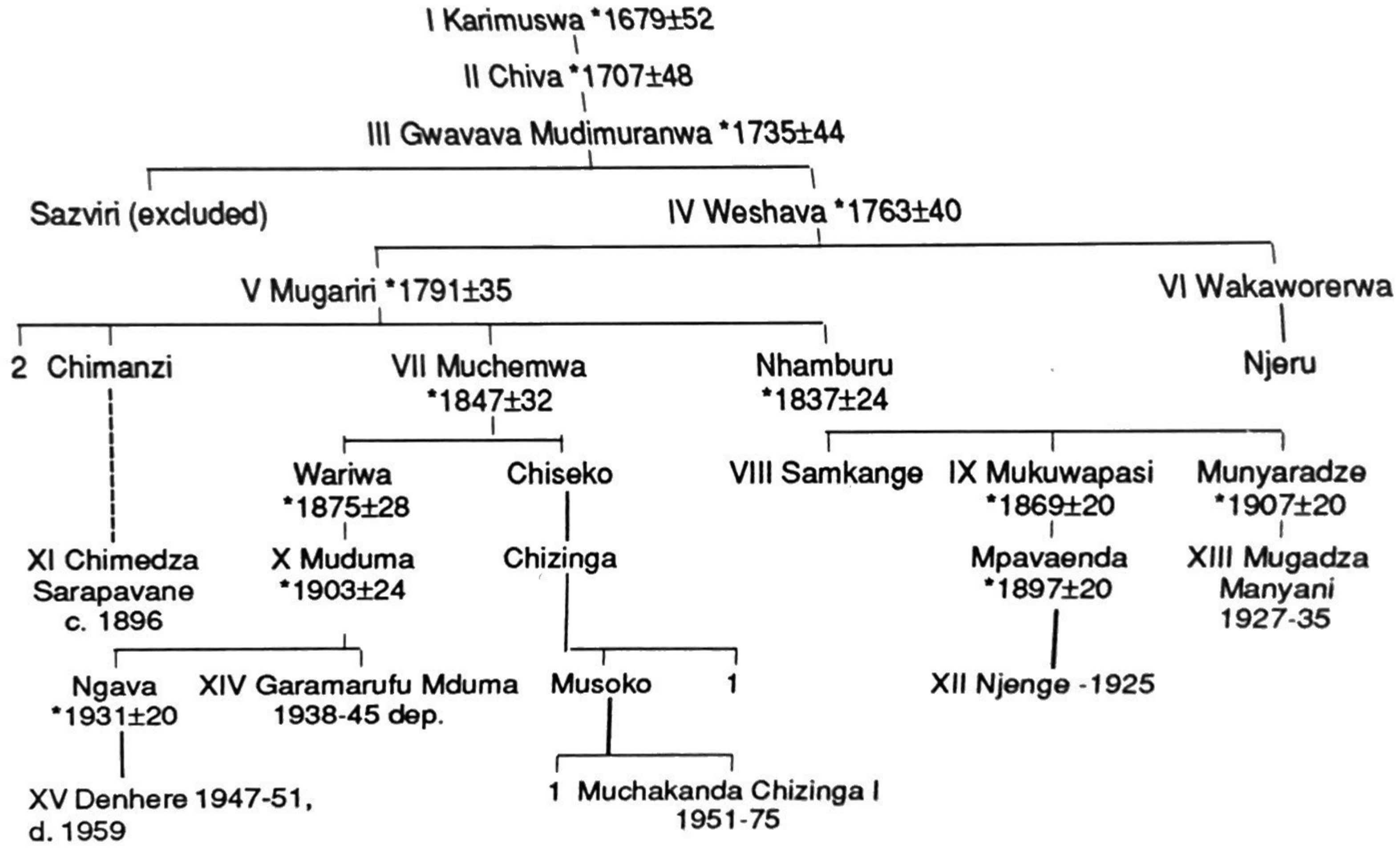

b. Neshangwe Gambiza I = Dondi
Zhakata I
Gambiza IV
Tambawoga *1865±20
Svinurayi I
Gambiza VII d.c. 1893
Chigondo & Murevanemwi
Tambawoga title, 1951-
Mutengwa
Mutengwa house
Chitsunge I *1875±20
1
Magaya I
Svinurayi II 1897-1921
3
Zinema
Svinurayi III 1922-38
Jeche
Masarirambi
Svinurayi IV 1940-7
N.B.: Jeche f/o or b/o IV
Mutoredzanwa
Zhakata II
2
Bangure
Zhakata III regn. 1890s
Madziwanyika
Zhakata IV
4
Chada
Zhakata V
8
Mudawarima
1
Munyanyi
Nyungwi Neshangwe II 1968-
Chihota
Chitsunge II
Rambanapasi
Chitsunge III
1897-1907
Denya
Chitsunge IV
1907-16
Madzvimbo
Chitsunge VIII 1961-
Gunguwo
Chitsunge V
1916-7
Matide
Mabara Samatidi
Chitsunge VI 1919-
Chirinda
Mukanganise
Chitsunge VII -1956
c. Neshangwe Gambiza I = Marudya
Mukorovherwa *1843-24
Zinatsa
Makamure
Mungwari
Marara I *1871±20
Mizha
Chituza Marara V
1932-41
Mukuze Marara II
1897-c.1905
Ganya Mukuze Marara VI
1942-5
Chitete Marara III
1905-20
3
Mumi Marara IV
1921-31

Fig. 17: Gwangwava-Musarurwa of Narira, Rozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*


I Gwangwava *1772±32
Murambwa dynasty
Sango dynasty
II Kareya *1800±28
III Mupawose
IV Mupamirwa
V Musarurwa *1860±24
VI Mizhanema
VII Mushunje
VIII Mukundwa
IX Madziviri
Mufurirwa
Chikumbiriki *1902±20
2
X Rudzungunde 1919-26
Dumbu
XI Mushunje 1926-32
XII Jiri 1934-46
XIII Zvawarerwi 1953-80

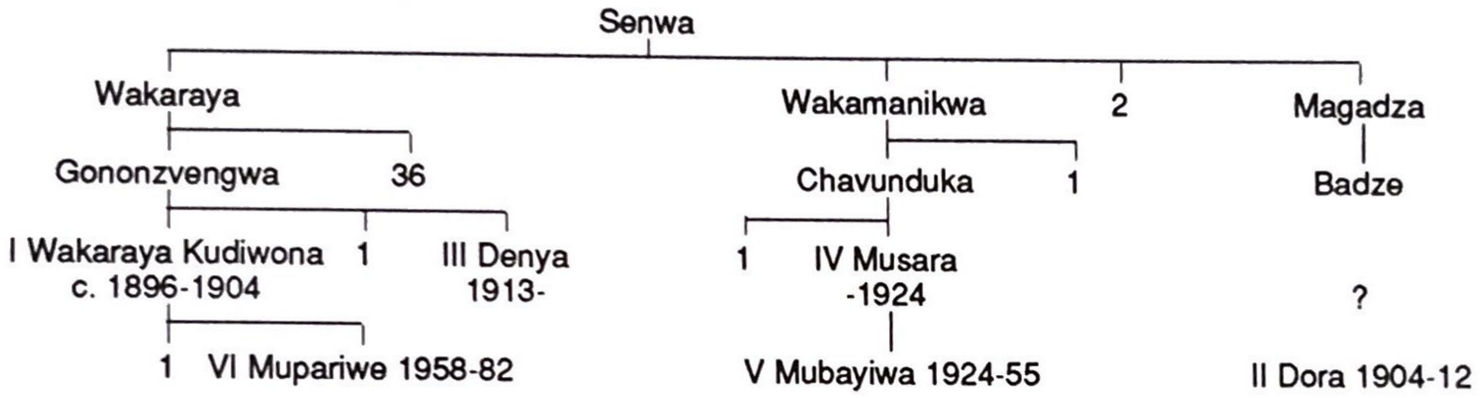
Note: Gwangwava was probably several rulers of that name

Fig. 18: Murambwa of Chikomba, Rozvi, *moyo*/*mondizvo*


I Karimuswa *1679±52
II Chiva *1707±48
III Gwavava Mudimuranwa *1735±44
Sazviri (excluded)
IV Weshava *1763±40
V Mugariri *1791±35
VI Wakaworerwa
2 Chimanzi
VII Muchemwa *1847±32
Nhamburu *1837±24
Njeru
Wariwa *1875±28
Chiseko
VIII Samkange
IX Mukuwapasi *1869±20
Munyaradze *1907±20
XI Chimedza Sarapavane c. 1896
X Muduma *1903±24
Chizinga
Mpavaenda *1897±20
XIII Mugadza Manyani 1927-35
Ngava *1931±20
XIV Garamarufu Mduma 1938-45 dep.
Musoko
1
XII Njenge -1925
XV Denhere 1947-51, d. 1959
1 Muchakanda Chizinga I 1951-75

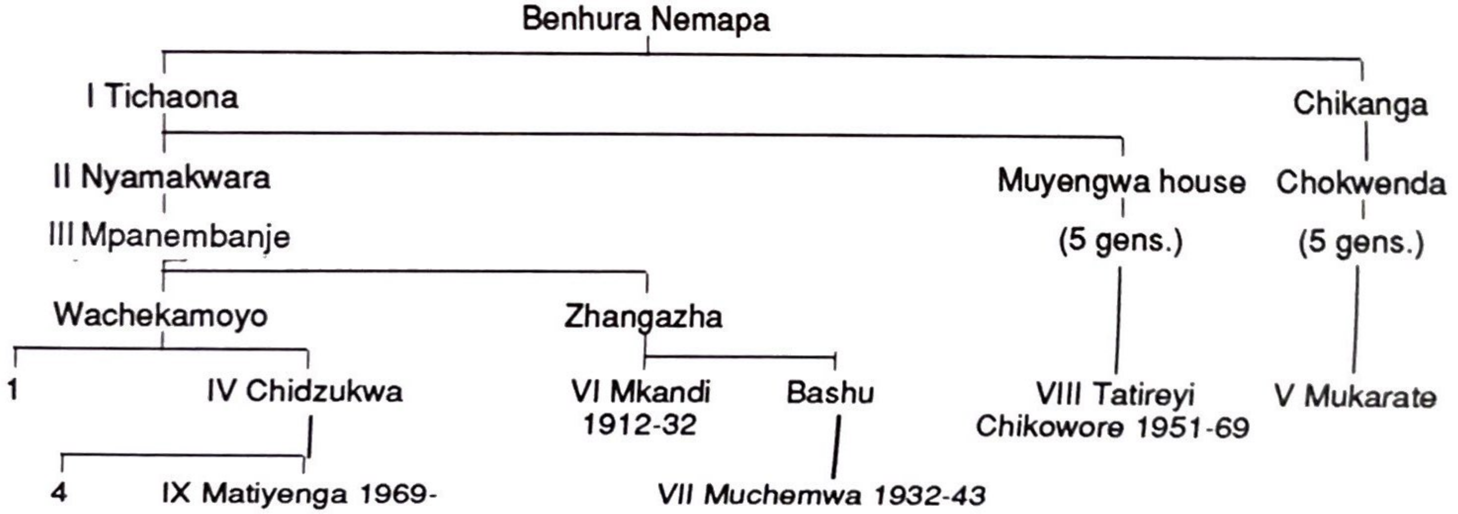
Note: if XI came from the three houses of V senior to VII, then they probably ruled more often than the tradition says. Muchakanda became Murambwa XVI in 1969 and was followed by XVII Muvirimi Makwavarara in 1982 of Chimanzi house. Parkinson's published genealogy is a condensed version of a complex original in the Per/5 file.

Fig 19: Nyika, Rozvi, *soko/mudyanavana*


Senwa
Wakaraya
Wakamanikwa
2
Magadza
Gononzvengwa
36
Chavunduka
1
Badze
I Wakaraya Kudiwona
c. 1896-1904
1
III Denya
1913-
1
IV Musara
-1924
?
1
VI Mupariwe 1958-82
V Mubayiwa 1924-55
II Dora 1904-12

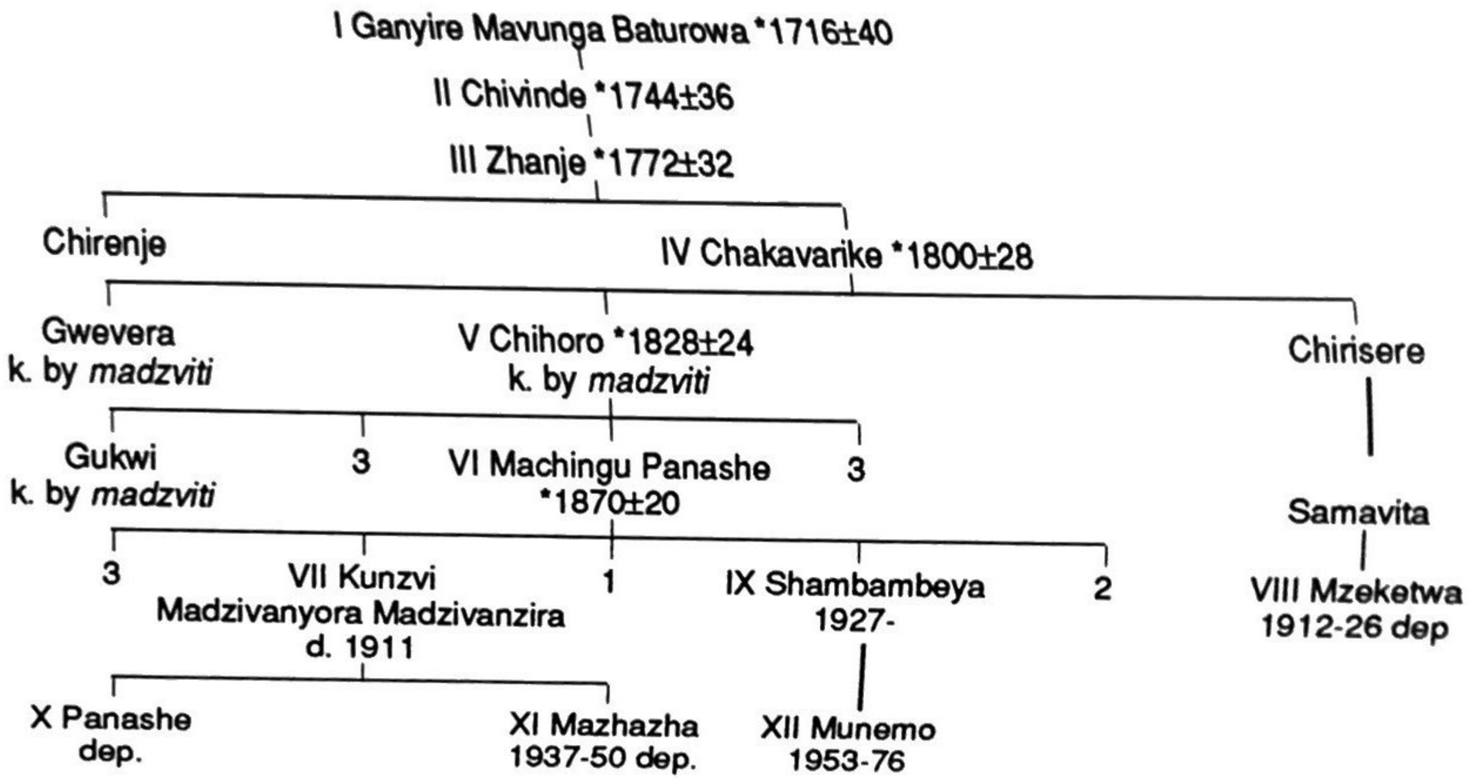
Note: dated 'history' starts in 1896 with Kundiwona, and the relationship between him and II is not clear. A 'Chavunduka' was Chief in the early 1920s, probably IV.

Fig. 20: Benhura, Rozvi, *dube/wakapiwa*


Benhura Nemapa
I Tichaona
Chikanga
II Nyamakwara
Muyengwa house
Chokwenda
III Mpanembanje
(5 gens.)
(5 gens.)
Wachekamoyo
Zhangazha
1
IV Chidzukwa
VI Mkandi
1912-32
Bashu
VIII Tatireyi
Chikowore 1951-69
V Mukarate
4
IX Matiyenga 1969-
VII Muchemwa 1932-43

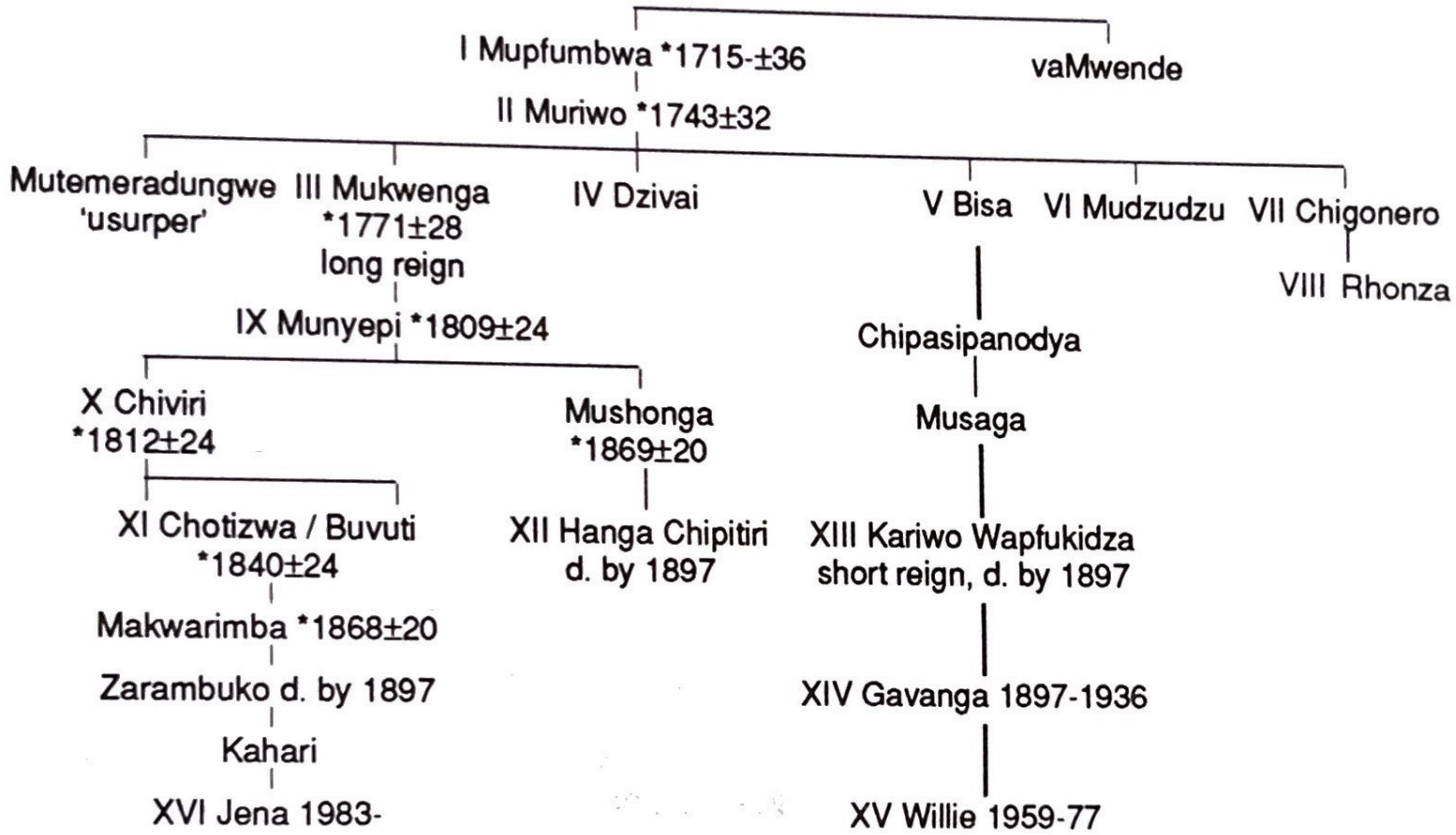
Note: definite dates begin in *c.1912, and relationships before then are very uncertain.*

Fig. 21: Nyandoro of Tsunga, *nhari/unendoro*


I Ganyire Mavunga Baturowa *1716±40
II Chivinde *1744±36
III Zhanje *1772±32
Chirenje
IV Chakavarike *1800±28
Gwevera
k. by *madzviti*
V Chihoro *1828±24
k. by *madzviti*
Chirisere
Gukwi
k. by *madzviti*
3
VI Machingu Panashe
*1870±20
3
Samavita
3
VII Kunzvi
Madzivanyora Madzivanzira
d. 1911
1
IX Shambambeya
1927-
2
VIII Mzeketwa
1912-26 dep
X Panashe
dep.
XI Mazhazha
1937-50 dep.
XII Munemo
1953-76

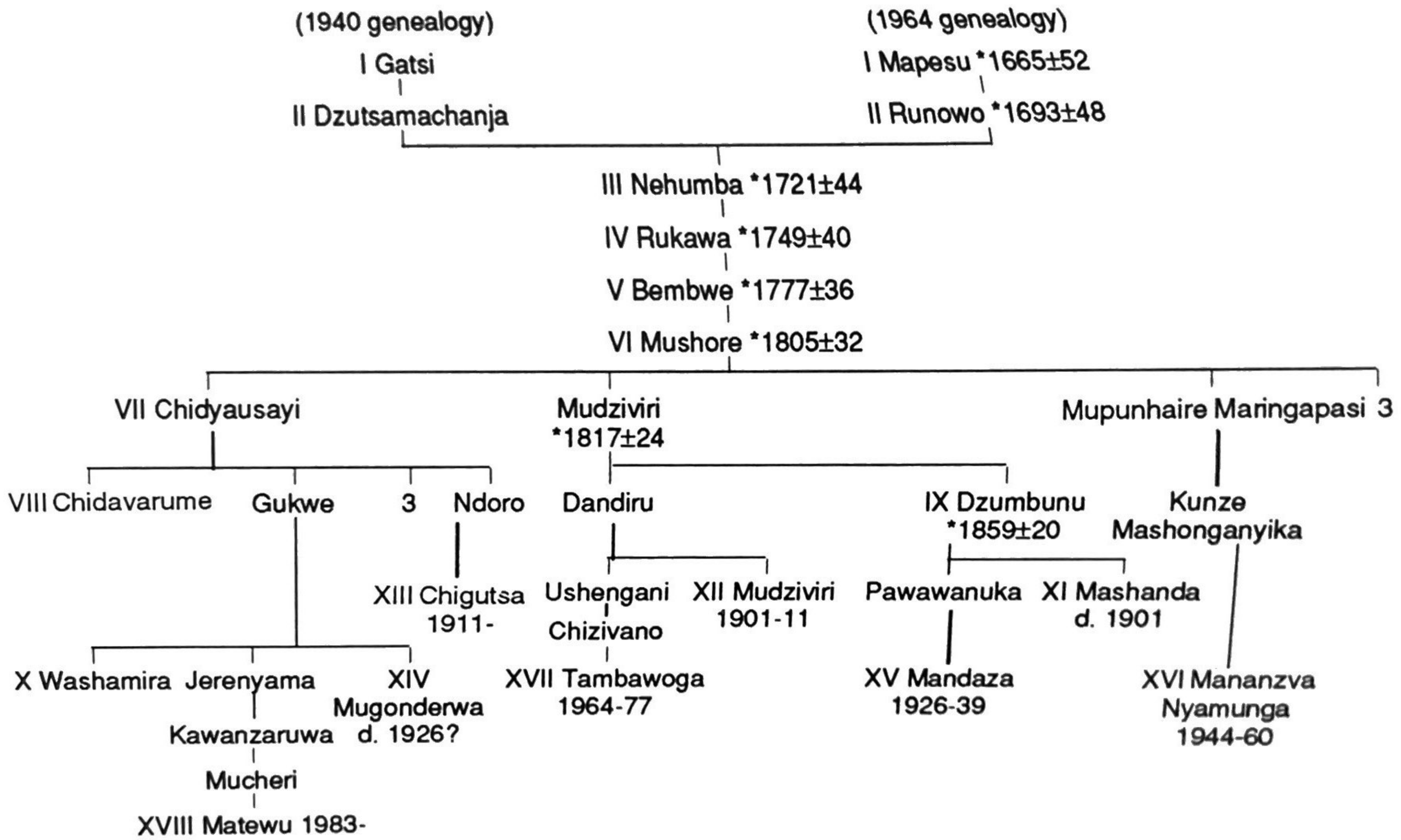
Note: deaths at the hands of the *madzviti* (Ngoni or Ndebele) make earlier dates more tentative than usual

Fig. 22: Samuriwo of Mani, *moyo/wakapiwa*


I Mupfumbwa *1715-±36
vaMwende
II Muriwo *1743±32
Mutemeradungwe 'usurper'
III Mukwenga *1771±28 long reign
IV Dzivai
V Bisa
VI Mudzudzu
VII Chigonero
VIII Rhonza
IX Munyepi *1809±24
Chipasipanodya
Musaga
X Chiviri *1812±24
Mushonga *1869±20
XI Chotizwa / Buvuti *1840±24
XII Hanga Chipitiri d. by 1897
XIII Kariwo Wapfukidza short reign, d. by 1897
Makwarimba *1868±20
Zarambuko d. by 1897
XIV Gavanga 1897-1936
Kahari
XVI Jena 1983-
XV Willie 1959-77

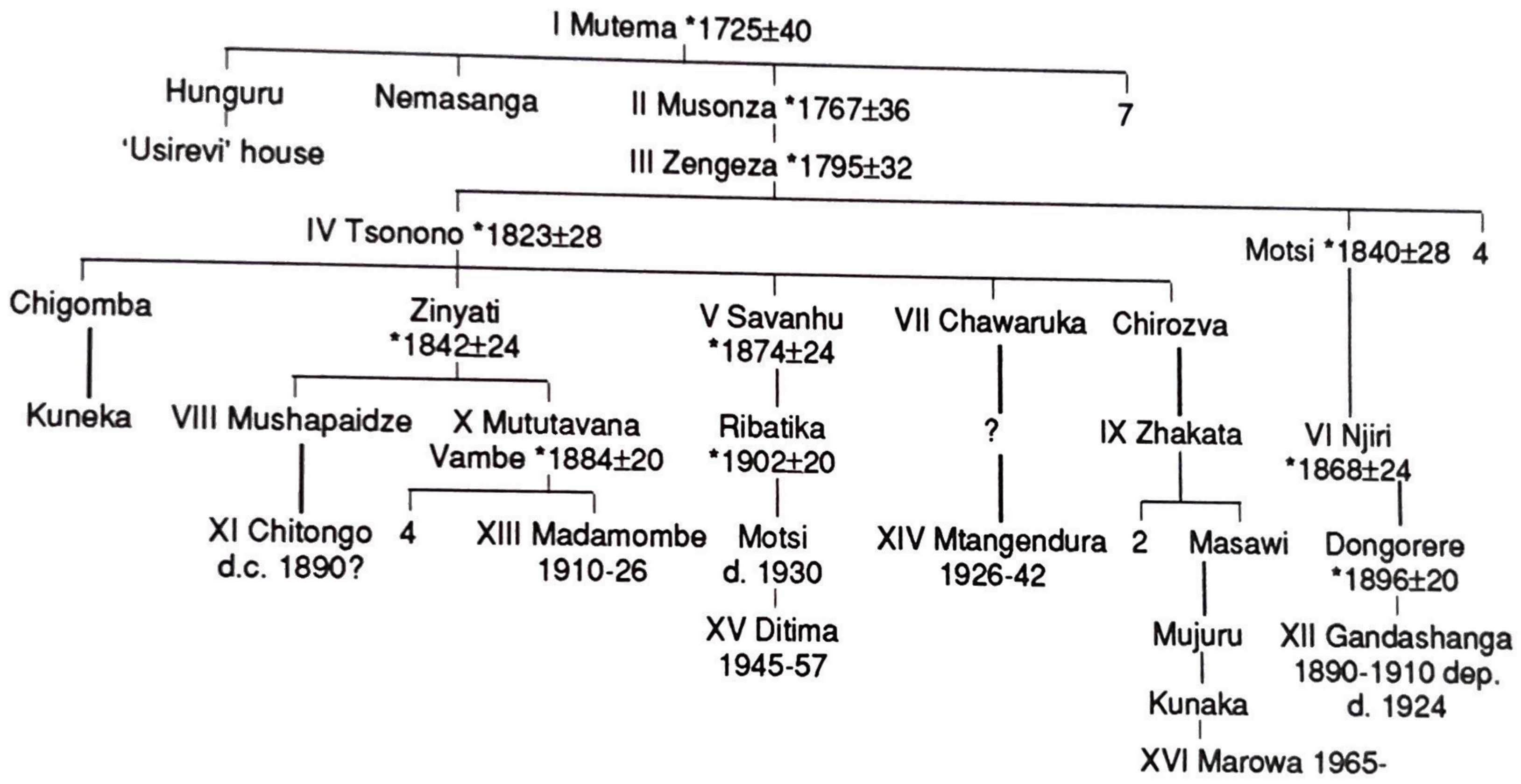
Note: the DC's informants confirmed Morris (1904) in making the Musaga line come from Bisa. The Chotizwa and Isaac Samuriwo versions claimed Musaga's descent from Chiviri and Munyepi respectively.

Fig. 23: Nyamweda of Nharira, *moyo/ziruvi*


(1940 genealogy)
I Gatsi
II Dzutsamachanja
(1964 genealogy)
I Mapesu *1665±52
II Runowo *1693±48
III Nehumba *1721±44
IV Rukawa *1749±40
V Bembwe *1777±36
VI Mushore *1805±32
VII Chidyausayi
Mudziviri
*1817±24
Mupunhaire Maringapasi 3
VIII Chidavarume
Gukwe
3
Ndoro
Dandiru
IX Dzumbunu
*1859±20
Kunze
Mashonganyika
XIII Chigutsa
1911-
Ushengani
Chizivano
XII Mudziviri
1901-11
Pawawanuka
XI Mashanda
d. 1901
X Washamira
Jerenyama
XIV
Mugonderwa
d. 1926?
XVII Tambawoga
1964-77
XV Mandaza
1926-39
XVI Mananzva
Nyamunga
1944-60
Kawanzaruwa
Mucheri
XVIII Matewu 1983-

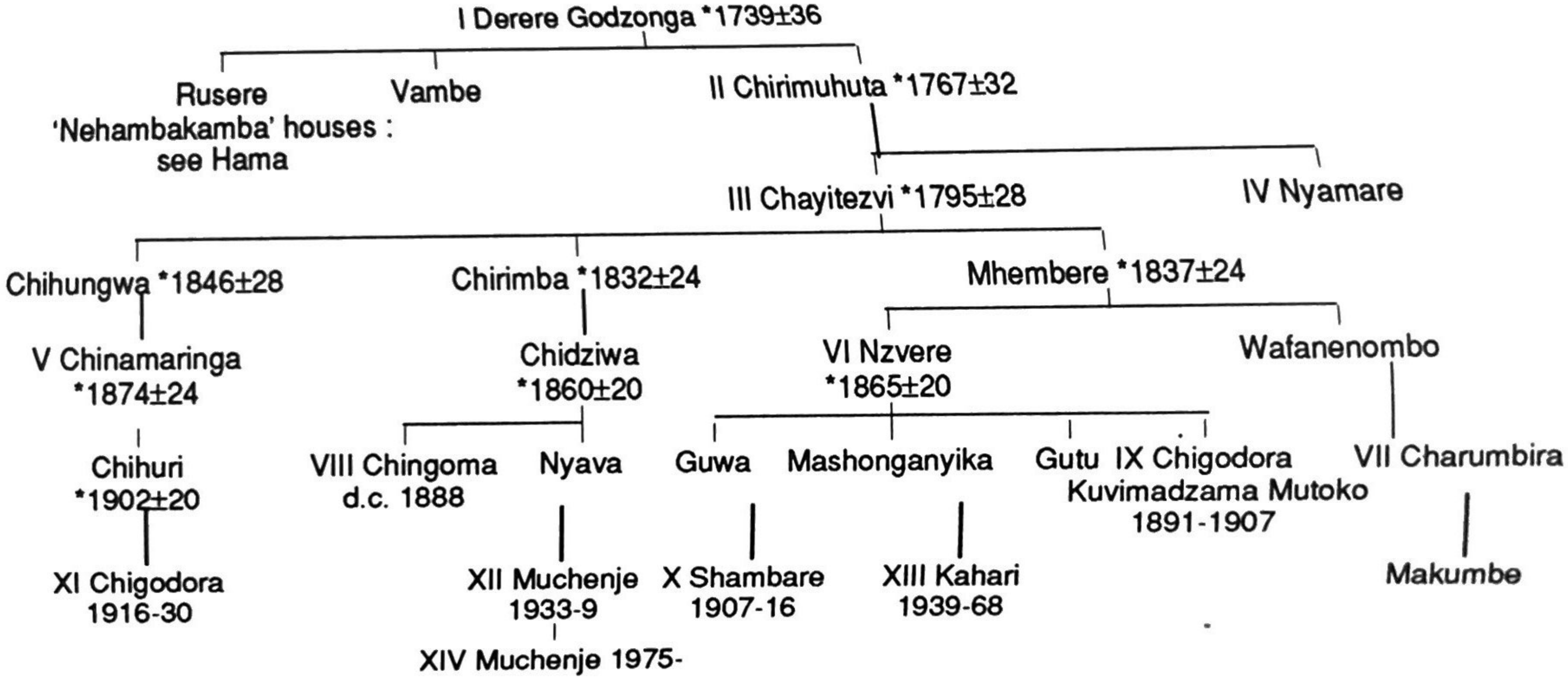
Note: 1964 Delin. Report puts Tsitsa between II and IV. It is not clear whether I-V were rulers of Nharira or even in the area.

Fig. 24: Seke of Harava, *shava mamvuramavi*


I Mutema *1725±40
Hunguru
'Usirevi' house
Nemasanga
II Musonza *1767±36
7
III Zengeza *1795±32
IV Tsonono *1823±28
Motsi *1840±28
4
Chigomba
Kuneka
Zinyati *1842±24
VIII Mushapaidze
XI Chitongo d.c. 1890?
X Mututavana Vambe *1884±20
4
XIII Madamombe 1910-26
V Savanhu *1874±24
Ribatika *1902±20
Motsi d. 1930
XV Ditima 1945-57
VII Chawaruka
?
XIV Mtangendura 1926-42
Chirozva
IX Zhakata
2
Masawi
Mujuru
Kunaka
XVI Marowa 1965-
VI Njiri *1868±24
Dongorere *1896±20
XII Gandashanga 1890-1910 dep. d. 1924

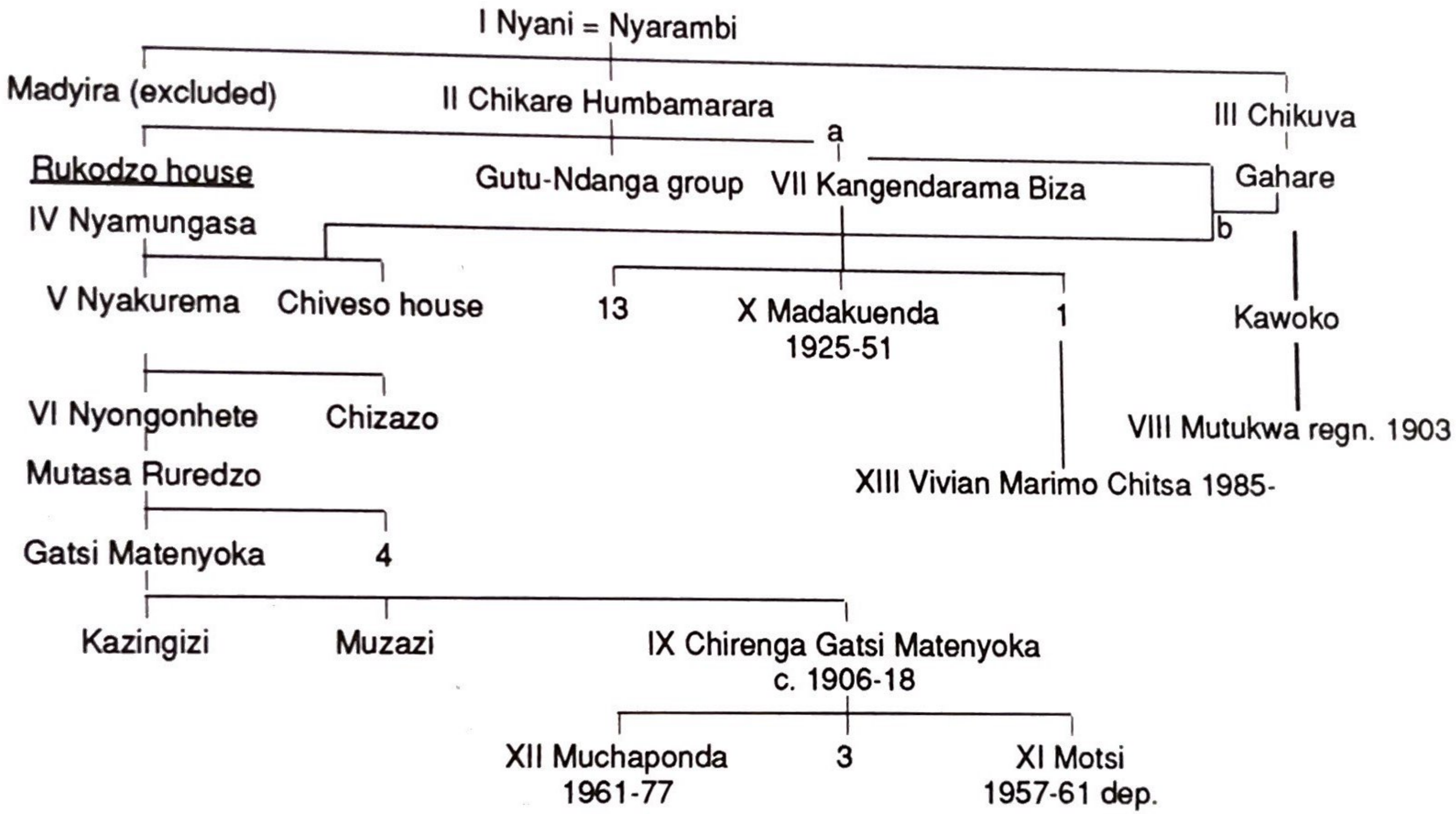
Notes: Nesbitt made Masawi f/o Dongorere and Chirozva, Sawanhu and Broderick (2) made him b/o Musonza, Broderick (1) made him b/o Zengeza. XIV in Broderick (2) is s/o Usinawambwe, s/o Tsonono but in Broderick (1) he is s/o Madamombe s/o Dongorere s/o Motsi, so XIV's ancestry is uncertain. This is a simplification of a most uncertain genealogy.

Fig. 25: Chinamhora of Chishawasha, *soko/murehwa*


I Derere Godzonga *1739±36
Rusere
'Nehambakamba' houses : see Hama
Vambe
II Chirimuhuta *1767±32
III Chayitezvi *1795±28
IV Nyamare
Chihungwa *1846±28
Chirimba *1832±24
Mhembere *1837±24
V Chinamaringa *1874±24
Chidziwa *1860±20
VI Nzvere *1865±20
Wafanenombo
Chihuri *1902±20
VIII Chingoma d.c. 1888
Nyava
Guwa
Mashonganyika
Gutu
IX Chigodora Kuvimadzama Mutoko 1891-1907
VII Charumbira
XI Chigodora 1916-30
XII Muchenje 1933-9
X Shambare 1907-16
XIII Kahari 1939-68
Makumbe
XIV Muchenje 1975-

Note: as the text shows, the genealogy has been 'rewritten', but the number of generations remains fairly constant.

Fig. 26: Musana of Satwa, *gumbo/makuwapasi* or *madyirapanze*


I Nyani = Nyarambi
Madyira (excluded)
II Chikare Humbamarara
III Chikuva
a
Rukodzo house
Gutu-Ndanga group
VII Kangendarama Biza
Gahare
b
IV Nyamungasa
V Nyakurema
Chiveso house
13
X Madakuenda
1925-51
1
Kawoko
VI Nyongonhete
Chizazo
VIII Mutukwa regn. 1903
Mutasa Ruredzo
XIII Vivian Marimo Chitsa 1985-
Gatsi Matenyoka
4
Kazingizi
Muzazi
IX Chirenga Gatsi Matenyoka
c. 1906-18
XII Muchaponda
1961-77
3
XI Motsi
1957-61 dep.

Note: this is provisional, with different ancestries given in the (a) 1958 and (b) 1982 genealogies. VII looks as though he has been placed too early in the genealogy by either reckoning.

Fig. 27: Chikwaka, *mbano/matemayi*

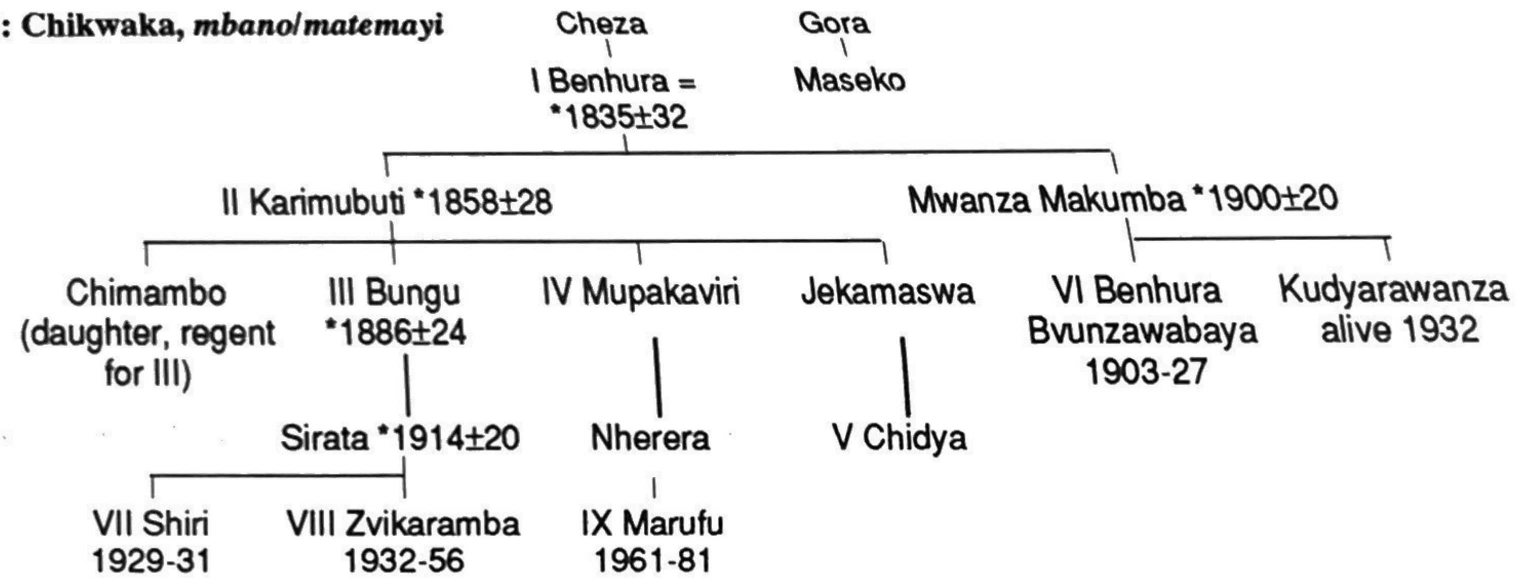
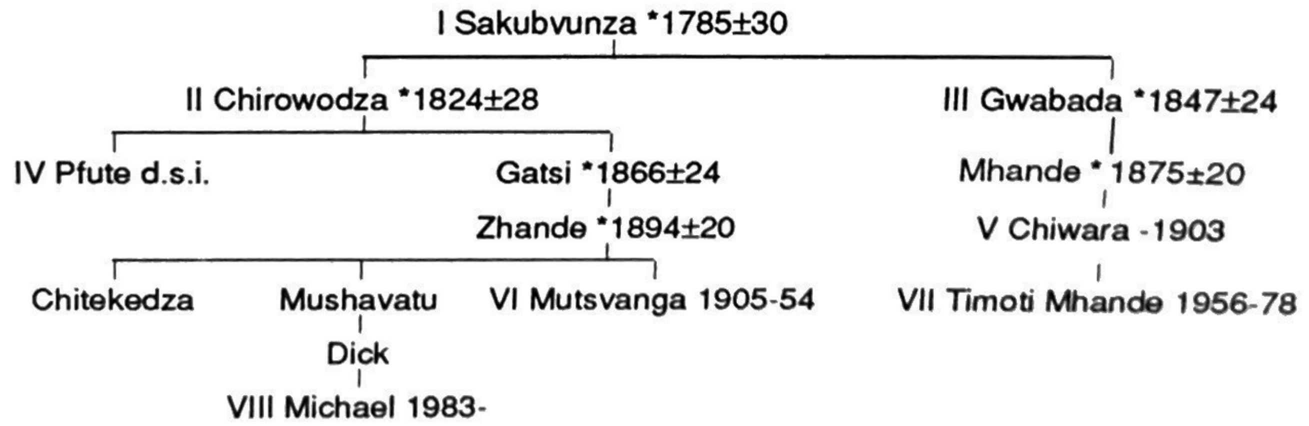

Cheza
Gora
I Benhura =
*1835±32
Maseko
II Karimubuti *1858±28
Mwanza Makumba *1900±20
Chimambo
(daughter, regent
for III)
III Bungu
*1886±24
IV Mupakaviri
Jekamaswa
VI Benhura
Bvunzawabaya
1903-27
Kudyarawanza
alive 1932
Sirata *1914±20
Nherera
V Chidya
VII Shiri
1929-31
VIII Zvikaramba
1932-56
IX Marufu
1961-81

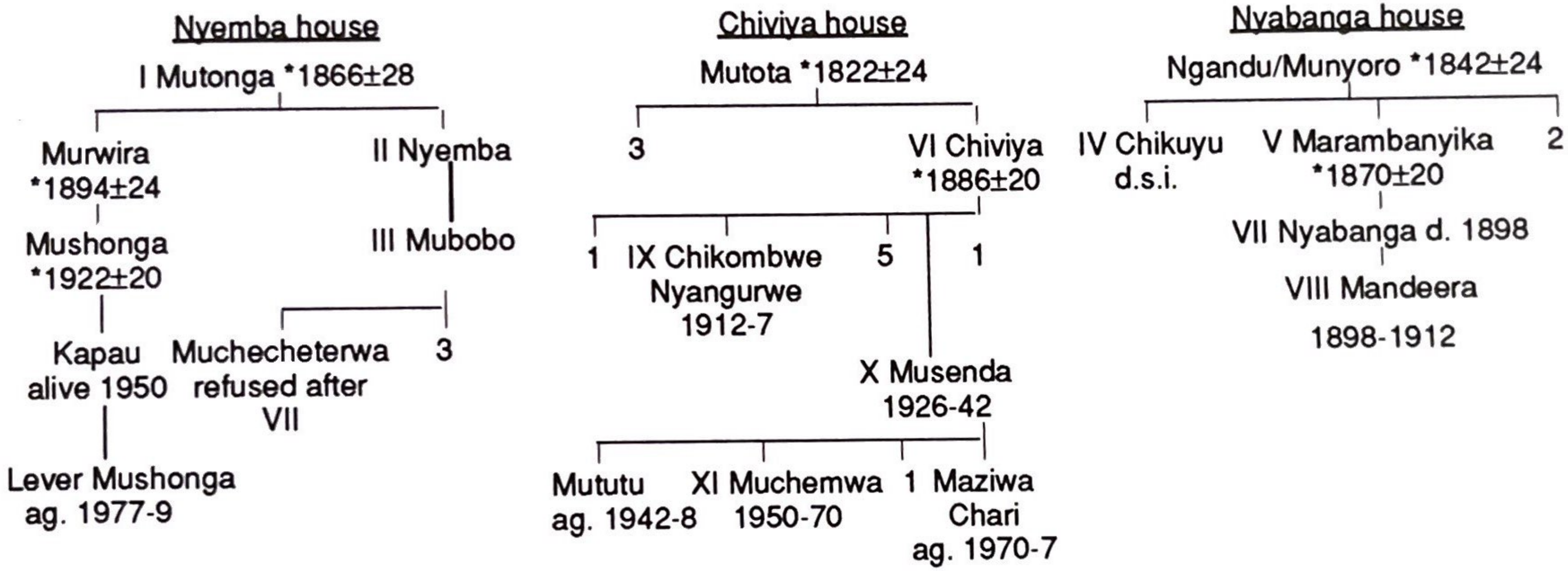
Fig. 28: Masembura, *moyo/muzukuru*


I Sakubvunza *1785±30
II Chirowodza *1824±28
III Gwabada *1847±24
IV Pfute d.s.i.
Gatsi *1866±24
Mhande * 1875±20
Zhande *1894±20
V Chiwara -1903
Chitekedza
Mushavatu
VI Mutsvanga 1905-54
VII Timoti Mhande 1956-78
Dick
VIII Michael 1983-

Note: the 1982 genealogy (a) makes I b/o II (b) replaces Gwabada and Mande by 'Mukomberanwa s/o Chirowodza' (c) eliminates Pfute and Zhande (d) makes Gatsi a ruler (e) inserts as ruler 'Kanosava', s/o Chirowodza, as f/o Gatsi (f) makes another 'Mushavatu', s/o Nyakutopora s/o Sakubvunza a ruler, after Gatsi and before Chiwara. Sakubvunza ruled Masembura and Mangwende when they were one group, hence the confusion as to his position.

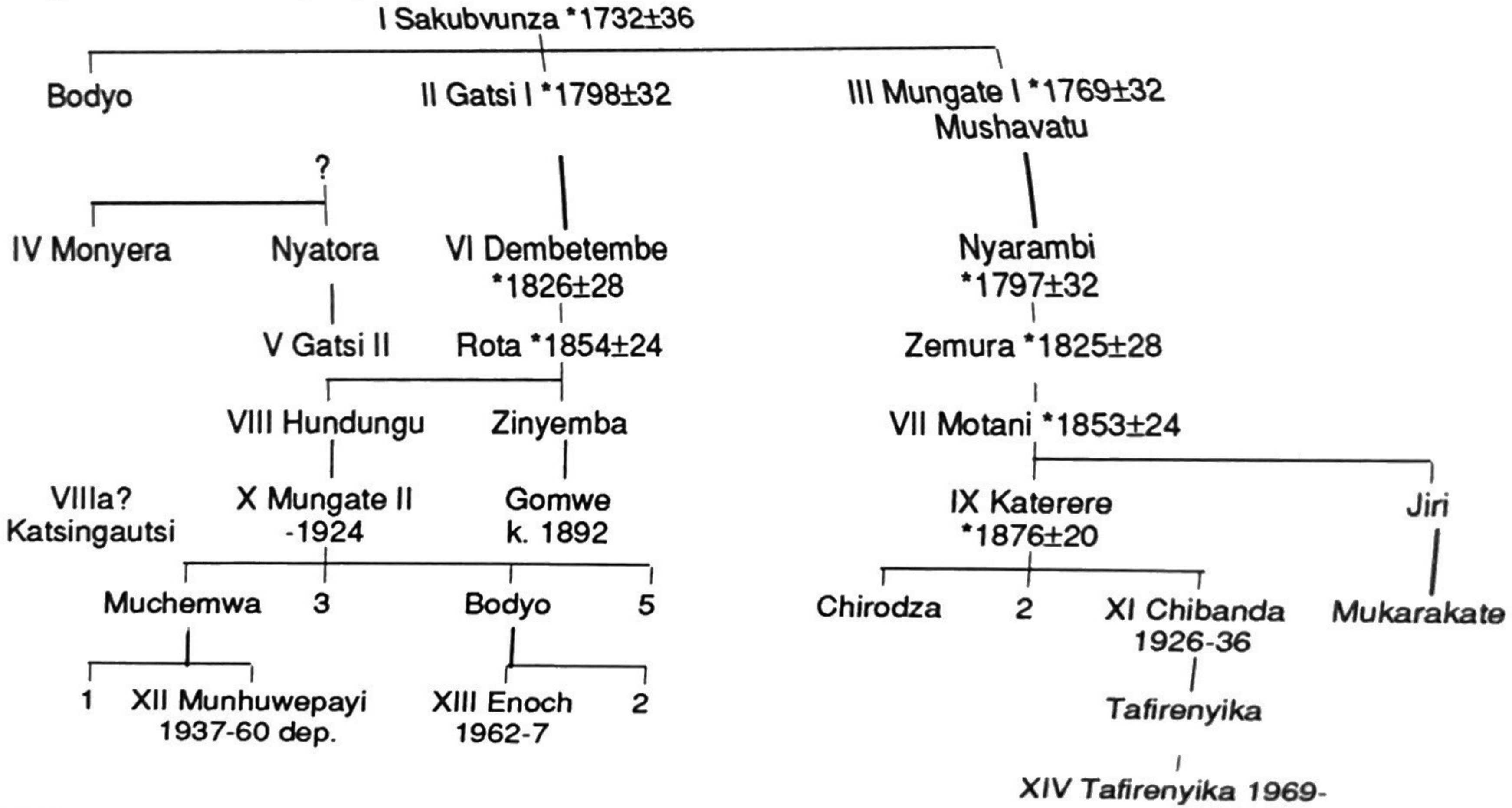
Fig. 29: Rusike of Mpatwe, *moyo/wadyagora*

'Muzarabanhi' : orig. a place, then an ancestor
Three separate but related houses entered Mpatwe:


Nyemba house
I Mutonga *1866±28
Murwira *1894±24
II Nyemba
Mushonga *1922±20
III Mubobo
Kapau alive 1950
Muchecheterwa refused after VII
3
Lever Mushonga ag. 1977-9
Chiviya house
Mutota *1822±24
3
VI Chiviya *1886±20
1
IX Chikombwe Nyangurwe 1912-7
5
1
X Musenda 1926-42
Mututu ag. 1942-8
XI Muchemwa 1950-70
1
Maziwa Chari ag. 1970-7
Nyabanga house
Ngandu/Munyoro *1842±24
IV Chikuyu d.s.i.
V Marambanyika *1870±20
2
VII Nyabanga d. 1898
VIII Mandeera
1898-1912

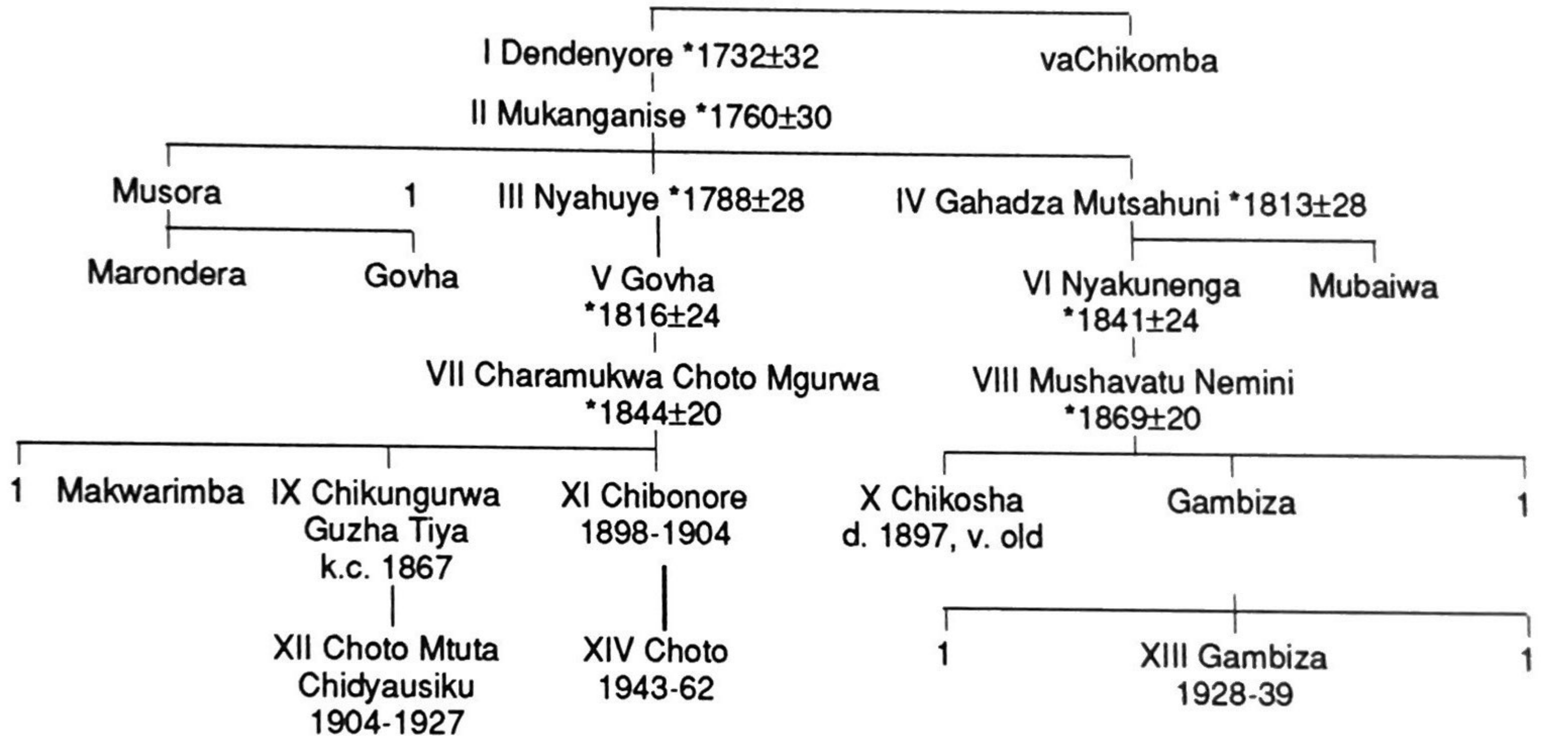
Note: XII Kutadzaushe of Nyemba house appted. 1982-

Fig. 30: Mangwende of Nhowe, *moyo/muzukuru*


I Sakubvunza *1732±36
Bodyo
II Gatsi I *1798±32
III Mungate I *1769±32
Mushavatu
?
IV Monyera
Nyatora
VI Dembetembe
*1826±28
Nyarambi
*1797±32
V Gatsi II
Rota *1854±24
Zemura *1825±28
VIII Hundungu
Zinyemba
VII Motani *1853±24
VIIIa?
Katsingautsi
X Mungate II
-1924
Gomwe
k. 1892
IX Katerere
*1876±20
Jiri
Muchemwa
3
Bodyo
5
Chirodza
2
XI Chibanda
1926-36
Mukarakate
1
XII Munhuwepayi
1937-60 dep.
XIII Enoch
1962-7
2
Tafirenyika
XIV Tafirenyika 1969-

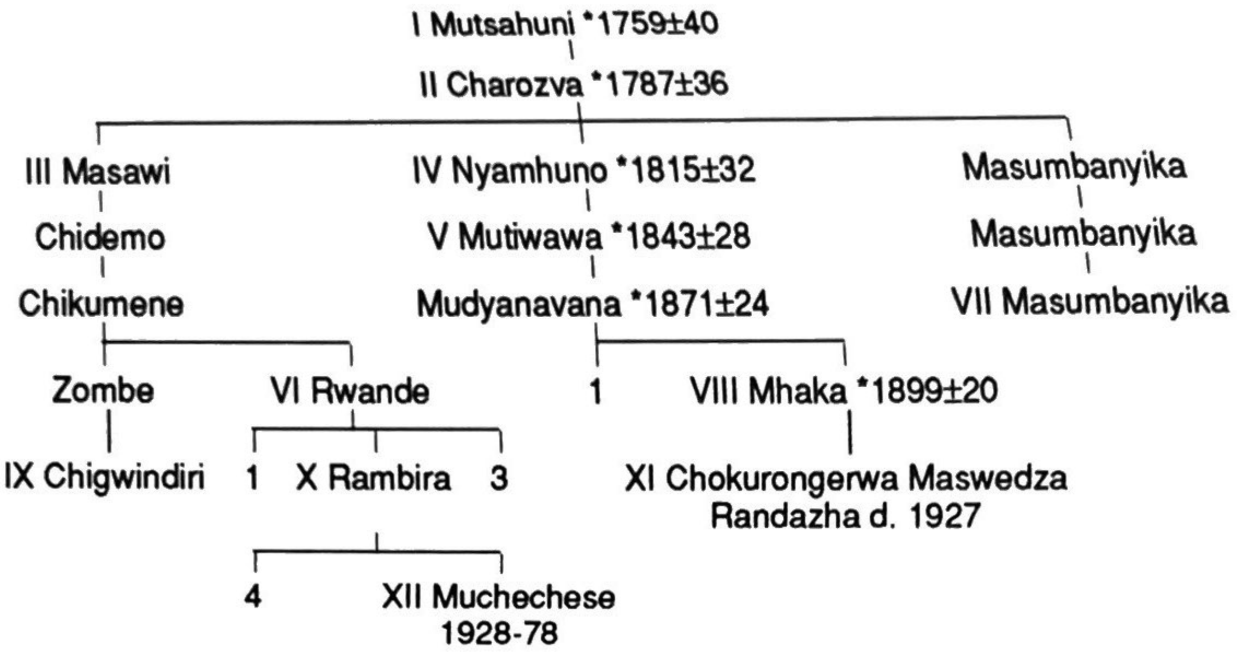
Note: this follows a separate paper that argues that (a) IV and V were in fact a separate house with IV being a son of either I or II, and that (b) an error by Edwards led to VII and VI and their descendants being incorrectly placed under II and III respectively. VIIa appears in recent genealogies but his ancestry is uncertain.

Fig. 31: Svosve of Mbire III, *soko/mondizvo or vudzijena*


I Dendenyore *1732±32
vaChikomba
II Mukanganise *1760±30
Musora
1
III Nyahuye *1788±28
IV Gahadza Mutsahuni *1813±28
Marondera
Govha
V Govha
*1816±24
VI Nyakunenga
*1841±24
Mubaiwa
VII Charamukwa Choto Mgurwa
*1844±20
VIII Mushavatu Nemini
*1869±20
1
Makwarimba
IX Chikungurwa
Guzha Tiya
k.c. 1867
XI Chibonore
1898-1904
X Chikosha
d. 1897, v. old
Gambiza
1
XII Choto Mtuta
Chidyausiku
1904-1927
XIV Choto
1943-62
1
XIII Gambiza
1928-39
1

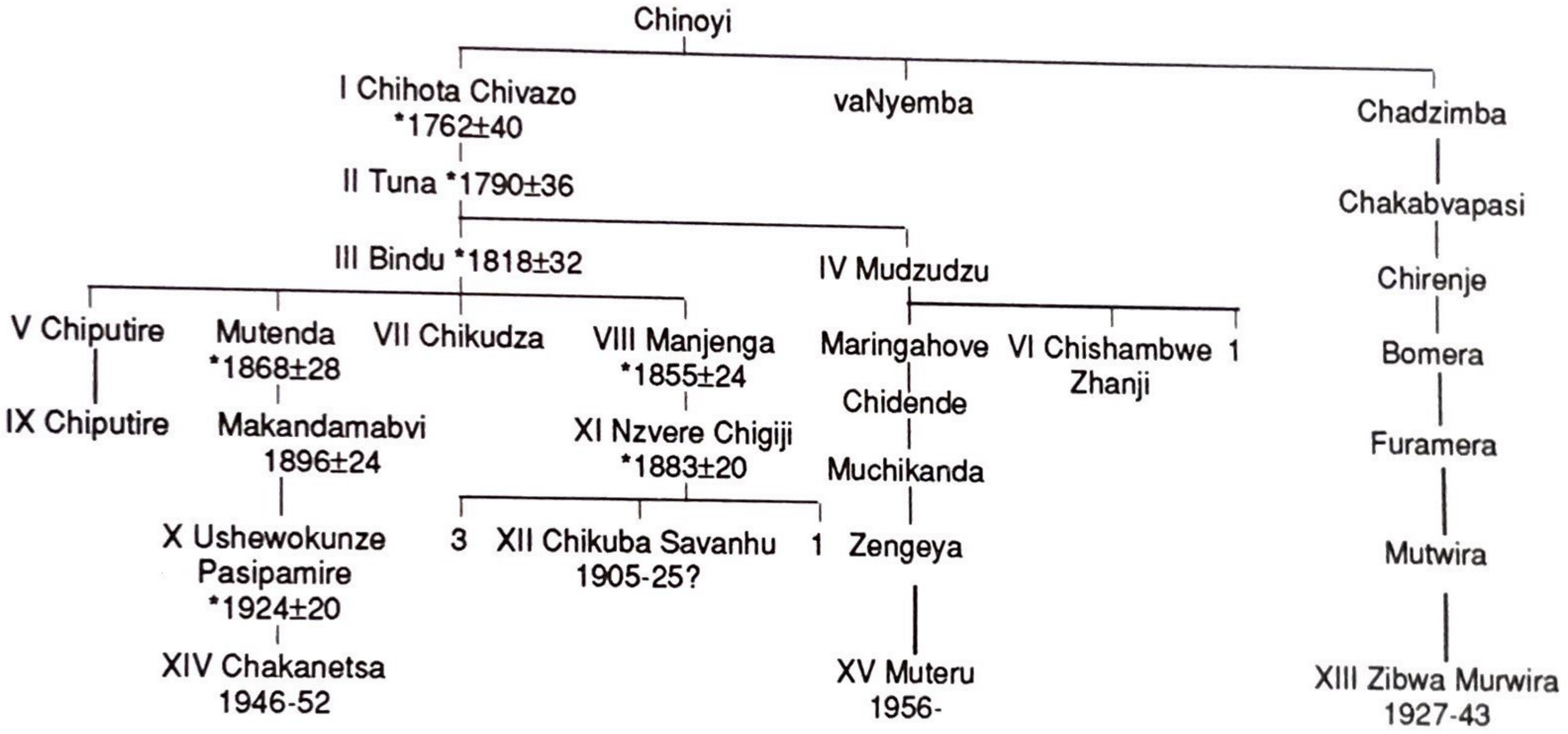
Note: this only goes to the end of the united Svosve dynasty in the 1960s after which it split into the Nyahuye and Gahadza-we-Svosve titles: Nyahuye-we-svosve I Chitau 1972—83, Gahadza-we-Svosve I Nowea Nyahuye 1972-7, II Enock Muvirimi 1984-

Fig 32: Mudzimuirema of Chirimuka, *soko/gumene*


I Mutsahuni *1759±40
II Charozva *1787±36
III Masawi
IV Nyamhuno *1815±32
Masumbanyika
Chidemo
V Mutiwawa *1843±28
Masumbanyika
Chikumene
Mudyanavana *1871±24
VII Masumbanyika
Zombe
VI Rwande
1
VIII Mhaka *1899±20
IX Chigwindiri
1
X Rambira
3
XI Chokurongerwa Maswedza Randazha d. 1927
4
XII Muchechese 1928-78

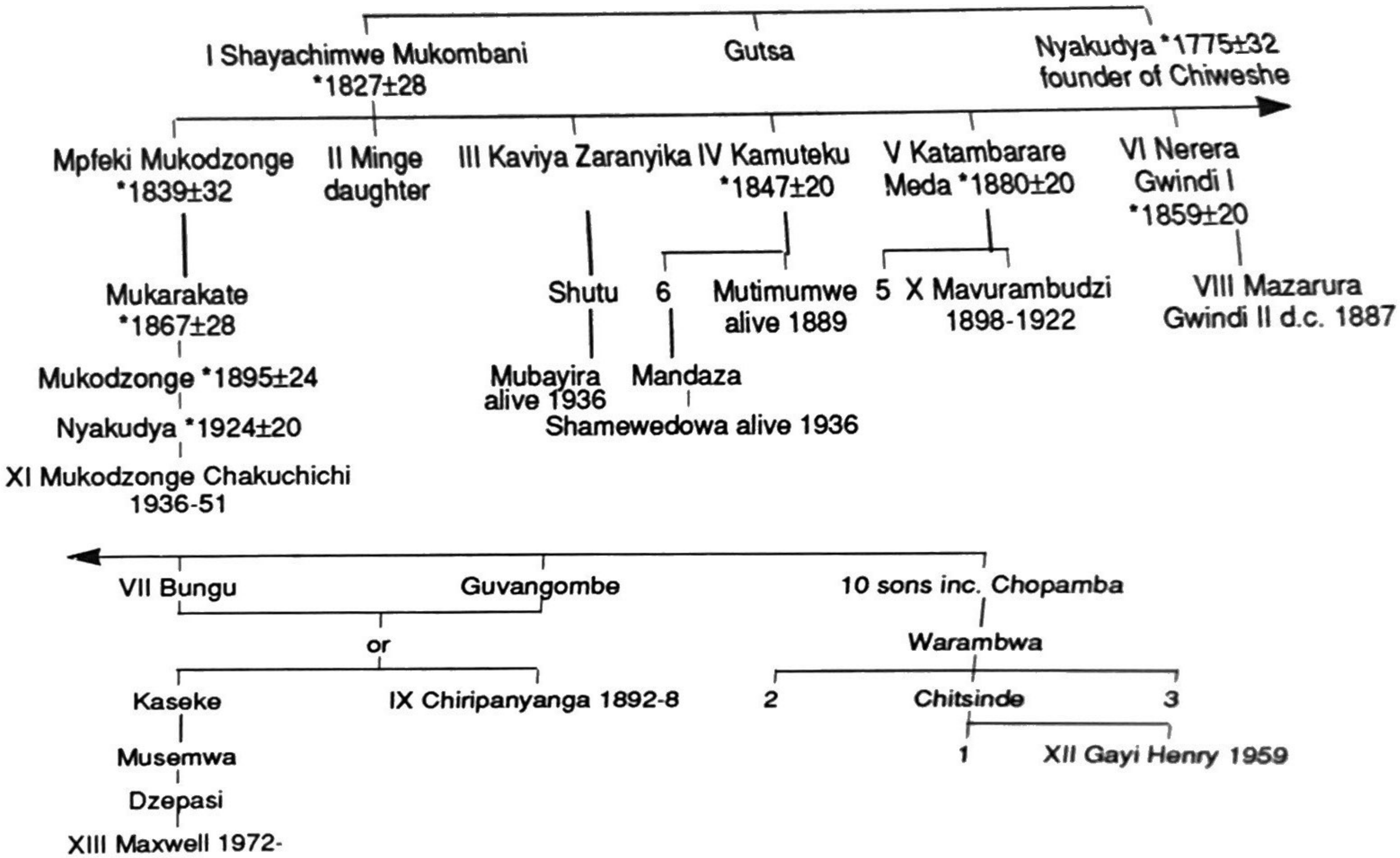
Note: Delineation Report makes V the y.b. of IV, Munjeri makes him s/o IV. Munjeri puts two generations between III and VI and one between V and VIII.

Fig. 33: **Chihota, Manyika,** ***mbizi*** **or** ***tembo/mazvimbakupa samaita binga***


Chinoyi
I Chihota Chivazo
*1762±40
vaNyemba
Chadzimba
II Tuna *1790±36
Chakabvapasi
III Bindu *1818±32
IV Mudzudzu
Chirenje
V Chiputire
Mutenda
*1868±28
VII Chikudza
VIII Manjenga
*1855±24
Maringahove
VI Chishambwe
Zhanji
1
Bomera
IX Chiputire
Makandamabvi
1896±24
Chidende
XI Nzvere Chigiji
*1883±20
Muchikanda
Furamera
X Ushewokunze
Pasipamire
*1924±20
3
XII Chikuba Savanhu
1905-25?
1
Zengeya
Mutwira
XIV Chakanetsa
1946-52
XV Muteru
1956-
XIII Zibwa Murwira
1927-43

Note: Morris has ‘Chiputire II’ rule briefly between VIII and X as an ‘outsider’, but Posselt makes him a descendant of ‘Munumumwe’ — the same as Chadzimba? Morris makes XII brother of X, Posselt makes him s/o XI. X’s generational date is clearly too late even if XIV was a youngest son.

Fig. 34: Hwata, Hera, *shava/mufakose*


I Shayachimwe Mukombani *1827±28
Gutsa
Nyakudya *1775±32 founder of Chiweshe
Mpfeki Mukodzonge *1839±32
II Minge daughter
III Kaviya Zaranyika
IV Kamuteku *1847±20
V Katambarare Meda *1880±20
VI Nerera Gwindi I *1859±20
Mukarakate *1867±28
Shutu
6
Mutimumwe alive 1889
5
X Mavurambudzi 1898-1922
VIII Mazarura Gwindi II d.c. 1887
Mukodzonge *1895±24
Mubayira alive 1936
Mandaza
Shamewedowa alive 1936
Nyakudya *1924±20
XI Mukodzonge Chakuchichi 1936-51
VII Bungu
Guvangombe
10 sons inc. Chopamba
or
Warambwa
Kaseke
IX Chiripanyanga 1892-8
2
Chitsinde
3
Musemwa
1
XII Gayi Henry 1959
Dzepasi
XIII Maxwell 1972-

Note: variant generational dates of sons of I are to be related to the historical fact that VIII ruled from the 1860s to the late 1880s.

Fig. 35: Chiweshe, Hera, *shava/mutenesanwa*

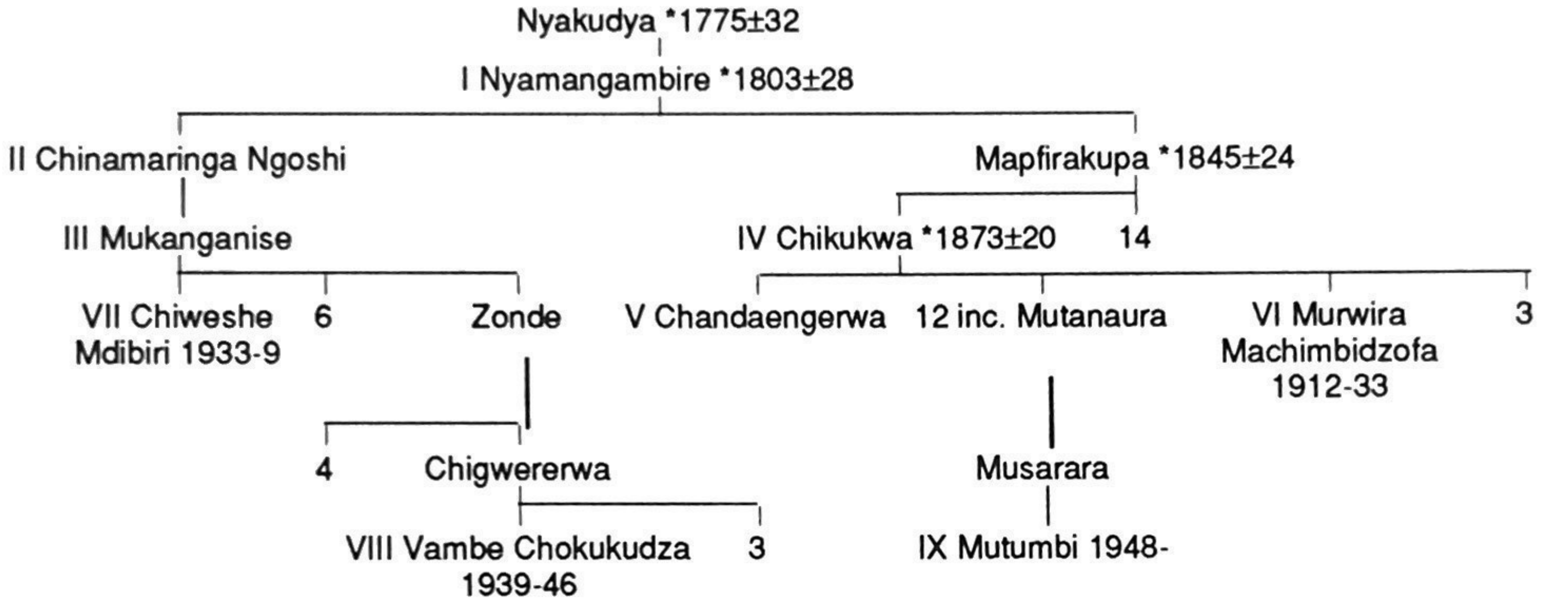
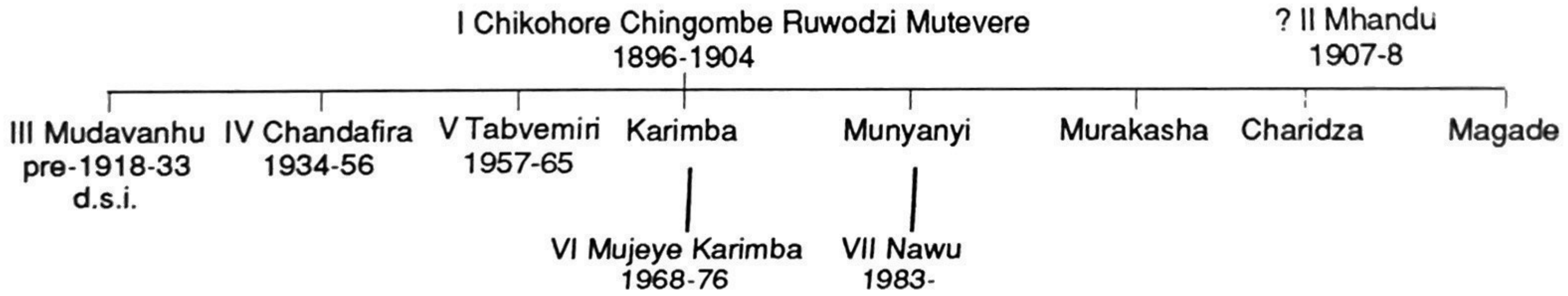
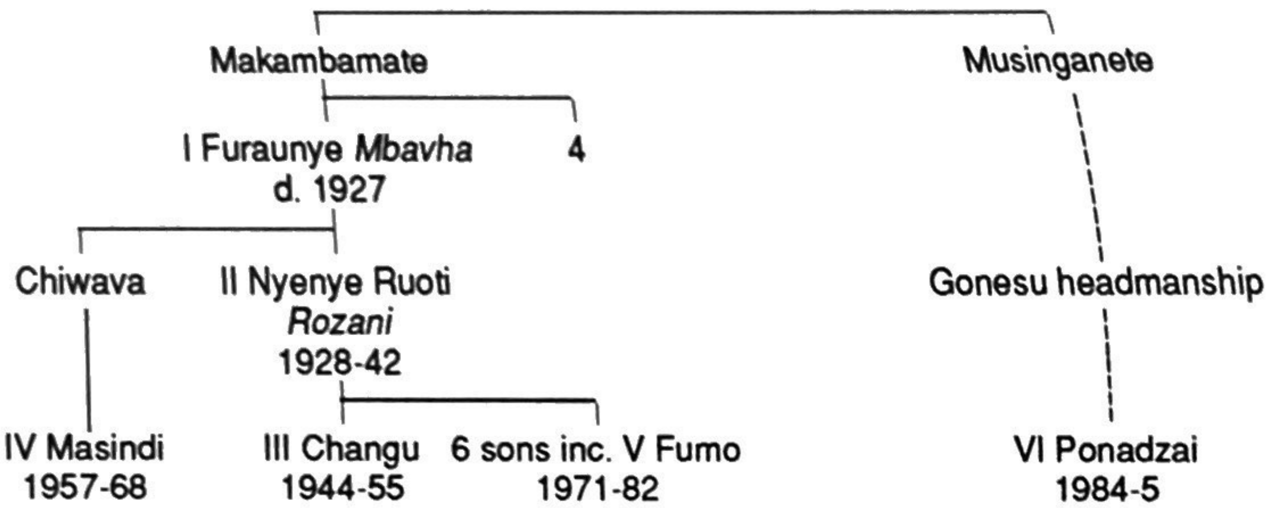

Nyakudya *1775±32
I Nyamangambire *1803±28
II Chinamaringa Ngoshi
Mapfirakupa *1845±24
III Mukanganise
IV Chikukwa *1873±20
14
VII Chiweshe
Mdibiri 1933-9
6
Zonde
V Chandaengerwa
12 inc. Mutanaura
VI Murwira
Machimbidzofa
1912-33
3
4
Chigwererwa
Musarara
VIII Vambe Chokukudza
1939-46
3
IX Mutumbi 1948-

Fig. 36: Chingombe muRozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*


I Chikohore Chingombe Ruwodzi Mutevere
1896-1904
? II Mhandu
1907-8
III Mudavanhu
pre-1918-33
d.s.i.
IV Chandafira
1934-56
V Tabvemiri
1957-65
Karimba
Munyanyi
Murakasha
Charidza
Magade
VI Mujeye Karimba
1968-76
VII Nawu
1983-

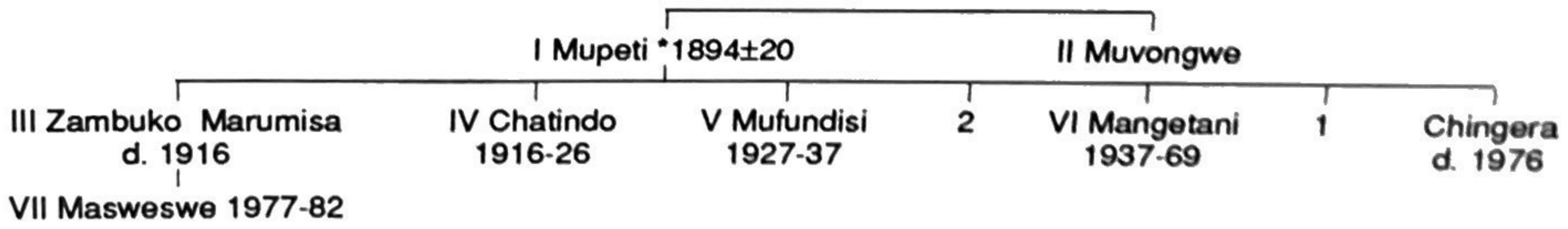
Note: the eight sons of I all descend from different wives. *During this period the title changed officially from 'Mambo' to 'Chingombe', with Tumbare ruling as headman 1899, 1914*

Fig. 37: Rozani or Mbavha, Rozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*


Makambamate
Musinganete
I Furaunye *Mbavha*
d. 1927
4
Chiwava
II Nyenye Ruoti
Rozani
1928-42
Gonesu headmanship
IV Masindi
1957-68
III Changu
1944-55
6 sons inc. V Fumo
1971-82
VI Ponadzai
1984-5

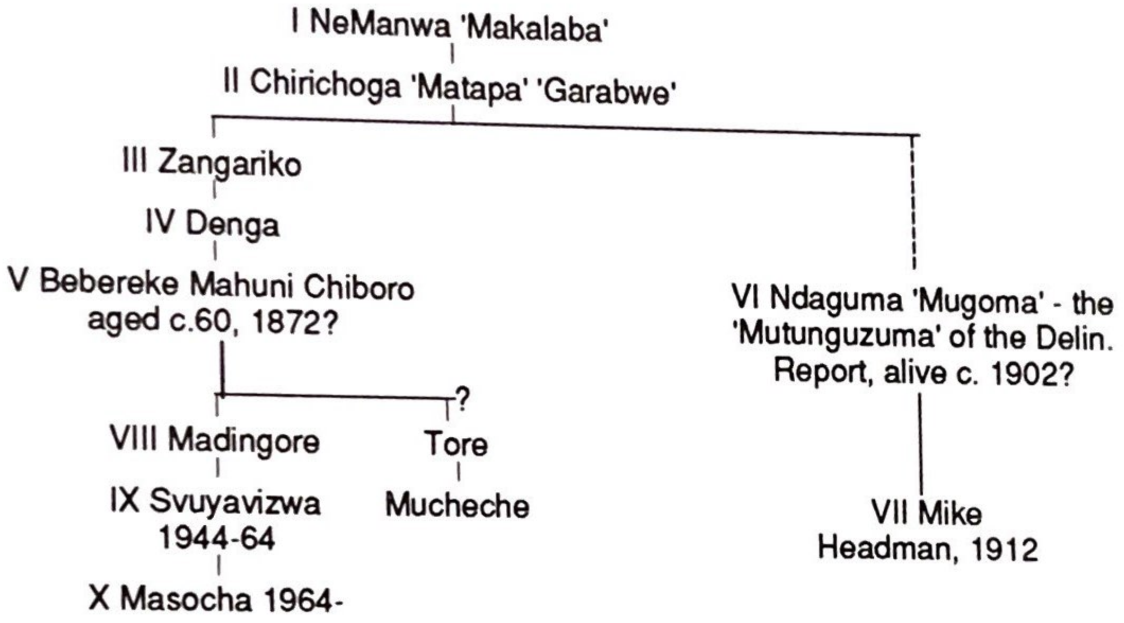
Note: as the text explains, this dynasty was founded in the 1850s, and probably only became a coherent group after that, following the flight from the Changamire state. The Musinganete and other houses were doubtless related to I, but if they had ever ruled it would have been in the old Changamire state before the coming of the Ndebele. This genealogy cuts out all attempts to reconstruct pre-1850s links and 'successions.'

Fig. 38: Chiduku, Rozvi, *moyo/mondizvo*


I Mupeti *1894±20
II Muvongwe
III Zambuko Marumisa
d. 1916
VII Masweswe 1977-82
IV Chatindo
1916-26
V Mufundisi
1927-37
2
VI Mangetani
1937-69
1
Chingera
d. 1976

Note: as in Figs. 36 and 37, ancestry prior to the Rozvi resettlement on the upper Save is eliminated. See Chapter 5 for general background.

Fig. 39: NeManwa, Manwa, *shumba/mugariri* or *garabwe*


I NeManwa 'Makalaba'
II Chirichoga 'Matapa' 'Garabwe'
III Zangariko
IV Denga
V Bebereke Mahuni Chiboro aged c.60, 1872?
VI Ndaguma 'Mugoma' - the 'Mutunguzuma' of the Delin. Report, alive c. 1902?
?
VIII Madingore
Tore
IX Svuyavizwa 1944-64
Mucheche
VII Mike Headman, 1912
X Masocha 1964-

Note: This is a very tentative attempt to reconcile Mauch, Aquina, R. Mtetwa and the Delineation Report. The latter has Masango after Chirichoga, Tore after Mutunguzuma and Mucheche after Mike; Aquina has Kupuangepi, Chirichoga and Haruvani between Chiboro and Mutunguzuma and Mazarire between Madingore and Svuyavizwa, Mtetewa was told that Chirichoga was 'Garabwe' and second in line and that Mahuni was Bebereke, Mauch's informant.

Fig. 40: Hama, Shawasha, *shoko/mutadza*

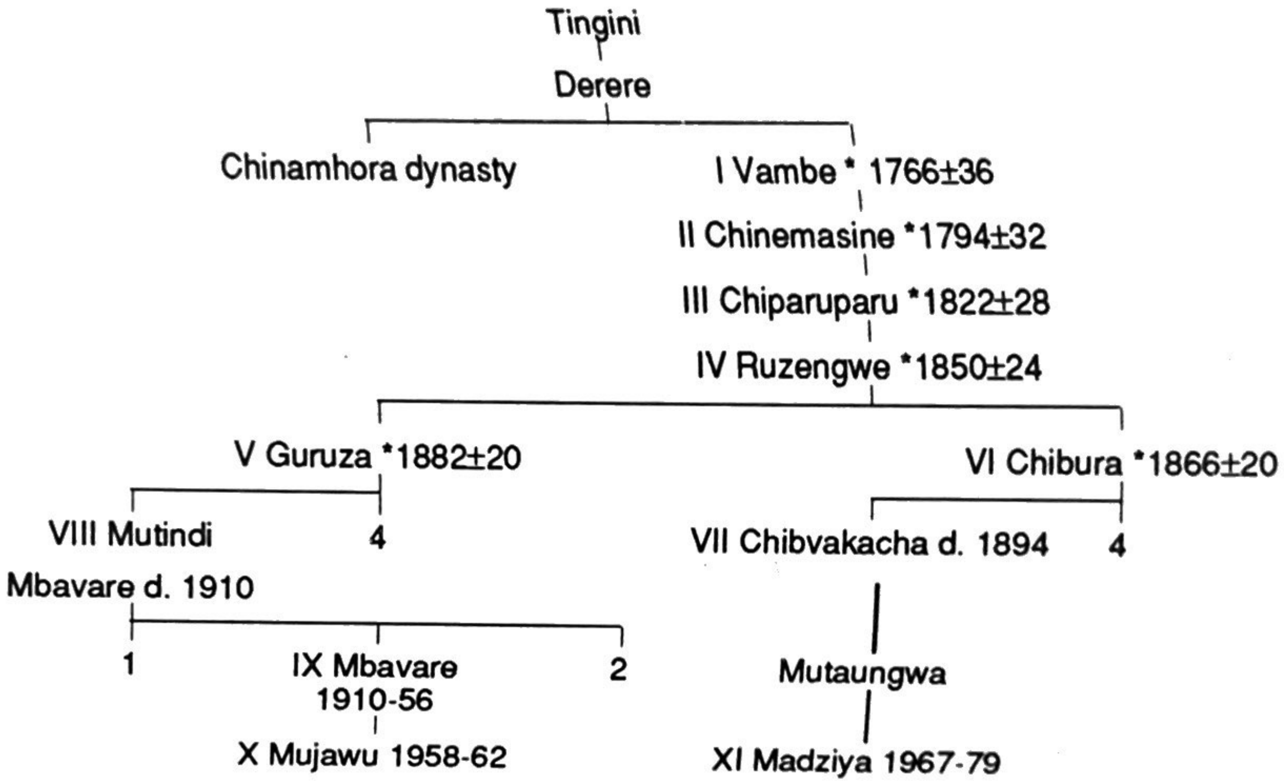
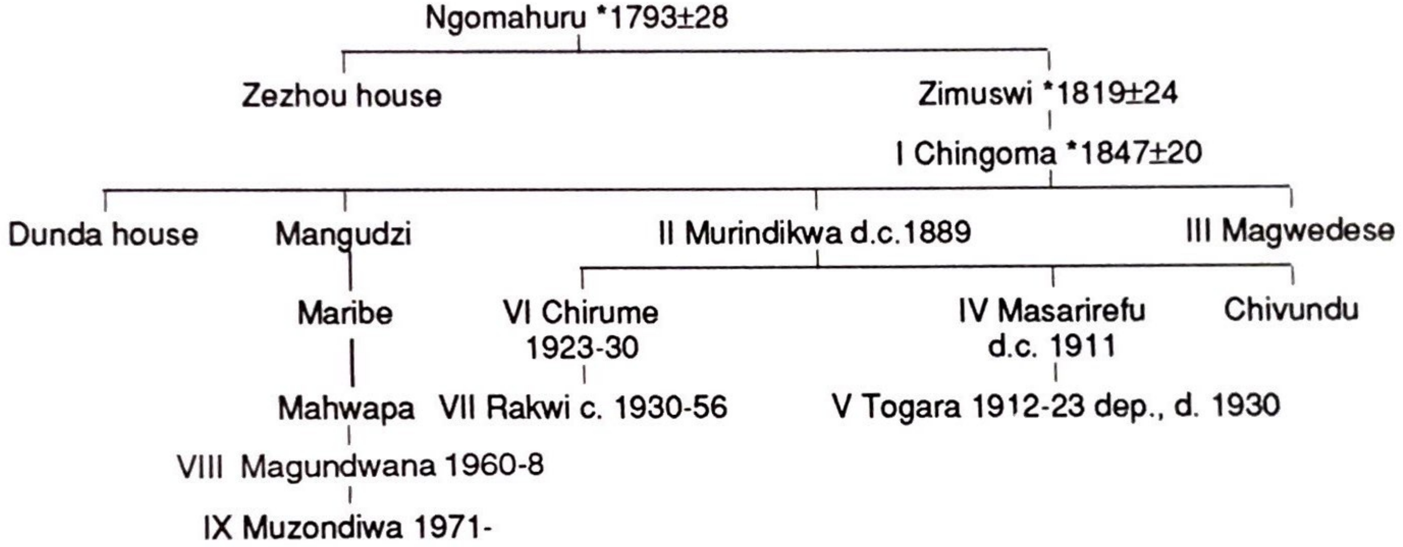

Tingini
Derere
Chinamhora dynasty
I Vambe * 1766±36
II Chinemasine *1794±32
III Chiparuparu *1822±28
IV Ruzengwe *1850±24
V Guruza *1882±20
VI Chibura *1866±20
VIII Mutindi
4
VII Chibvakacha d. 1894
4
Mbavare d. 1910
1
IX Mbavare
1910-56
2
Mutaungwa
X Mujawu 1958-62
XI Madziya 1967-79

Fig. 41: Chingoma, Romwe, *dziva/mabire*


Ngomahuru *1793±28
Zezhou house
Zimuswi *1819±24
I Chingoma *1847±20
Dunda house
Mangudzi
II Murindikwa d.c.1889
III Magwedese
Maribe
VI Chirume 1923-30
IV Masarirefu d.c. 1911
Chivundu
Mahwapa
VII Rakwi c. 1930-56
V Togara 1912-23 dep., d. 1930
VIII Magundwana 1960-8
IX Muzondiwa 1971-

Note: in 1898 Jackson noted both Dunda and Chingoma as ‘Chiefs’

Fig. 42: Bankwe, Kalanga, *shumba/hasani*

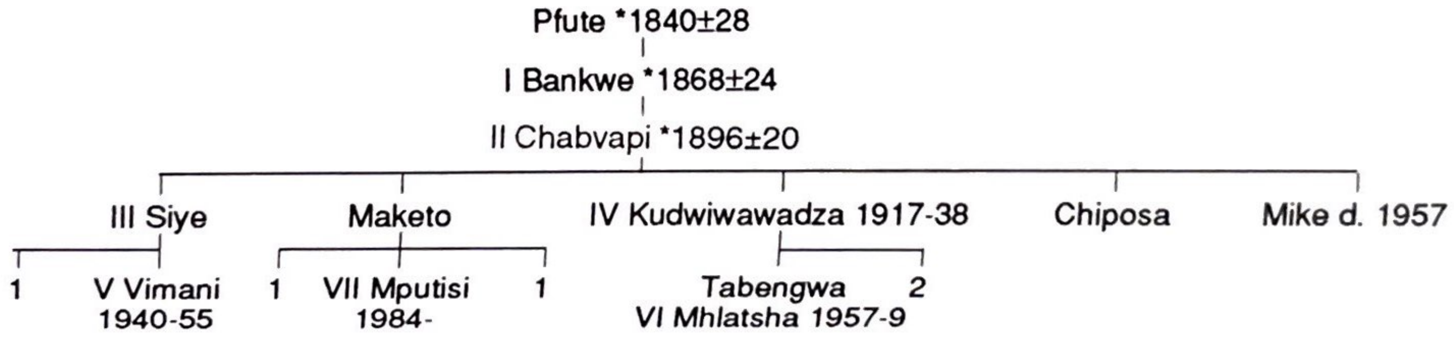

Pfute *1840±28
I Bankwe *1868±24
II Chabvapi *1896±20
III Siye
Maketo
IV Kudwiwawadza 1917-38
Chiposa
Mike d. 1957
1
V Vimani 1940-55
1
VII Mputisi 1984-
1
Tabengwa
2
VI Mhlatsha 1957-9

Fig 43: Chizungu, Rozvi, *chuma/gwai*

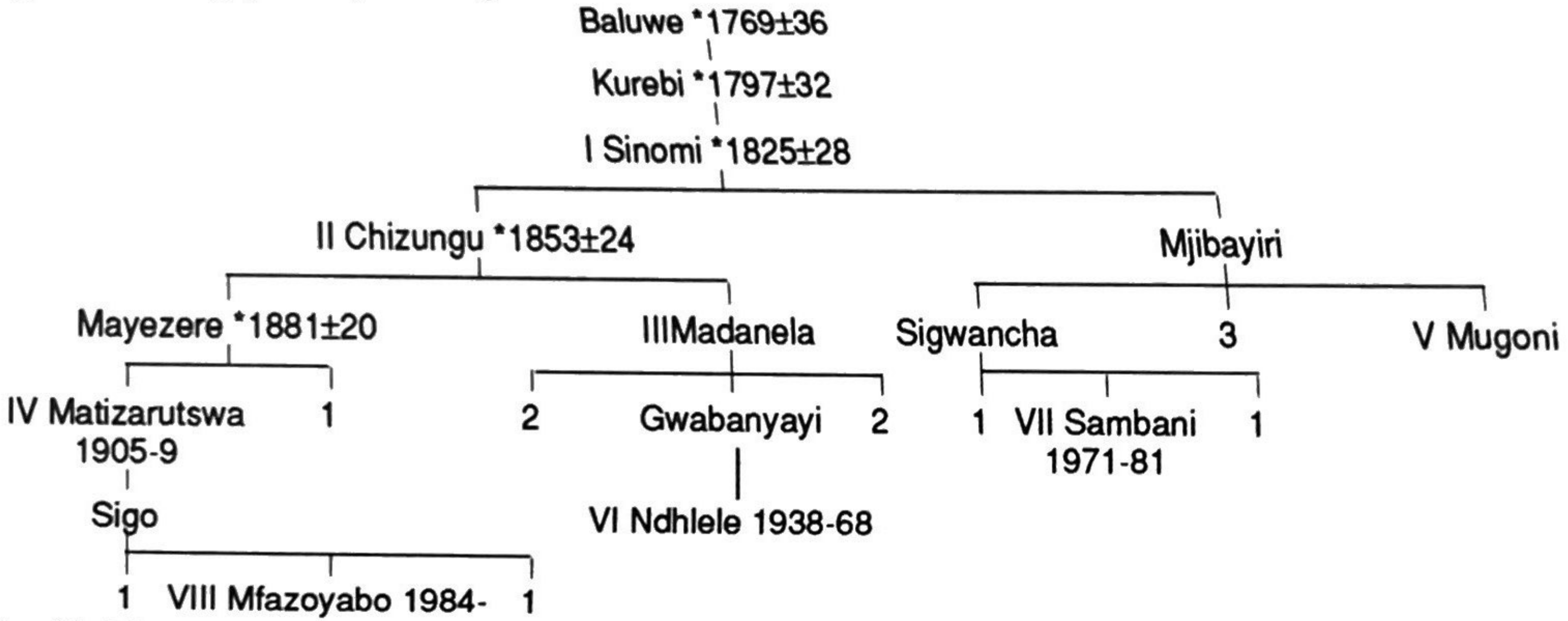
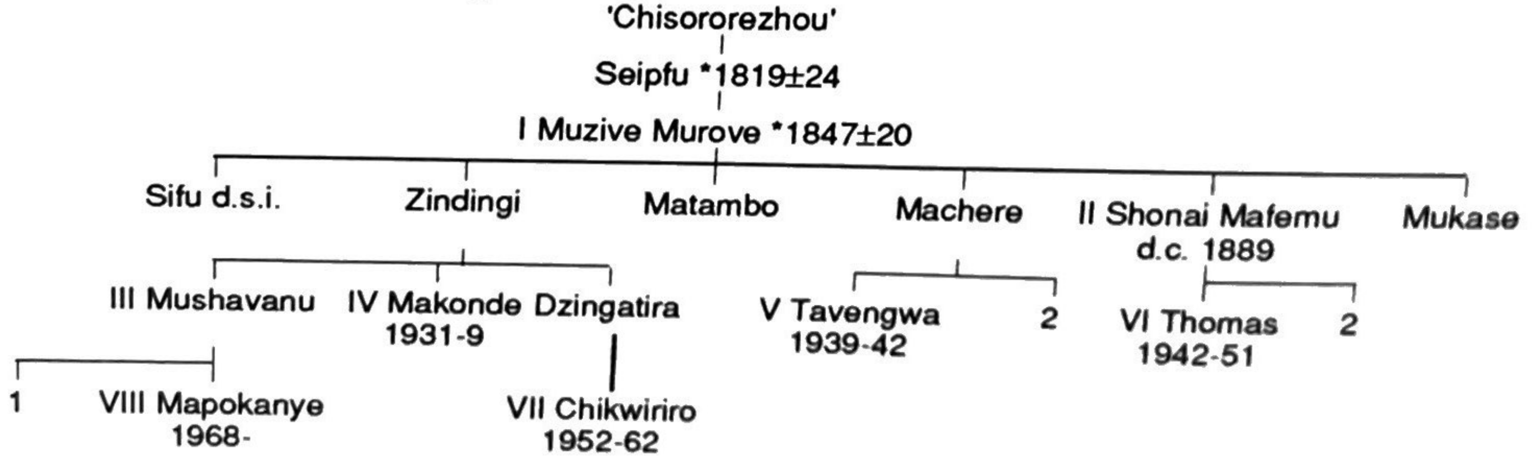
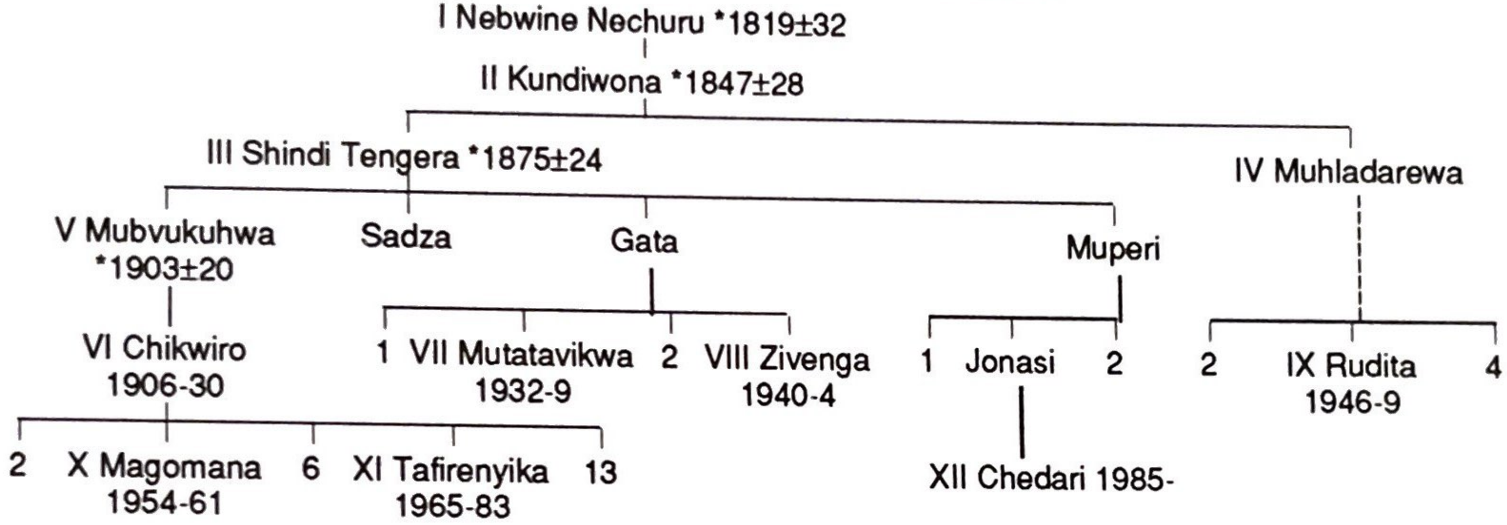

Baluwe *1769±36
Kurebi *1797±32
I Sinomi *1825±28
II Chizungu *1853±24
Mjibayiri
Mayezere *1881±20
IIIMadanela
Sigwancha
3
V Mugoni
IV Matizarutswa
1905-9
1
2
Gwabanyayi
2
1
VII Sambani
1971-81
1
Sigo
VI Ndhlele 1938-68
1
VIII Mfazoyabo 1984-
1

Fig. 44: Murove, Rozvi, *chuma/gwai*


'Chisororezhou'
Seipfu *1819±24
I Muzive Murove *1847±20
Sifu d.s.i.
Zindingi
Matambo
Machere
II Shonai Mafemu
d.c. 1889
Mukase
III Mushavanu
IV Makonde
1931-9
Dzingatira
V Tavengwa
1939-42
2
VI Thomas
1942-51
2
1
VIII Mapokanye
1968-
VII Chikwiriro
1952-62

Note: Delineation Report makes Shonai 'Mafemu', and ANGK 1889 makes latter Murove in that year

Fig. 45: Shindi or Nebwine, Rozvi or Mubwine *shava-mhara/marombedze*


I Nebwine Nechuru *1819±32
II Kundiwona *1847±28
III Shindi Tengera *1875±24
IV Muhladarewa
V Mubvukuhwa
*1903±20
Sadza
Gata
Muperi
VI Chikwiro
1906-30
1
VII Mutatavikwa
1932-9
2
VIII Zivenga
1940-4
1
Jonasi
2
2
IX Rudita
1946-9
4
2
X Magomana
1954-61
6
XI Tafirenyika
1965-83
13
XII Chedari 1985-

Note: This follows Forrestall to 1904, who confirms father-son succession from I to V. Early genealogies show IV as son of II, but that of 1985 makes him son of Sadza. Possibly IV was the un-named 'uncle' of V who, in Forrestall's account, tried to take the title with Hlengwe aid.

Fig. 46: Nyamondo, Rozvi, *moyo sahayi or zariro*

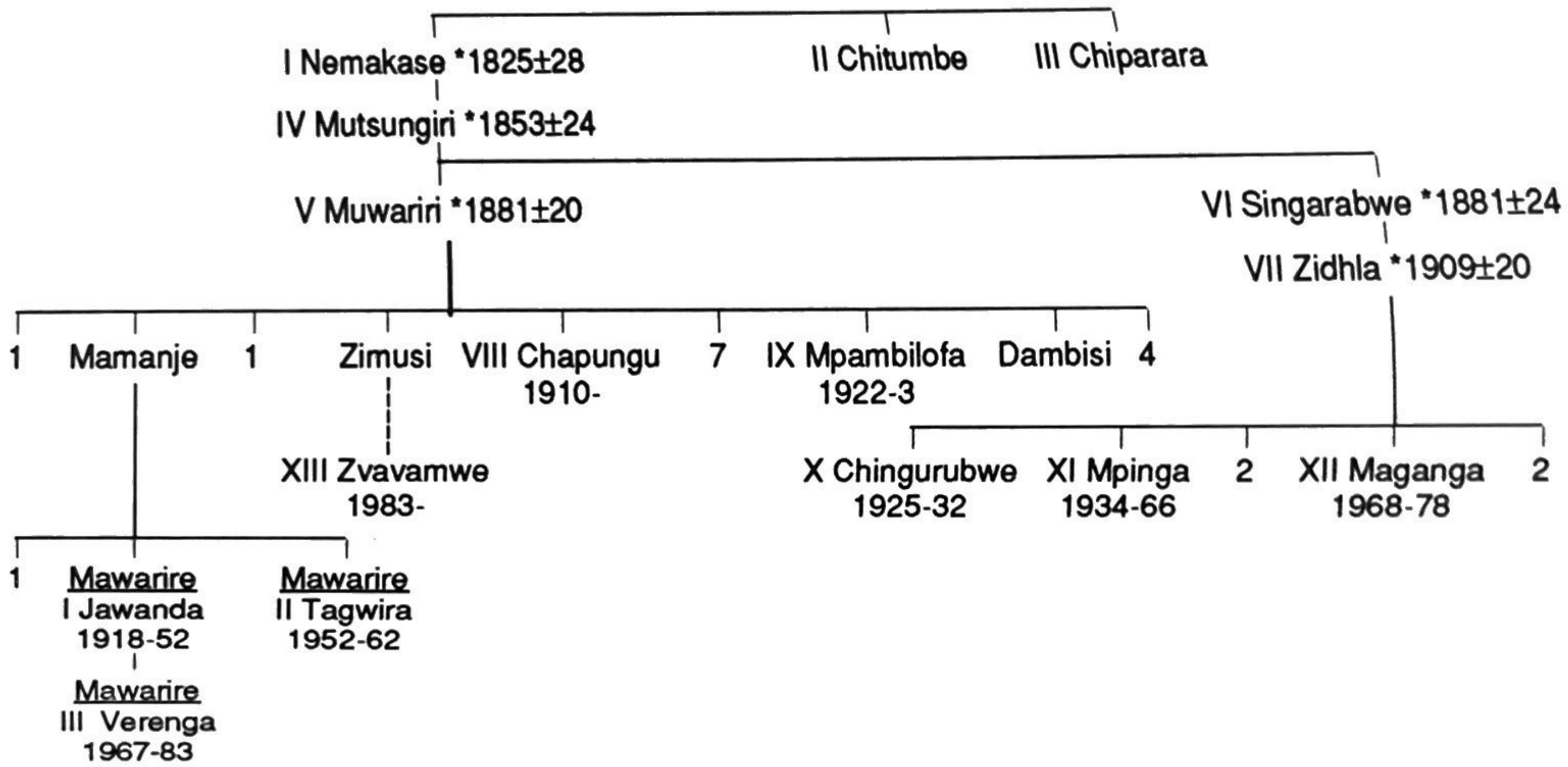

I Nemakase *1825±28
II Chitumbe
III Chiparara
IV Mutsungiri *1853±24
V Muwariri *1881±20
VI Singarabwe *1881±24
VII Zidhla *1909±20
1
Mamanje
1
Zimusi
VIII Chapungu 1910-
7
IX Mpambilofa 1922-3
Dambisi
4
XIII Zvavamwe 1983-
X Chingurubwe 1925-32
XI Mpinga 1934-66
2
XII Maganga 1968-78
2
1
Mawarire I Jawanda 1918-52
Mawarire II Tagwira 1952-62
Mawarire III Verenga 1967-83

Fig 47: Negove, Rozvi, *moyo/zariro*

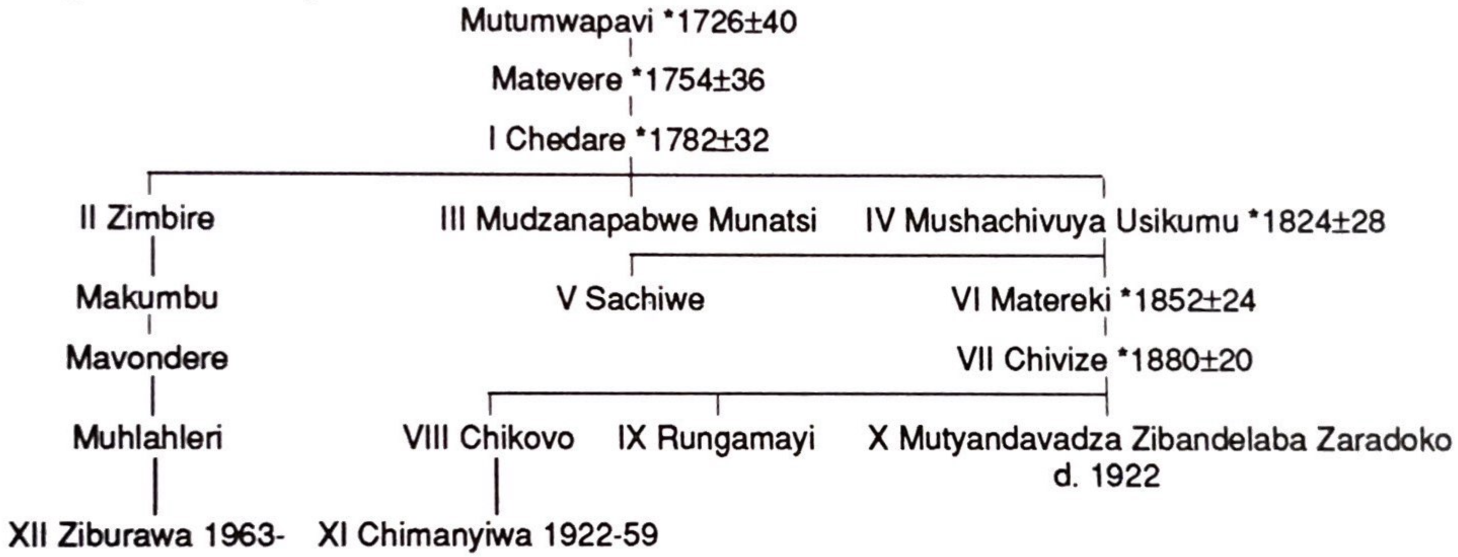

Mutumwapavi *1726±40
Matevere *1754±36
I Chedare *1782±32
II Zimbire
III Mudzanapabwe Munatsi
IV Mushachivuya Usikumu *1824±28
Makumbu
V Sachiwe
VI Matereki *1852±24
Mavondere
VII Chivize *1880±20
Muhlahleri
VIII Chikovo
IX Rungamayi
X Mutyandavadza Zibandelaba Zaradoko
d. 1922
XII Ziburawa 1963-
XI Chimanyiwa 1922-59

Fig. 48: Negari, Rozvi, *moyo/sahayi-mondizvo*

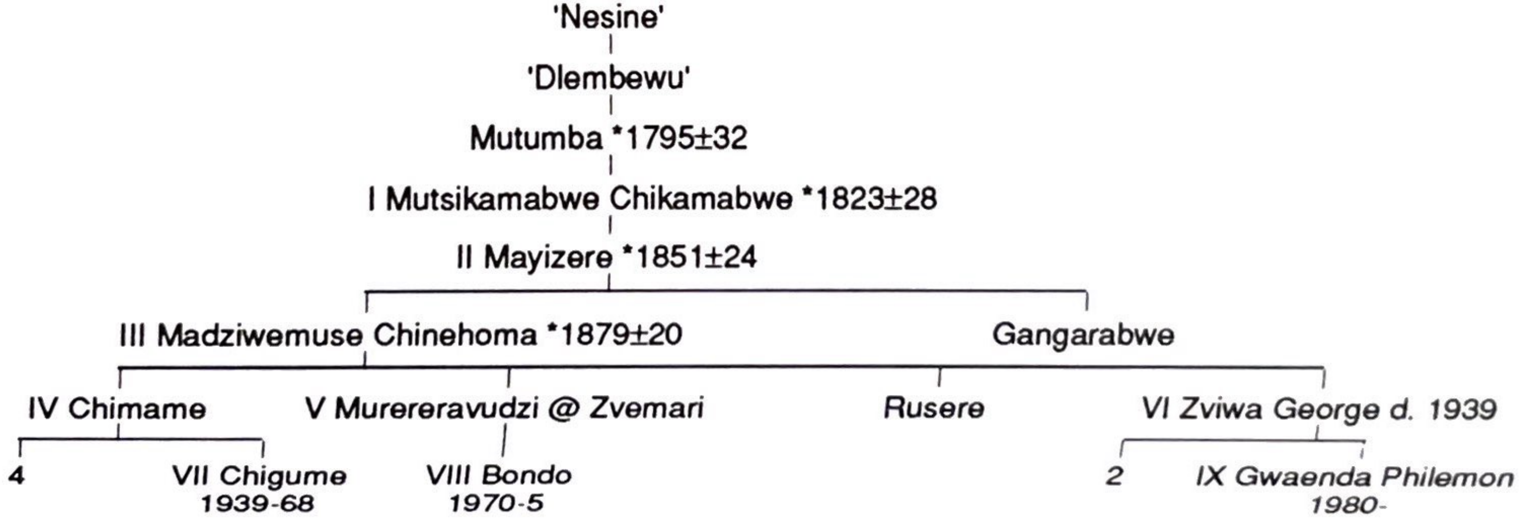

'Nesine'
'Dlembewu'
Mutumba *1795±32
I Mutsikamabwe Chikamabwe *1823±28
II Mayizere *1851±24
III Madziwemuse Chinehoma *1879±20
Gangarabwe
IV Chimame
V Murereravudzi @ Zvemari
Rusere
VI Zviwa George d. 1939
4
VII Chigume
1939-68
VIII Bondo
1970-5
2
IX Gwaenda Philemon
1980-

Fig. 49: Mtubayedzi (Mutevaidze) Rozvi, *moyo/sahayi*

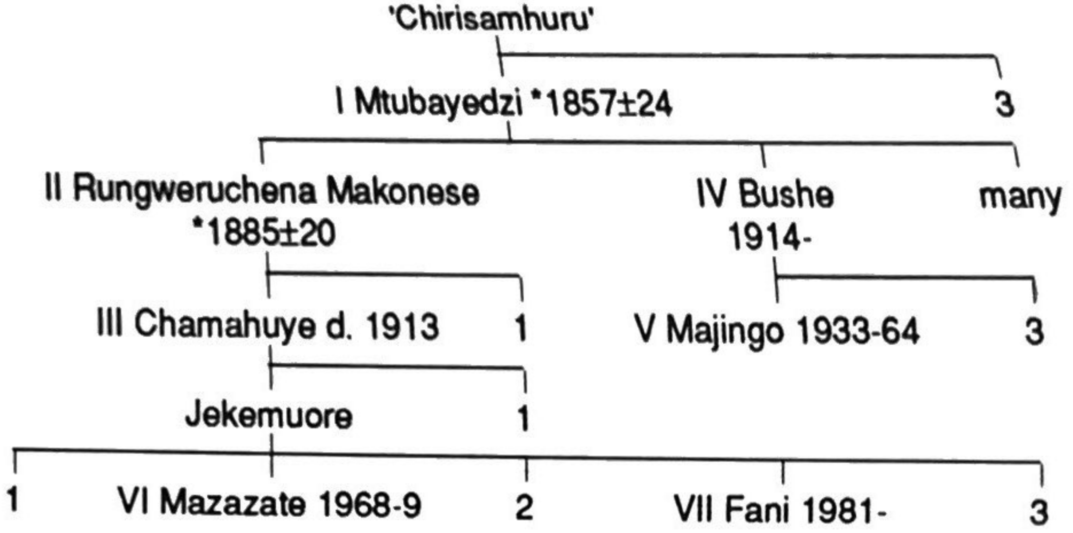

'Chirisamhuru'
I Mtubayedzi *1857±24
3
II Rungweruchena Makonese *1885±20
IV Bushe 1914-
many
III Chamahuye d. 1913
1
V Majingo 1933-64
3
Jekemuore
1
1
VI Mazazate 1968-9
2
VII Fani 1981-
3

Fig. 50: Gurajena, Zvidzvi, *dziva/nyakuzvidzwa*

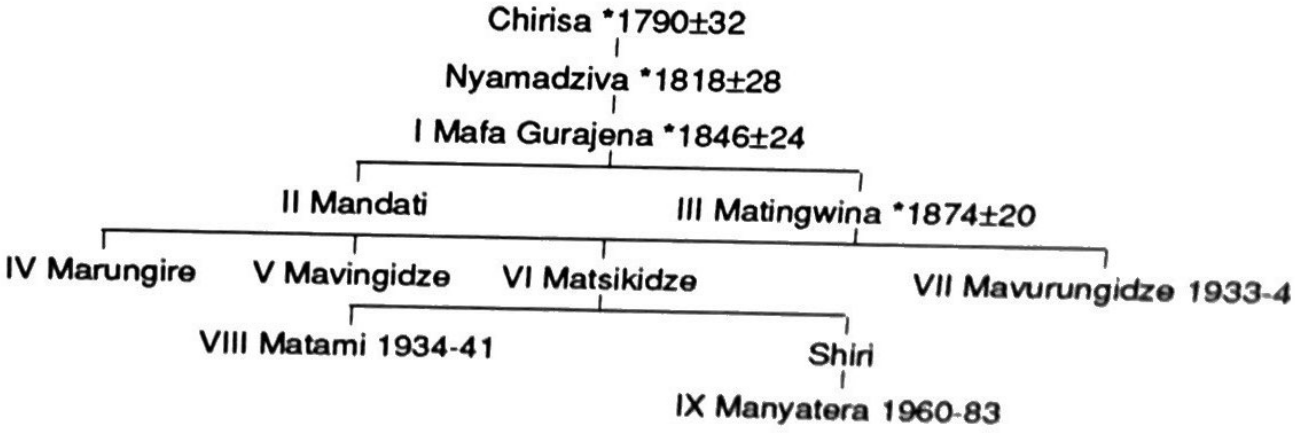
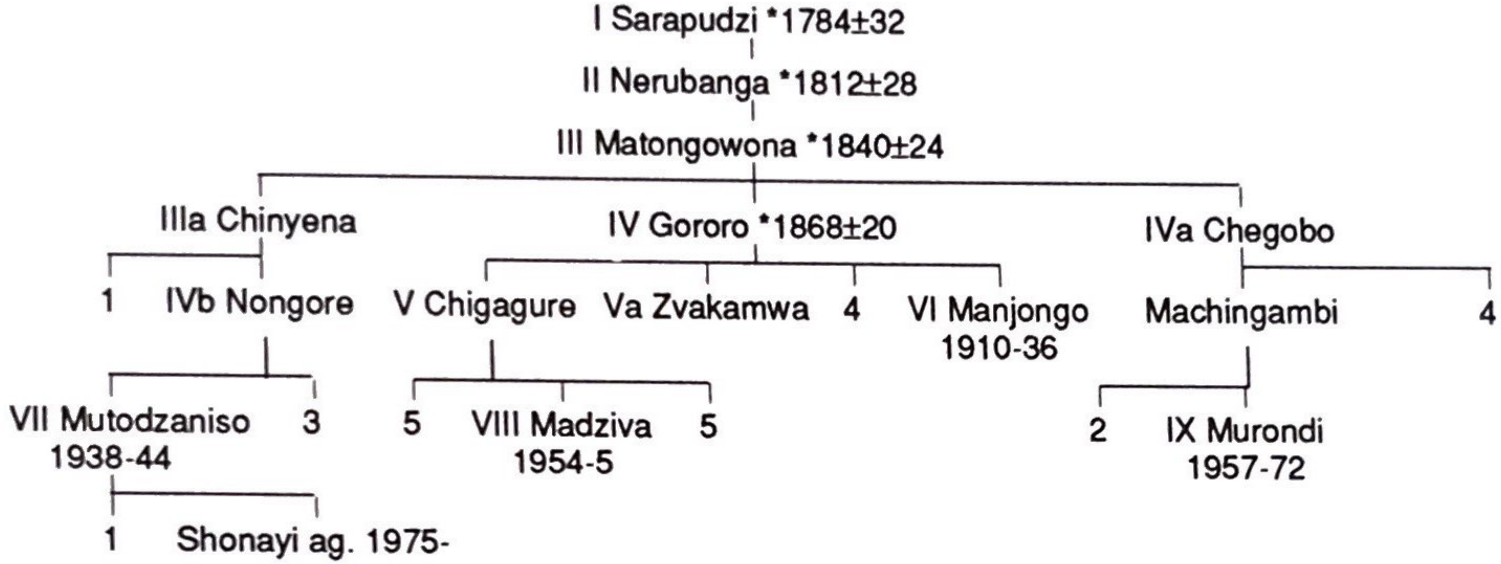
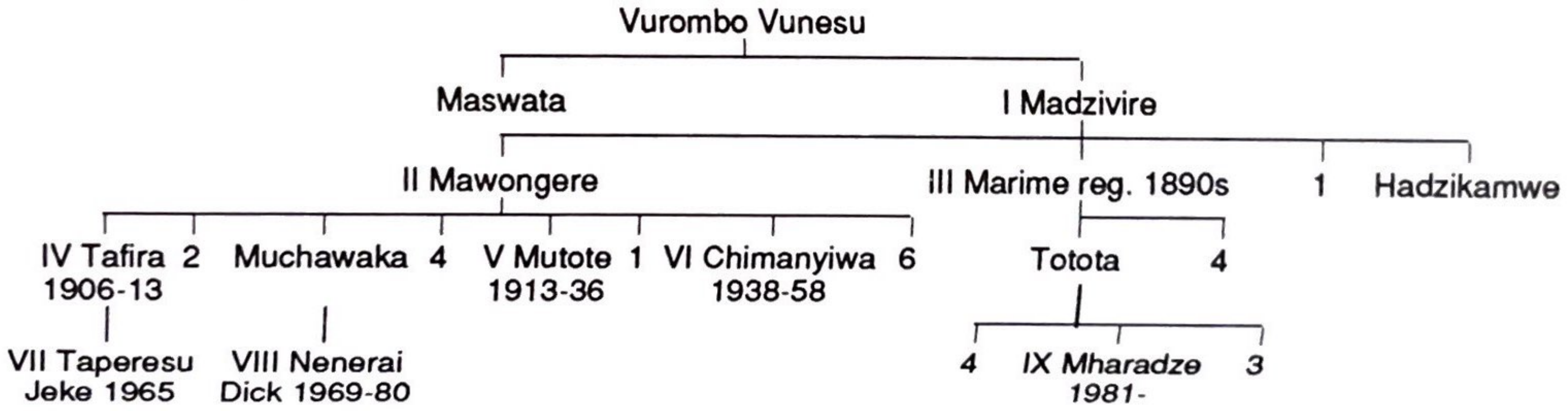

Chirisa *1790±32
Nyamadziva *1818±28
I Mafa Gurajena *1846±24
II Mandati
III Matingwina *1874±20
IV Marungire
V Mavingidze
VI Matsikidze
VII Mavurungidze 1933-4
VIII Matami 1934-41
Shiri
IX Manyatera 1960-83

Fig. 51: Gororo, Ndau, *beta/wabeta*


I Sarapudzi *1784±32
II Nerubanga *1812±28
III Matongowona *1840±24
IIIa Chinyena
IV Gororo *1868±20
IVa Chegobo
1
IVb Nongore
V Chigagure
Va Zvakamwa
4
VI Manjongo 1910-36
Machingambi
4
VII Mutodzaniso 1938-44
3
5
VIII Madziva 1954-5
5
2
IX Murondi 1957-72
1
Shonayi ag. 1975-

Note: This follows Forrestall from I to IV, then the Delineation Report for V and Va. IIIa, IVa and IVb appear as rulers in the more recent genealogies but are not mentioned by Forrestall who is vague on their period.

Fig. 52: Madzivire. Ndau, *beta/mutukuti*


Vurombo Vunesu
Maswata
I Madzivire
II Mawongere
III Marime reg. 1890s
1
Hadzikamwe
IV Tafira 1906-13
2
Muchawaka
4
V Mutote 1913-36
1
VI Chimanyiwa 1938-58
6
Totota
4
VII Taperesu Jeke 1965
VIII Nenerai Dick 1969-80
4
IX Mharadze 1981-
3

Note: *White, 'Chiefs & Headmen', has Hadzikamwe in place of Marime as III.*

Fig. 53: Nemarundwe, Rundwe, *zhou/siwana*

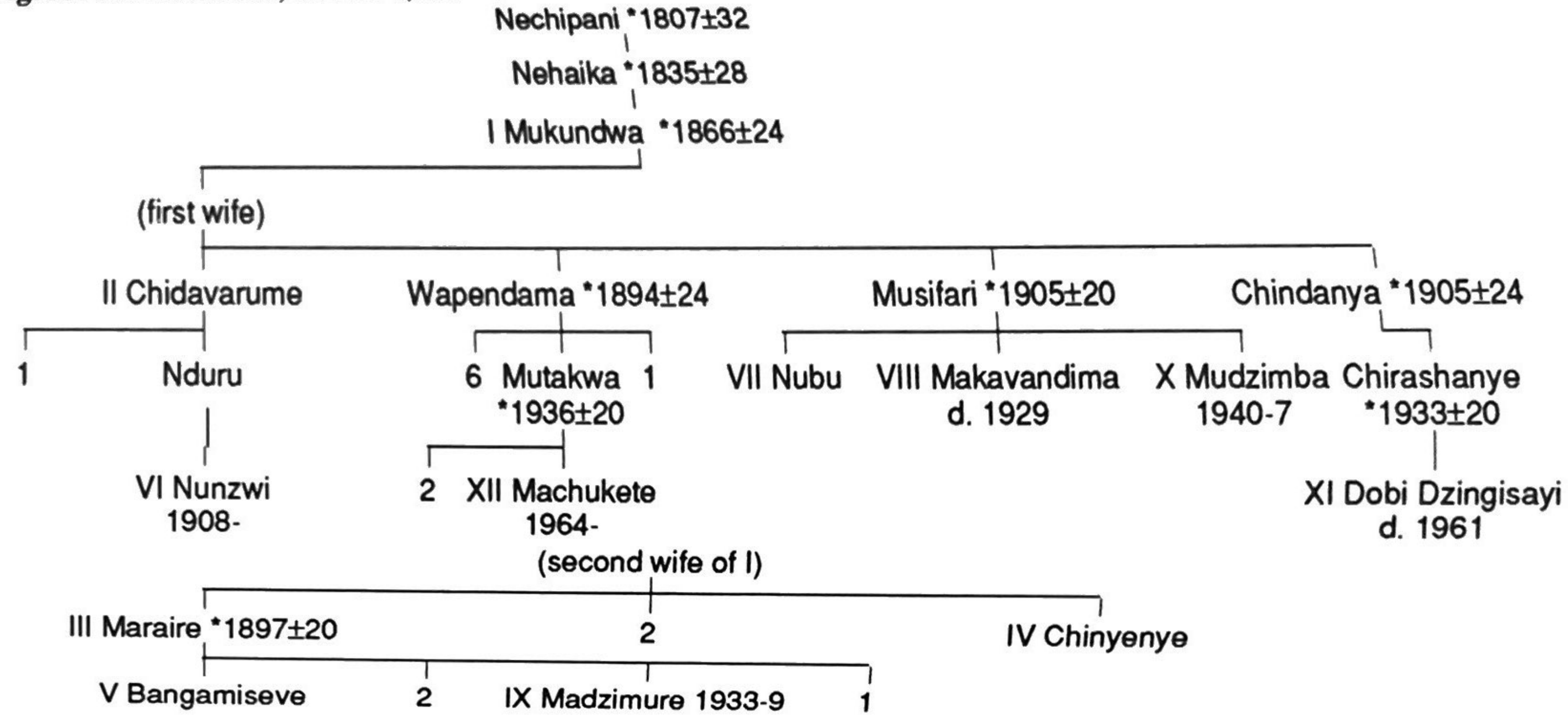

Nechipani *1807±32
Nehaika *1835±28
I Mukundwa *1866±24
(first wife)
II Chidavarume
Wapendama *1894±24
Musifari *1905±20
Chindanya *1905±24
1
Nduru
6
Mutakwa
*1936±20
1
VII Nubu
VIII Makavandima
d. 1929
X Mudzimba
1940-7
Chirashanye
*1933±20
VI Nunzwi
1908-
2
XII Machukete
1964-
XI Dobi Dzingisayi
d. 1961
(second wife of I)
III Maraire *1897±20
2
IV Chinyenye
V Bangamiseve
2
IX Madzimure 1933-9
1

Fig. 54: Serima, *tsiwo/gushungo*

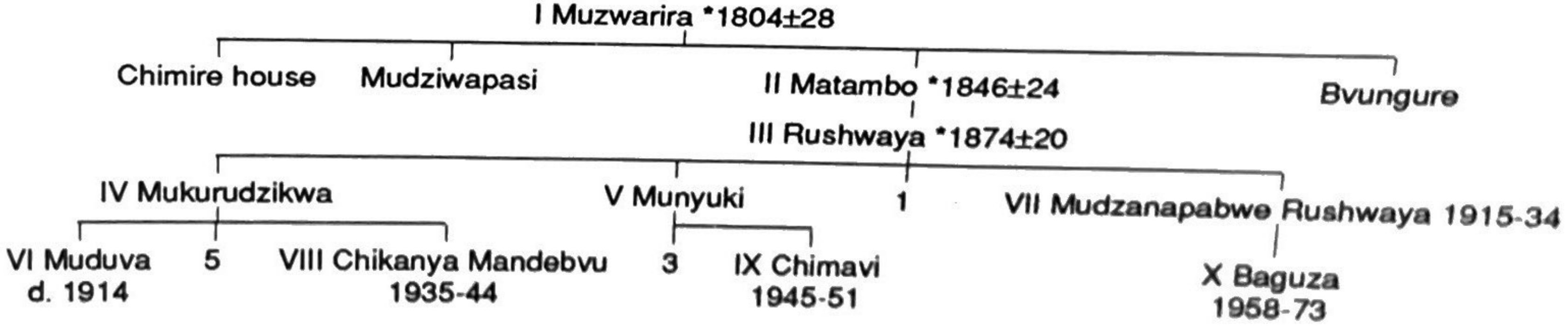

I Muzwarira *1804±28
Chimire house
Mudziwapasi
II Matambo *1846±24
Bvungure
III Rushwaya *1874±20
IV Mukurudzikwa
V Munyuki
1
VII Mudzanapabwe
Rushwaya 1915-34
VI Muduva
d. 1914
5
VIII Chikanya Mandebvu
1935-44
3
IX Chimavi
1945-51
X Baguza
1958-73

Fig. 55: Wozhere, Hungwe, *shonga-nyati/chirombowe*

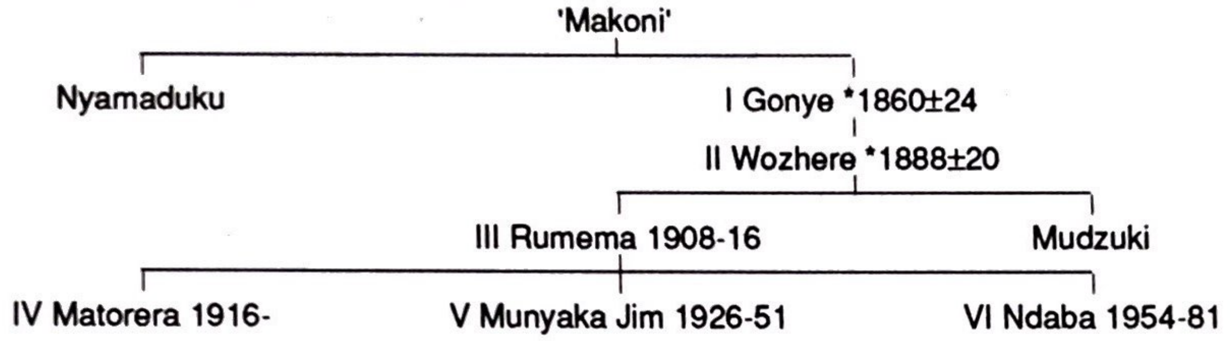
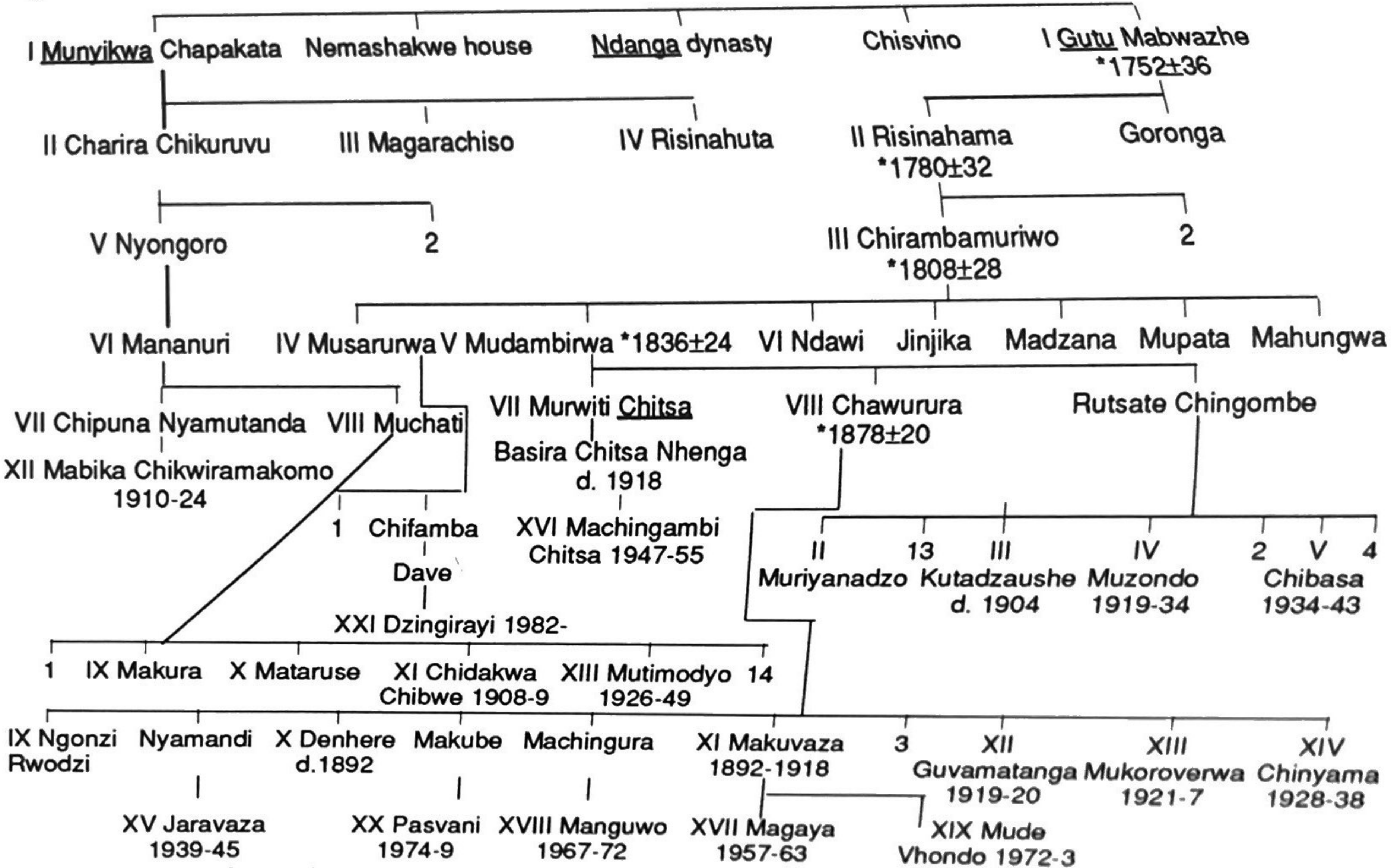
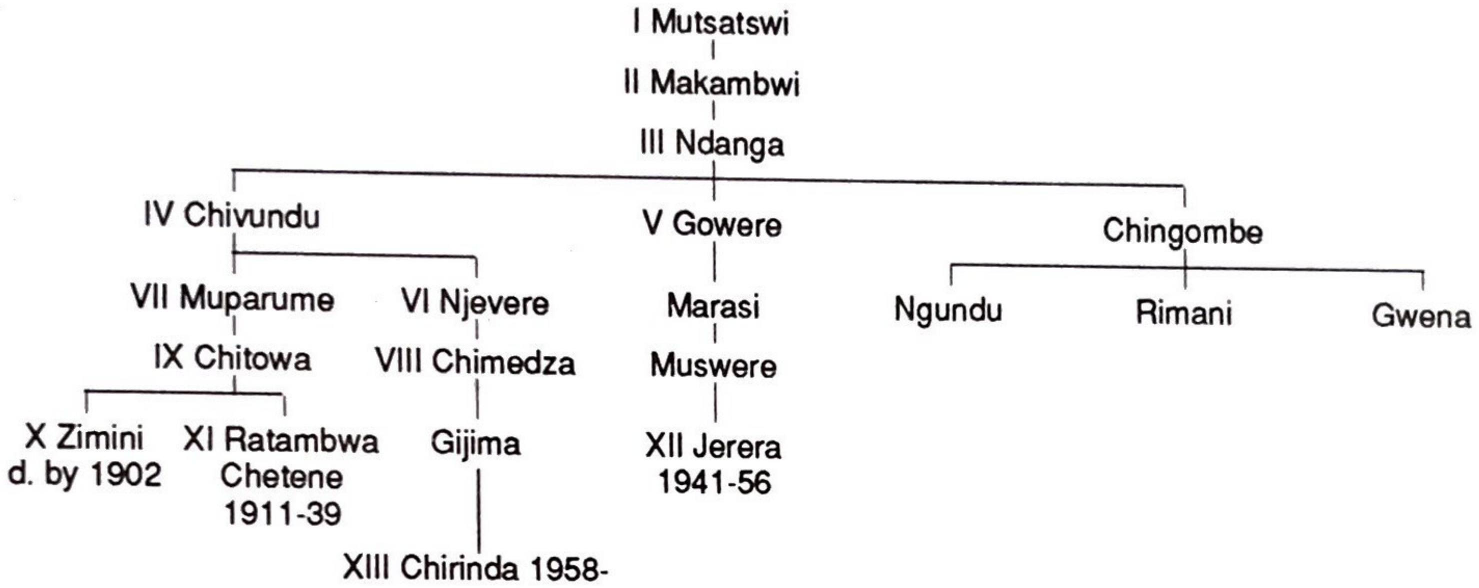

'Makoni'
Nyamaduku
I Gonye *1860±24
II Wozhere *1888±20
III Rumema 1908-16
Mudzuki
IV Matorera 1916-
V Munyaka Jim 1926-51
VI Ndaba 1954-81

Fig. 56: Gutu and related dynasties, Rufura, *gumbo/madyirapazhe*


I Munyikwa Chapakata
Nemashakwe house
Ndanga dynasty
Chisvino
I Gutu Mabwazhe *1752±36
II Charira Chikuruvu
III Magarachiso
IV Risinahuta
II Risinahama *1780±32
Goronga
V Nyongoro
2
III Chirambamuriwo *1808±28
2
VI Mananuri
IV Musarurwa
V Mudambirwa *1836±24
VI Ndawi
Jinjika
Madzana
Mupata
Mahungwa
VII Chipuna Nyamutanda
VIII Muchati
VII Murwiti Chitsa
VIII Chawurura *1878±20
Rutsate Chingombe
XII Mabika Chikwiramakomo 1910-24
Basira Chitsa Nhenga d. 1918
1
Chifamba
XVI Machingambi Chitsa 1947-55
II Muriyanadzo
13
III Kutadzaushe d. 1904
IV Muzondo 1919-34
2
V Chibasa 1934-43
4
Dave
XXI Dzingirayi 1982-
1
IX Makura
X Mataruse
XI Chidakwa Chibwe 1908-9
XIII Mutimodyo 1926-49
14
IX Ngonzi Rwodzi
Nyamandi
X Denhere d.1892
Makube
Machingura
XI Makuvaza 1892-1918
3
XII Guvamatanga 1919-20
XIII Mukoroverwa 1921-7
XIV Chinyama 1928-38
XV Jaravaza 1939-45
XX Pasvani 1974-9
XVIII Manguwo 1967-72
XVII Magaya 1957-63
XIX Mude Vhondo 1972-3

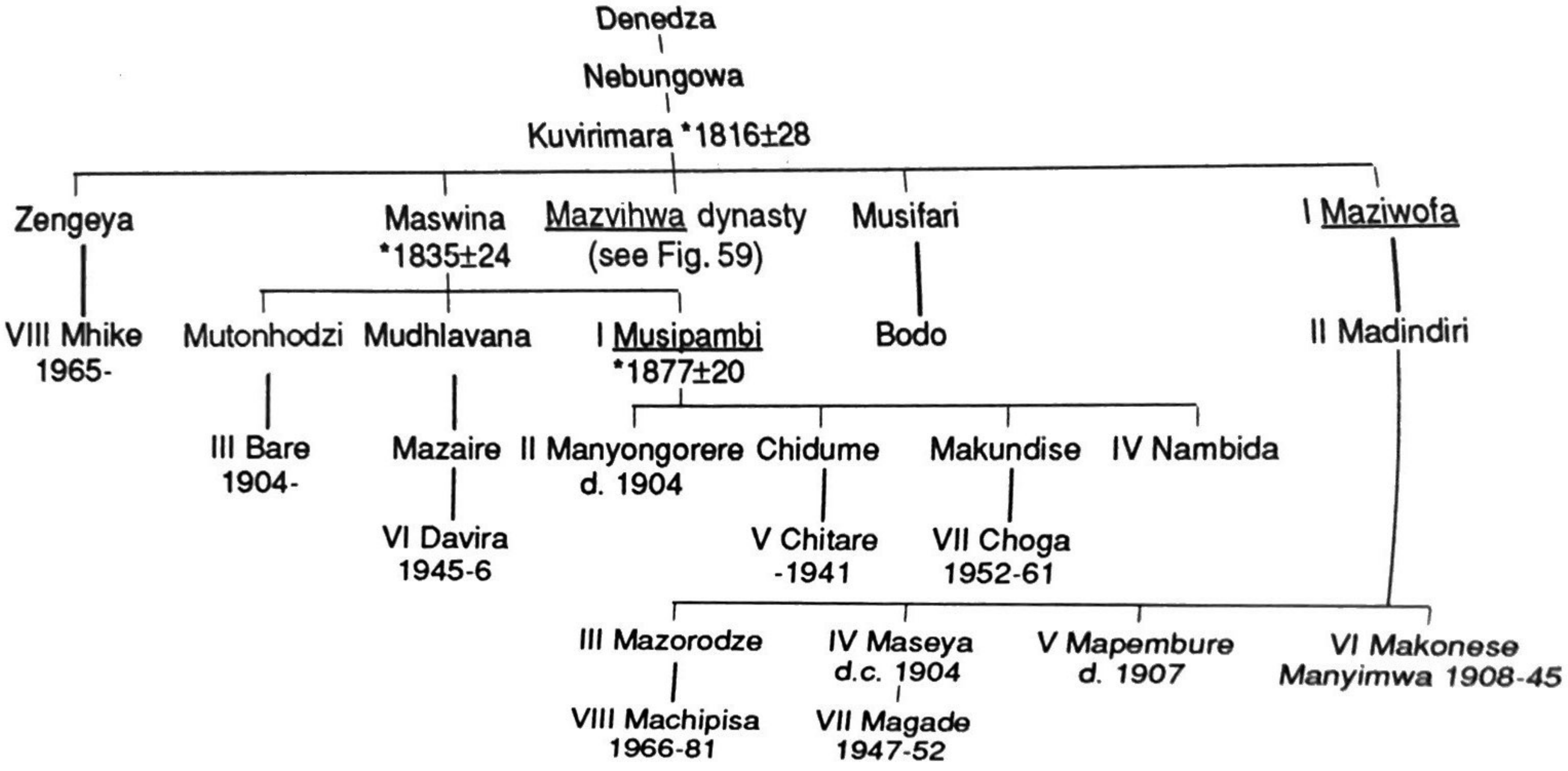
Note: for reasons of space it has been impossible to include non-ruling members of the Gutu dynasty in this century, recent holders of the Munyikwa or Rutsate Chingombe titles or more than a few members of the Chitsa dynasty. It is not at all certain that IV and VI ruled. The Chitsa dynasty also held the Gutu title, 1947-55.

Fig. 57: Ndanga *gumbo/madyirapazhe*


I Mutsatswi
II Makambwi
III Ndanga
IV Chivundu
V Gowere
Chingombe
VII Muparume
VI Njevere
Marasi
Ngundu
Rimani
Gwena
IX Chitowa
VIII Chimedza
Muswere
X Zimini
d. by 1902
XI Ratambwa
Chetene
1911-39
Gijima
XII Jerera
1941-56
XIII Chirinda 1958-

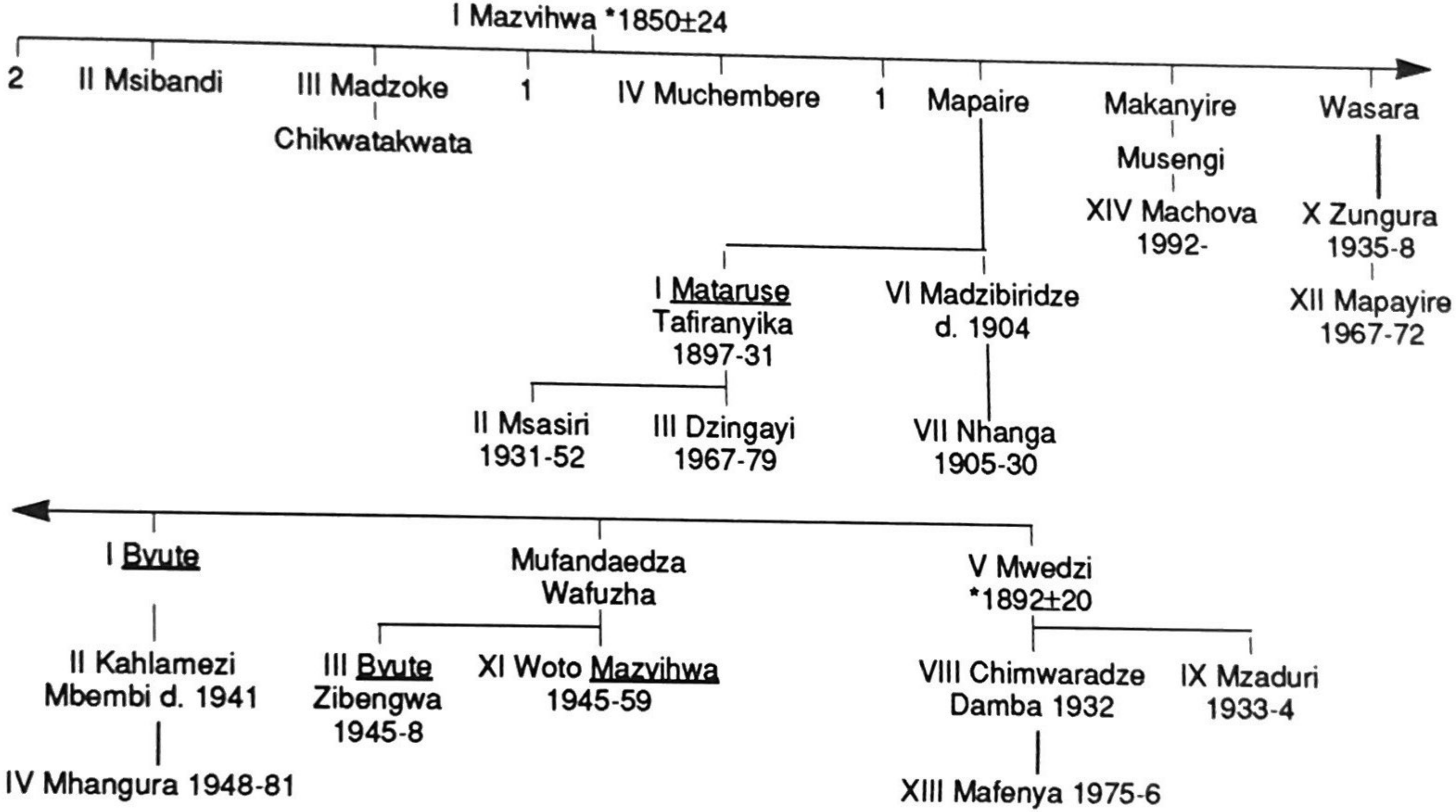
Note: the Delineation Report has three sons of Chingombe noted as rulers between VI and VII, but these were not mentioned by Holland in 1904, and neither was V. X was dead by 1902, when a 'Mpuru' was appointed, but in 1911 'Bai Matorevu' was appointed to act in the minority of 'Tambiri', presumably Ratambwa. Holland transposed VI and VIII.

Fig. 58: the Ngowa of Musipambi and Maziwofa, *dziva-hove/musaigwa*


Denedza
Nebungowa
Kuvirimara *1816±28
Zengeya
Maswina *1835±24
Mazvihwa dynasty (see Fig. 59)
Musifari
I Maziwofa
VIII Mhike 1965-
Mutonhodzi
Mudhlavana
I Musipambi *1877±20
Bodo
II Madindiri
III Bare 1904-
Mazaire
II Manyongorere d. 1904
Chidume
Makundise
IV Nambida
VI Davira 1945-6
V Chitare -1941
VII Choga 1952-61
III Mazorodze
IV Maseya d.c. 1904
V Mapembure d. 1907
VI Makonese Manyimwa 1908-45
VIII Machipisa 1966-81
VII Magade 1947-52

Note: Musipambi VIII was a remote descendant of Zengeya, and neither III nor VI were descended from Musipambi I. For reasons of space, this concentrates on title-holders. Musipambi title became Kuvirimara in 1965.

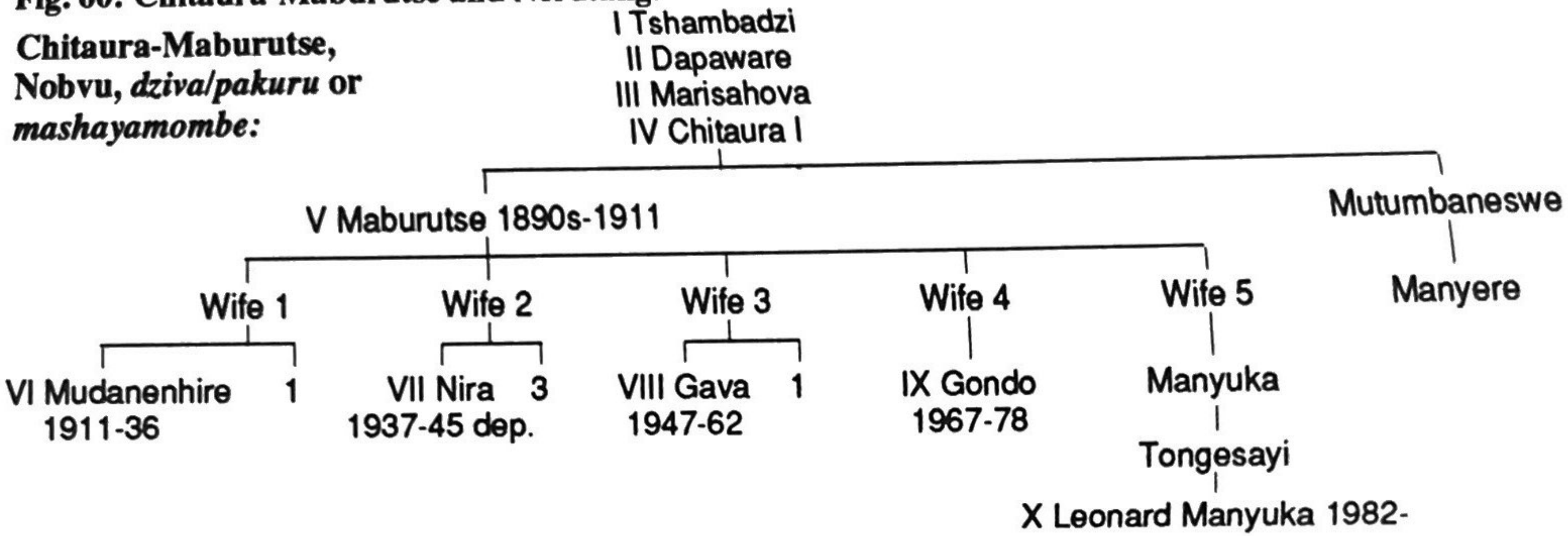
Fig. 59: the Ngowa of Mazvihwa, Mataruse and Bvute, *dziva-hove/musaigwa*


I Mazvihwa *1850±24
2
II Msibandi
III Madzoke
Chikwatakwata
1
IV Muchembere
1
Mapaire
Makanyire
Musengi
XIV Machova 1992-
Wasara
X Zungura 1935-8
XII Mapayire 1967-72
I Mataruse Tafiranyika 1897-31
VI Madzibiridze d. 1904
II Msasiri 1931-52
III Dzingayi 1967-79
VII Nhanga 1905-30
I Bvute
Mufandaedza Wafuzha
V Mwedzi *1892±20
II Kahlamezi Mbembi d. 1941
III Bvute Zibengwa 1945-8
XI Woto Mazvihwa 1945-59
VIII Chimwaradze Damba 1932
IX Mzaduri 1933-4
IV Mhangura 1948-81
XIII Mafenya 1975-6

Notes: again, nearly all non-rulers have been excluded. The Mataruse dynasty included part of the house of Mapaire, but the other branch continued to share in the Mazvihwa title. The Bvute title drew on two houses, one of which supplied Bvute III and Mazvihwa XI. The Mataruse title was renamed Muchembere in 1982, IV Ndodana succeeding.

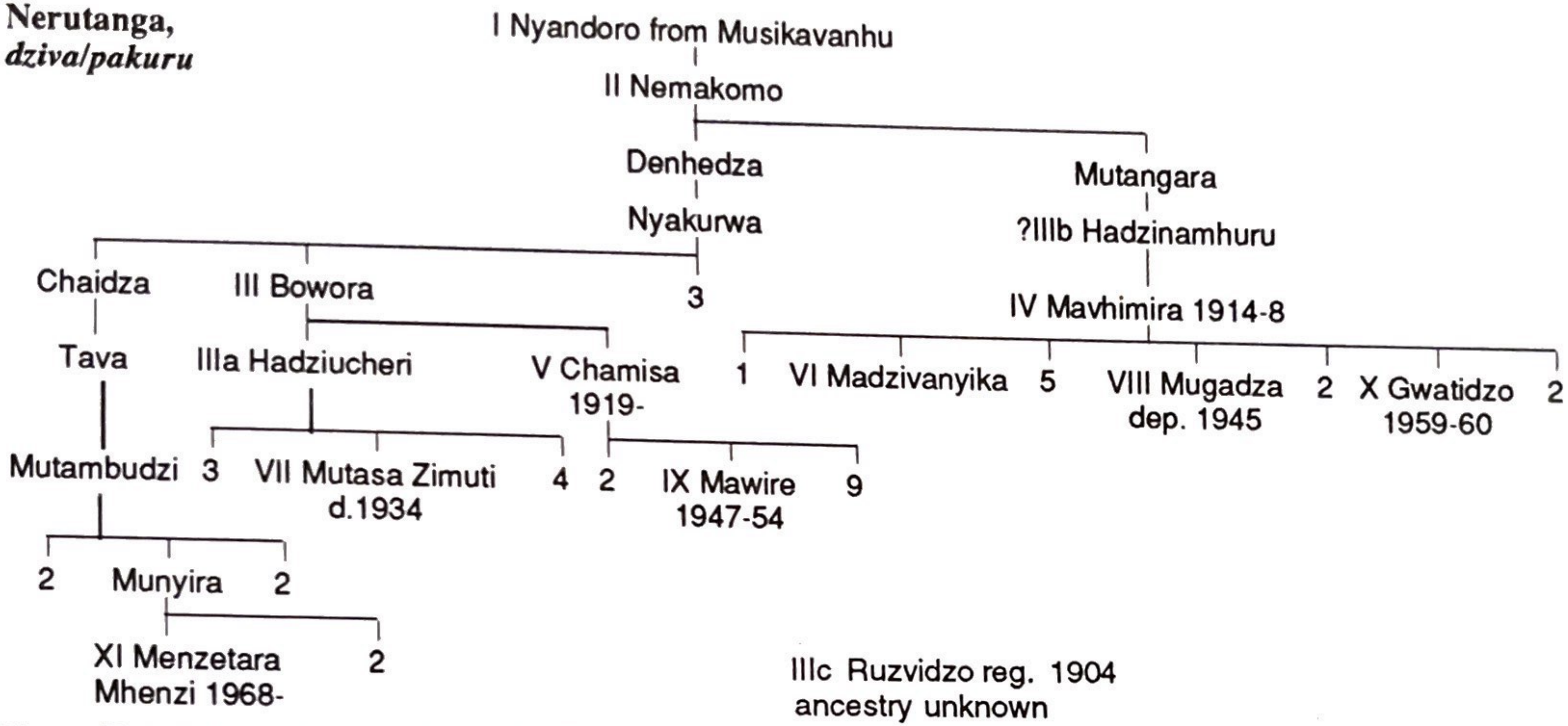
Fig. 60: Chitaura-Maburutse and Nerutanga

Chitaura-Maburutse, Nobvu, *dziva/pakuru* or *mashayamombe:*


I Tshambadzi
II Dapaware
III Marisahova
IV Chitaura I
V Maburutse 1890s-1911
Mutumbaneswe
Wife 1
Wife 2
Wife 3
Wife 4
Wife 5
Manyere
VI Mudanenhire 1911-36
1
VII Nira 1937-45 dep.
3
VIII Gava 1947-62
1
IX Gondo 1967-78
Manyuka
Tongesayi
X Leonard Manyuka 1982-

Note: J.W. Posselt listed I-IV without giving relationships. V inherited the name Chitaura in 1897.

Nerutanga,
dziva/pakuru


I Nyandoro from Musikavanhu
II Nemakomo
Denhedza
Mutangara
Nyakurwa
?IIIb Hadzinamhuru
Chaidza
III Bowora
3
IV Mavhimira 1914-8
Tava
IIIa Hadziucheri
V Chamisa 1919-
1
VI Madzivanyika
5
VIII Mugadza dep. 1945
2
X Gwatidzo 1959-60
2
Mutambudzi
3
VII Mutasa Zimuti d.1934
4
2
IX Mawire 1947-54
9
2
Munyira
2
XI Menzetara Mhenzi 1968-
2
IIIc Ruzvidzo reg. 1904 ancestry unknown

Note: This follows the genealogy of 1991, with dates from White, 'Chiefs and Headmen.' However, J.W. Posselt in 1904 noted Denhedza as the last ruler of the combined *dziva* group that then split into Nerutanga, Chitaura, Matema and Ngowa. He then gave a succession of Nerutanga rulers; Bowora, Hadziucheri, Mavhimira and Ruzvidzo who was then ruling. The EC files definitely show IV Mavhimira ruling from 1914 and V 'Hadziucheri' from 1919, the latter being presumably Chamisa who had inherited that name. It seems, therefore, that the original Hadziucheri had ruled as successor to III, followed by somebody in Mutangara house who used the name Mavhimira before IV, followed by Ruzvidzo who also ruled before IV. Denhedza also appears in Fig 58.

Fig. 61: Gambiza. Hiya, *dziva/nyakuzvidzwa*

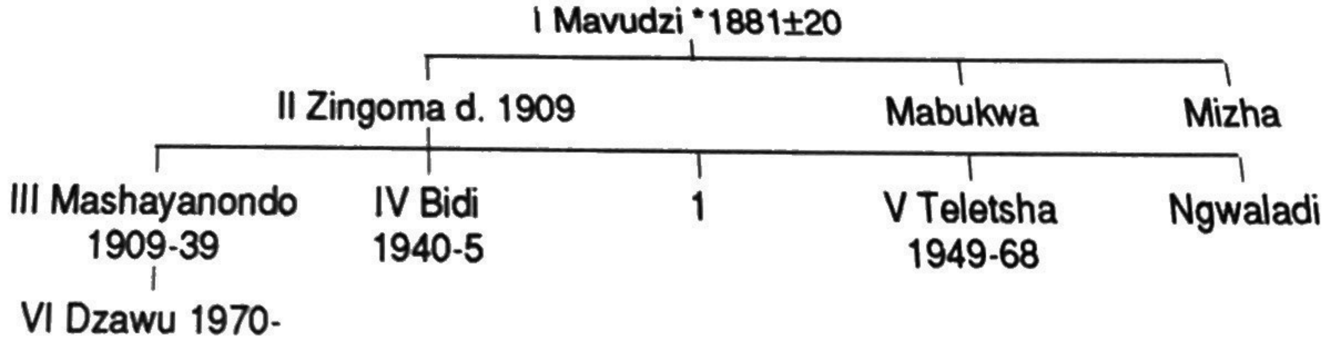
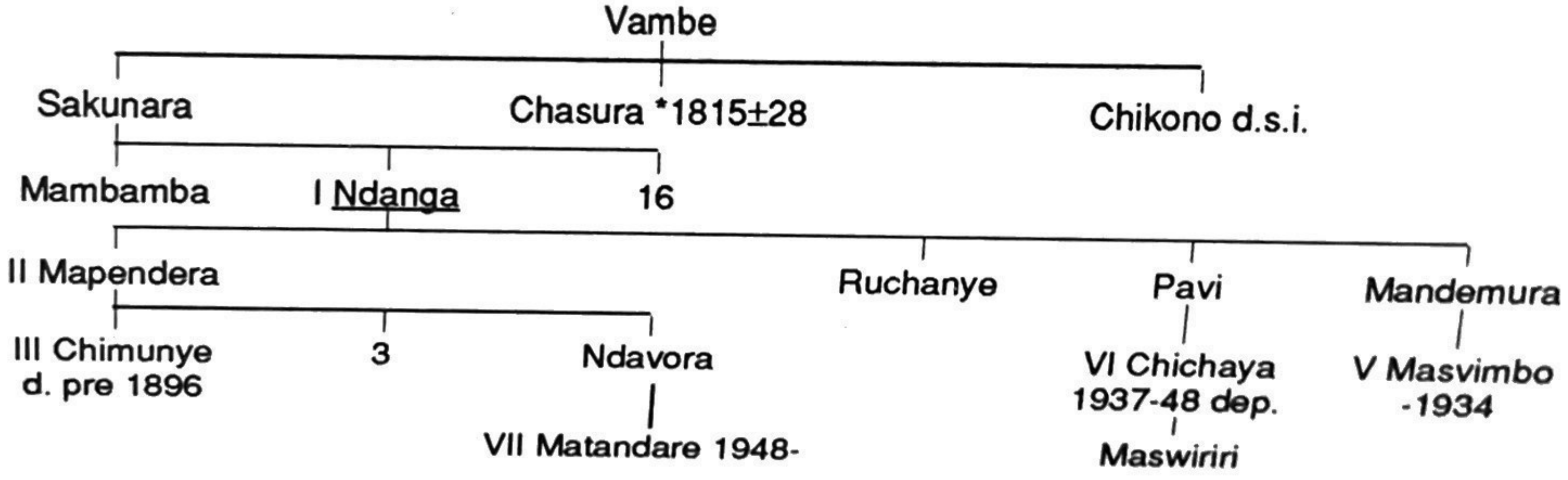
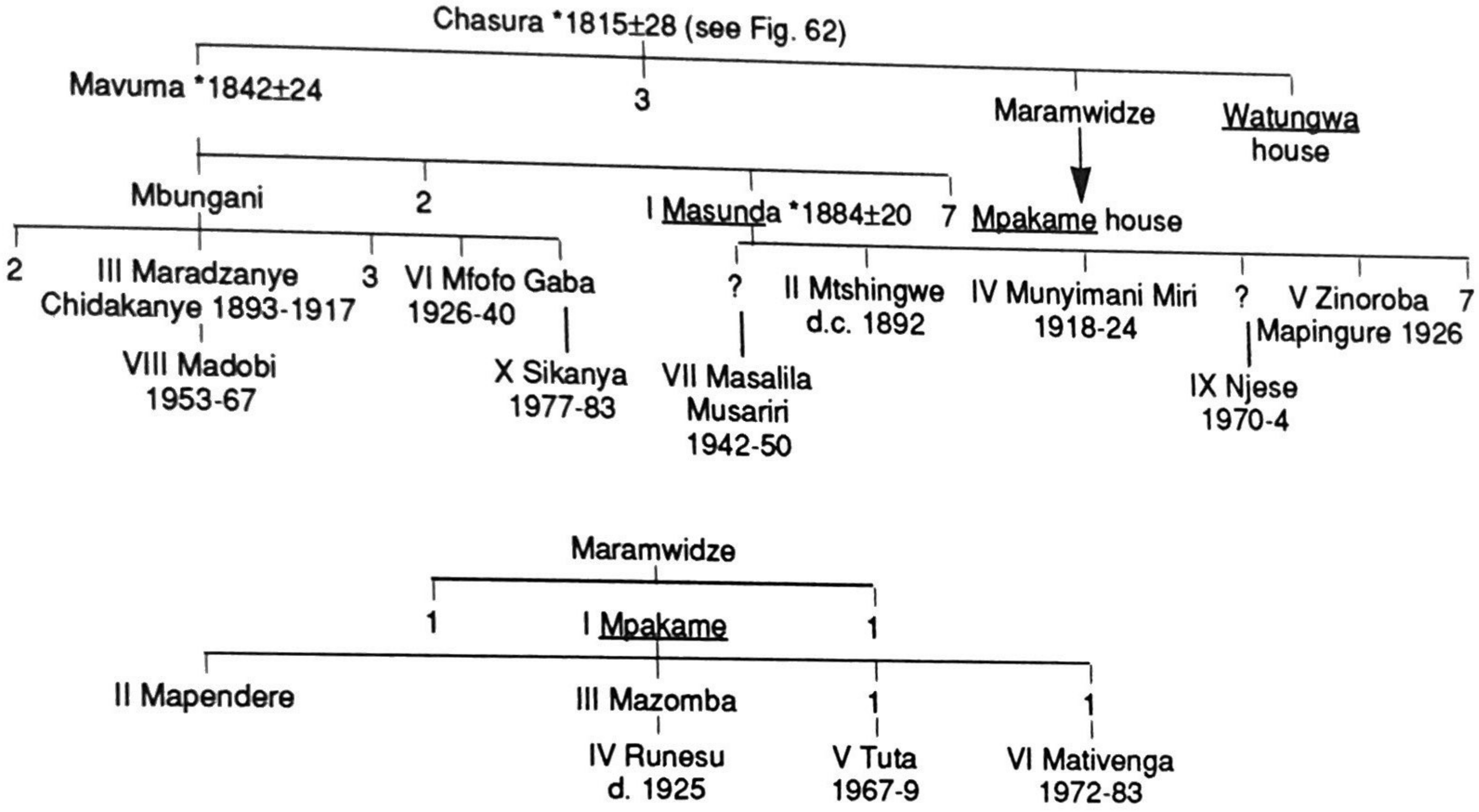

I Mavudzi *1881±20
II Zingoma d. 1909
Mabukwa
Mizha
III Mashayanondo 1909-39
IV Bidi 1940-5
1
V Teletsha 1949-68
Ngwaladi
VI Dzawu 1970-

Fig. 62: Ndanga, Bonda, *shiri/mawokomavi*


Vambe
Sakunara
Chasura *1815±28
Chikono d.s.i.
Mambamba
I Ndanga
16
II Mapendera
Ruchanye
Pavi
Mandemura
III Chimunye d. pre 1896
3
Ndavora
VI Chichaya 1937-48 dep.
V Masvimbo -1934
VII Matandare 1948-
Maswiriri

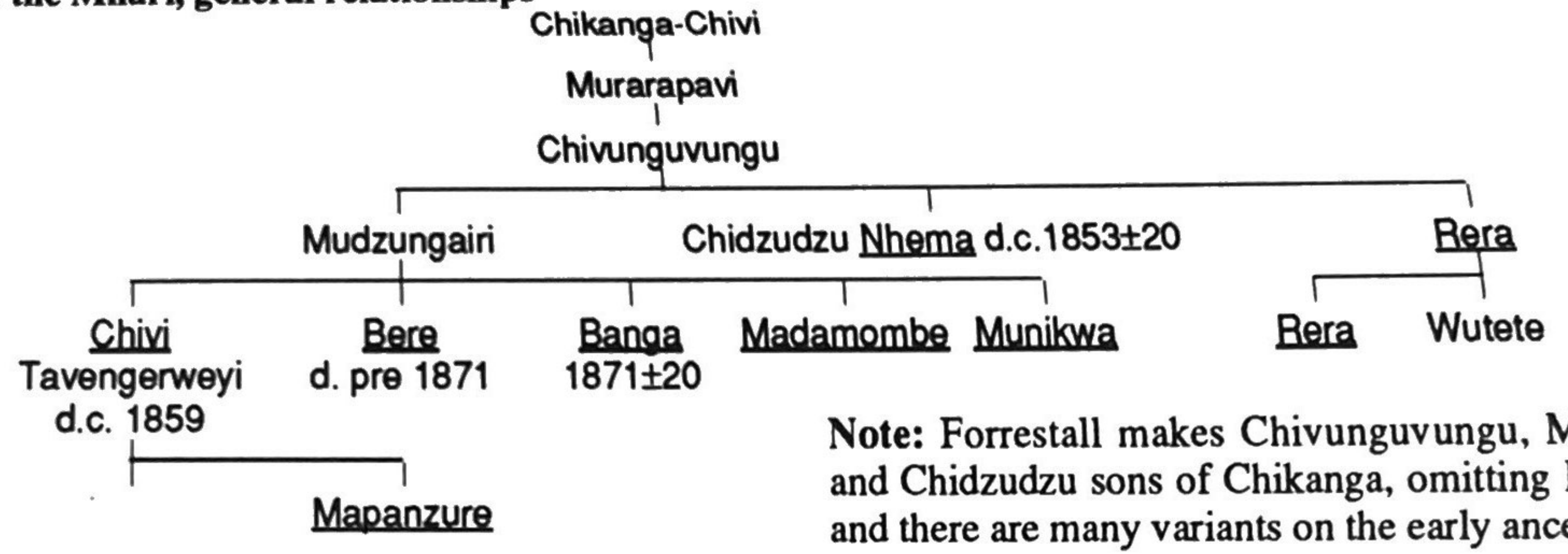
Note: the Delineation Report has Ruchanye as IV, but White (Chiefs and Headmen) places Mandemura and Pavi between III and V and has Mahla as Va, appointed 1934, Elliott has 'Limbani Pansi' (Pavi?) ruling in 1906.

Fig. 63: Masunda and Mpakame, Bonda, *shiri/mawokomavi*


Chasura *1815±28 (see Fig. 62)
Mavuma *1842±24
3
Maramwidze
Watungwa house
Mbungani
2
I Masunda *1884±20
7
Mpakame house
2
III Maradzanye Chidakanye 1893-1917
3
VI Mfofo Gaba 1926-40
?
II Mtshingwe d.c. 1892
IV Munyimani Miri 1918-24
?
V Zinoroba
7
Mapingure 1926
VIII Madobi 1953-67
X Sikanya 1977-83
VII Masalila Musariri 1942-50
IX Njese 1970-4
Maramwidze
1
I Mpakame
1
II Mapendere
III Mazomba
1
1
IV Runesu d. 1925
V Tuta 1967-9
VI Mativenga 1972-83

Notes: here there is a tendency towards titles being shared between houses that are not descended from the first title-holders.

Fig. 64: the Mhari, general relationships


Chikanga-Chivi
Murarapavi
Chivunguvungu
Mudzungairi
Chidzudzu Nhema d.c.1853±20
Rera
Chivi
Tavengerweyi
d.c. 1859
Bere
d. pre 1871
Banga
1871±20
Madamombe
Munikwa
Rera
Wutete
Mapanzure

Note: Forrestall makes Chivunguvungu, Mudzungairi and Chidzudzu sons of Chikanga, omitting Murarapavi, and there are many variants on the early ancestors.

Fig. 65: Chivi and Mapanzure, Mhari, *shumba/murambwi*

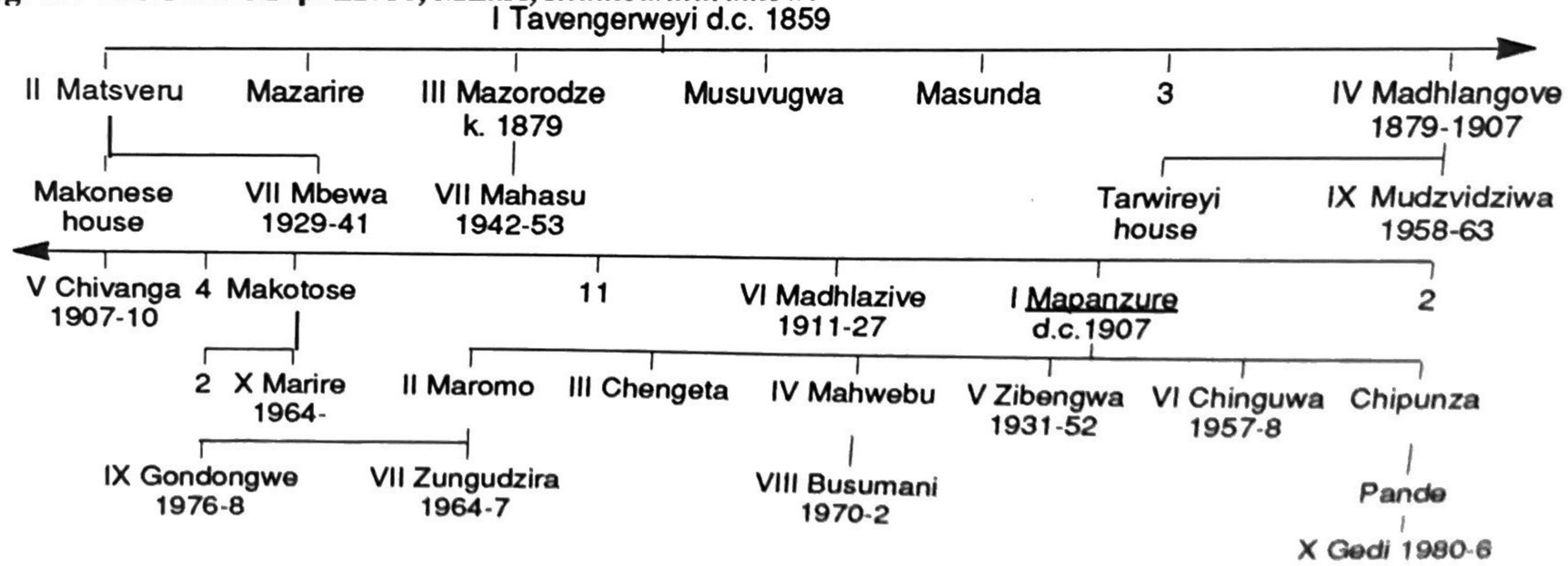
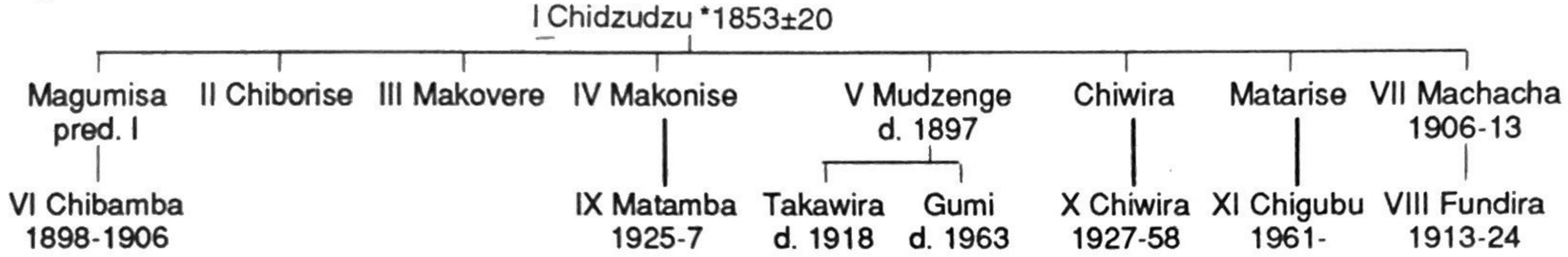
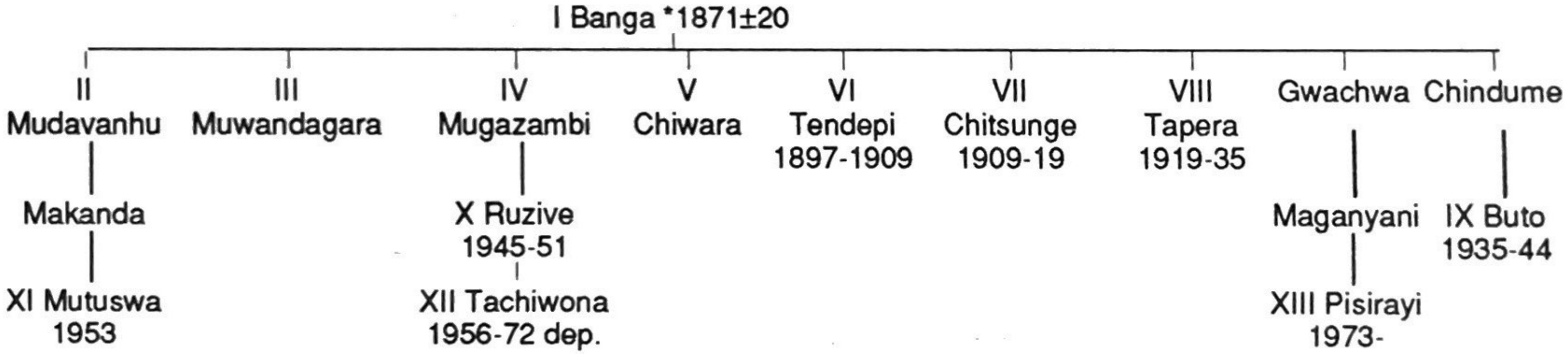

I Tavengerweyi d.c. 1859
II Matsveru
Mazarire
III Mazorodze
k. 1879
Musuvugwa
Masunda
3
IV Madhlangove
1879-1907
Makonese
house
VII Mbewa
1929-41
VII Mahasu
1942-53
Tarwireyi
house
IX Mudzvidziwa
1958-63
V Chivanga
1907-10
4
Makotose
11
VI Madhlazive
1911-27
I Mapanzure
d.c.1907
2
2
X Marire
1964-
II Maromo
III Chengeta
IV Mahwebu
V Zibengwa
1931-52
VI Chinguwa
1957-8
Chipunza
IX Gondongwe
1976-8
VII Zungudzira
1964-7
VIII Busumani
1970-2
Pande
X Gedi 1980-6

Fig. 66: Nhema, Mhari, *shumba/masinere*


I Chidzudzu *1853±20
Magumisa pred. I
II Chiborise
III Makovere
IV Makonise
V Mudzenge d. 1897
Chiwira
Matarise
VII Machacha 1906-13
VI Chibamba 1898-1906
IX Matamba 1925-7
Takawira d. 1918
Gumi d. 1963
X Chiwira 1927-58
XI Chigubu 1961-
VIII Fundira 1913-24

Note: based initially on Driver in NB 1/1/3. but Elliott in 1906 makes Mhere I s/o Chidzudzu and f/o Magamisa, who is stated to have ruled over I and II. N 8/1/1/ makes VII and VIII identical.

Fig. 67: Banga and Munikwa, Mhari, *shumba/bangure and murambwi*


I Banga *1871±20
II Mudavanhu
III Muwandagara
IV Mugazambi
V Chiwara
VI Tendepi 1897-1909
VII Chitsunge 1909-19
VIII Tapera 1919-35
Gwachwa
Chindume
Makanda
X Ruzive 1945-51
Maganyani
IX Buto 1935-44
XI Mutuswa 1953
XII Tachiwona 1956-72 dep.
XIII Pisirayi 1973-

Note: Munikwa was called 'brother' by Banga VI in 1898, but White ('Chiefs and Headmen') makes Munikwa I Chikwiramakomo s/o Mudzungairi (see Fig. 64) and has three rulers between I and V, so Banga was obviously speaking of the relationship between the two titles, not the two men. The title was abolished in 1958 and no genealogy has yet been located.

I Munikwa Chikwiramakomo
II Mrangande
III Mapunire
IV Mtare
V Nangatire 1898-1902 dep.
VI Gankila 1902-
VII Mtele 1922-41
VIII Bushe 1943-58

Fig. 68: Madamombe, Mhari, *shumba/murambwi* or *mufandawora*

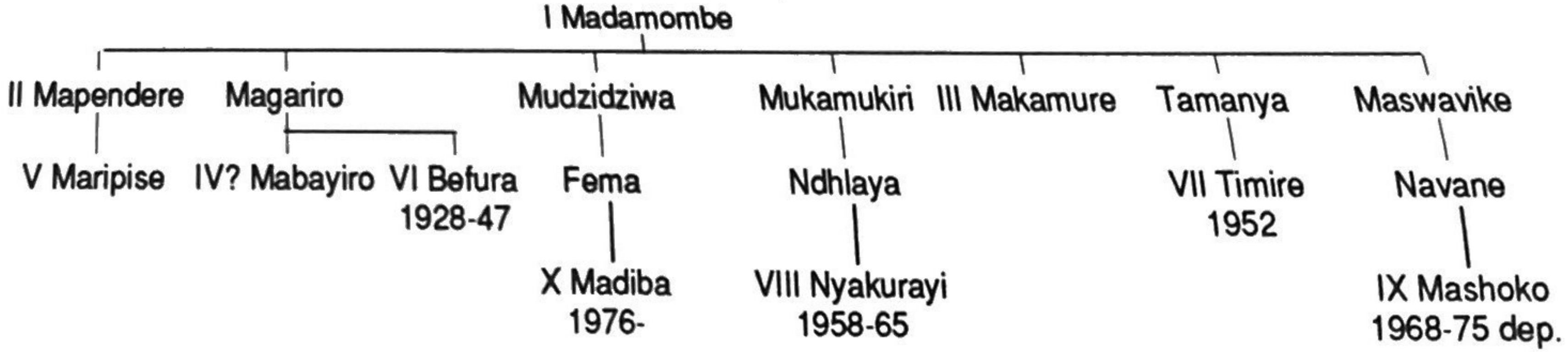
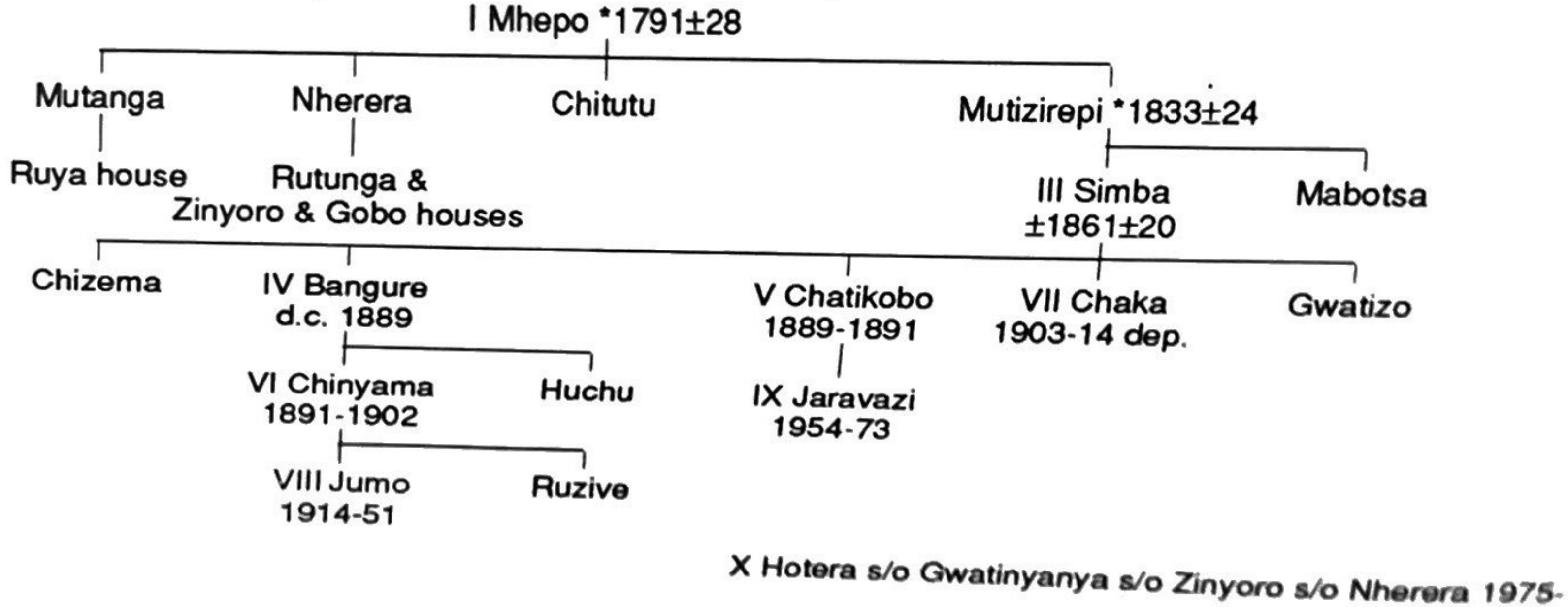

I Madamombe
II Mapendere
Magariro
Mudzidziwa
Mukamukiri
III Makamure
Tamanya
Maswavike
V Maripise
IV? Mabayiro
VI Befura 1928-47
Fema
Ndhlaya
VII Timire 1952
Navane
X Madiba 1976-
VIII Nyakurayi 1958-65
IX Mashoko 1968-75 dep.

Fig. 69: Chirimuhanzu, Manyika-Govera, *tembo-shumba/mazi*


I Mhepo *1791±28
Mutanga
Nherera
Chitutu
Mutizirepi *1833±24
Ruya house
Rutunga & Zinyoro & Gobo houses
III Simba ±1861±20
Mabotsa
Chizema
IV Bangure d.c. 1889
V Chatikobo 1889-1891
VII Chaka 1903-14 dep.
Gwatizo
VI Chinyama 1891-1902
Huchu
IX Jaravazi 1954-73
VIII Jumo 1914-51
Ruzive
X Hotera s/o Gwatinyanya s/o Zinyoro s/o Nherera 1975-

Note: among the sons of I it has so far been impossible to determine which was II or whether several ruled between I and III. Even the ancestry of III is uncertain, and some versions make him a son or younger brother of I.

Fig. 70: Shiku, Manyika, *tembo/musinauta*

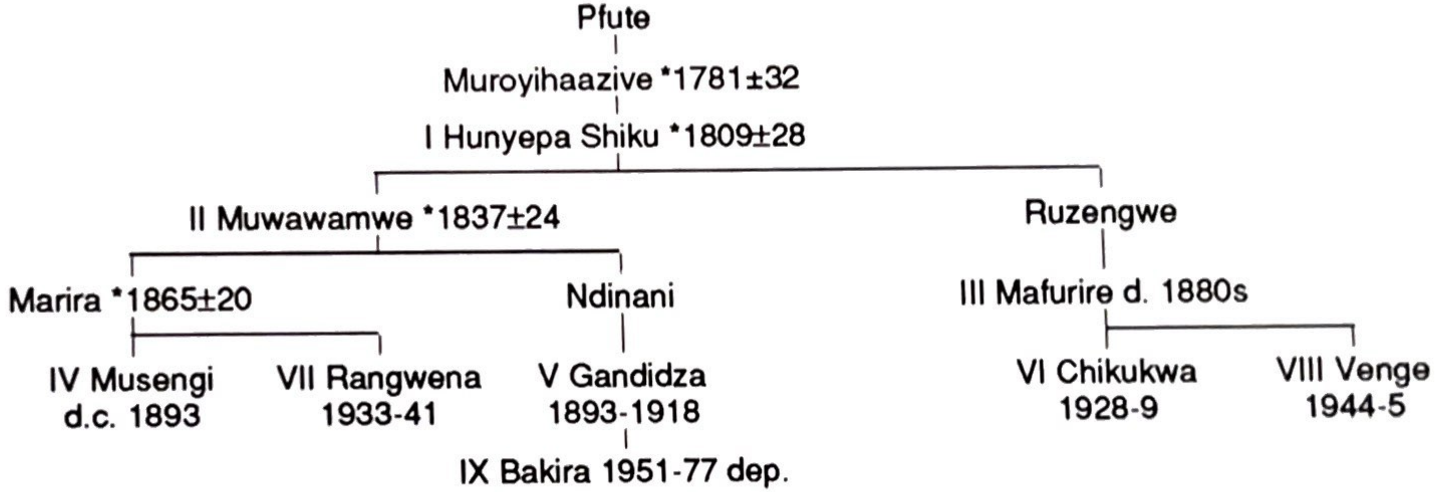
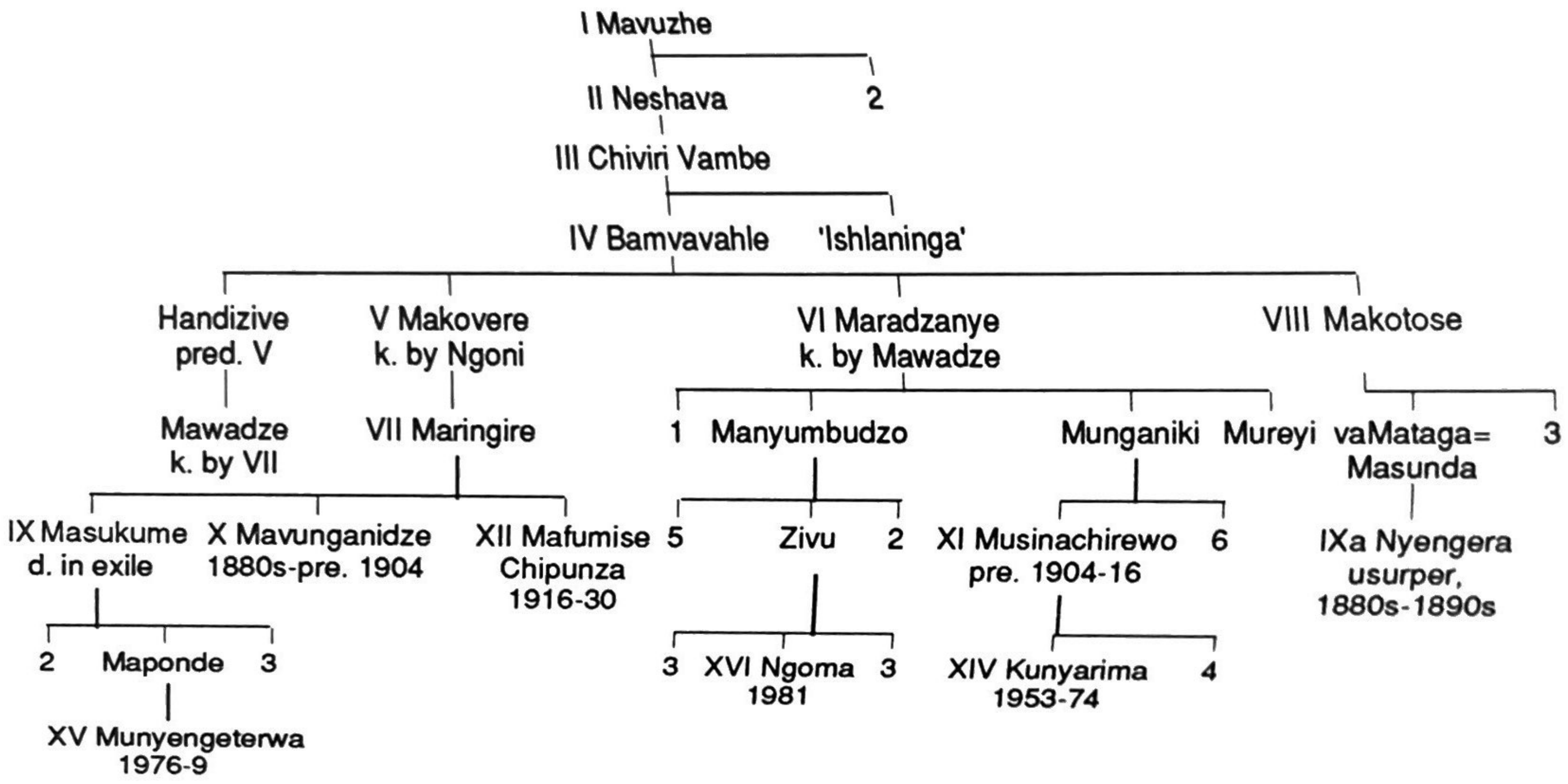
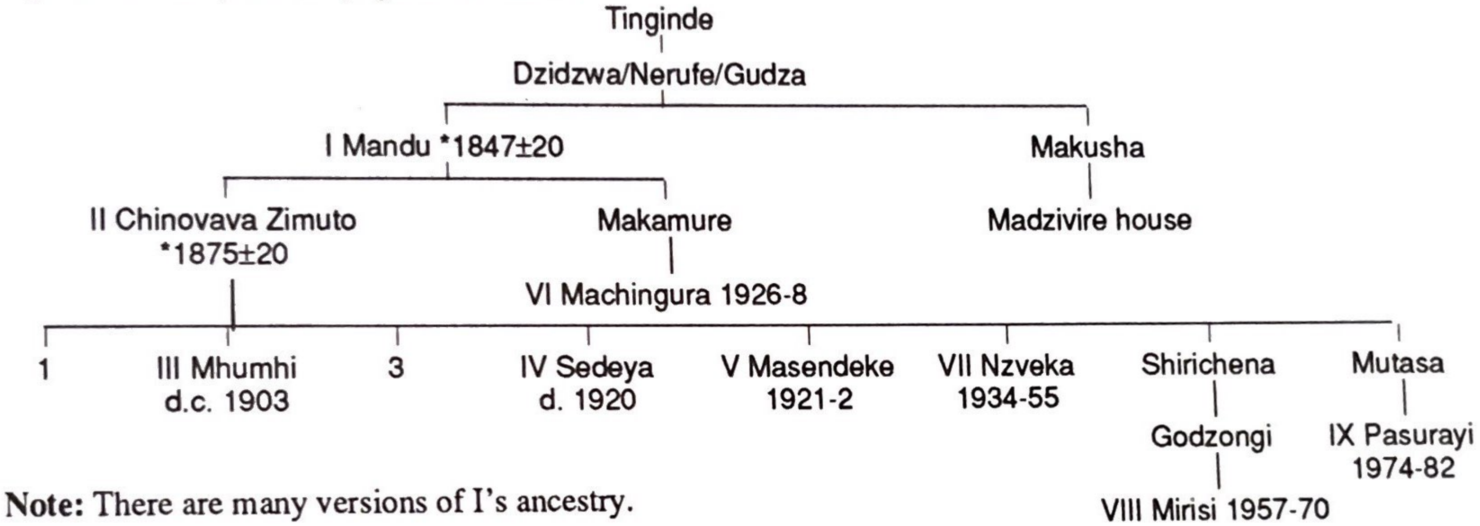

Pfute
Muroyihaazive *1781±32
I Hunyepa Shiku *1809±28
II Muwawamwe *1837±24
Ruzengwe
Marira *1865±20
Ndinani
III Mafurire d. 1880s
IV Musengi d.c. 1893
VII Rangwena 1933-41
V Gandidza 1893-1918
VI Chikukwa 1928-9
VIII Venge 1944-5
IX Bakira 1951-77 dep.

Fig. 71: Nemavuzhe, Govera, *ngara/wamambo*


I Mavuzhe
II Neshava
2
III Chiviri Vambe
IV Bamvavahle
'Ishlaninga'
Handizive
pred. V
V Makovere
k. by Ngoni
VI Maradzanye
k. by Mawadze
VIII Makotose
Mawadze
k. by VII
VII Maringire
1
Manyumbudzo
Munganiki
Mureyi
vaMataga=
Masunda
3
IX Masukume
d. in exile
X Mavunganidze
1880s-pre. 1904
XII Mafumise
Chipunza
1916-30
5
Zivu
2
XI Musinachirewo
pre. 1904-16
6
IXa Nyengera
usurper,
1880s-1890s
2
Maponde
3
3
XVI Ngoma
1981
3
XIV Kunyarima
1953-74
4
XV Munyengeterwa
1976-9

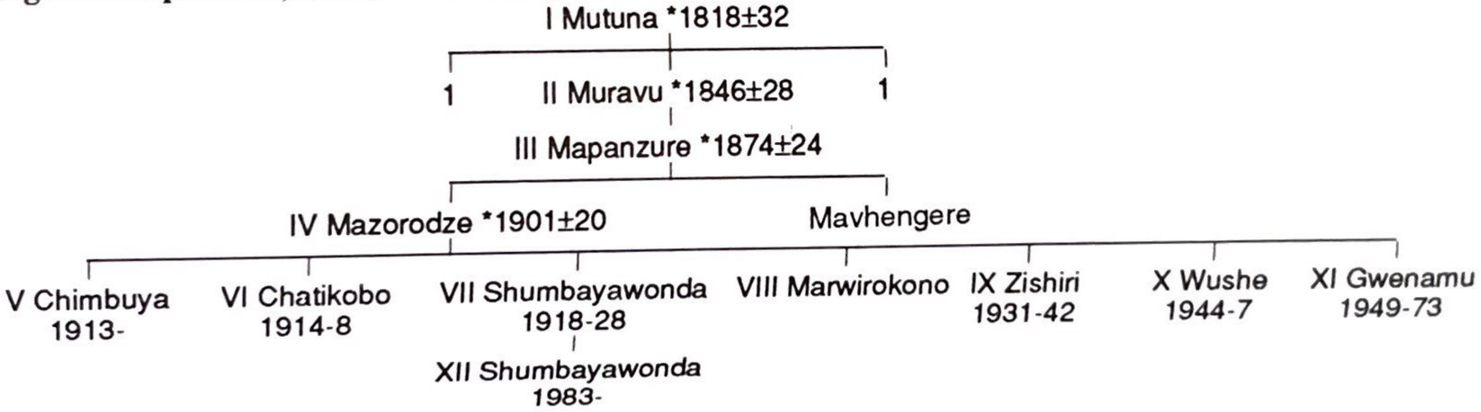
Note: This follows a very full history by Forrestall to 1904, then the 1981 genealogy. The 1965 and 1981 genealogies a. omit I and II, b. make Handizive rule between IV and V, c. transpose the order of VII and VIII, d. makes the three named sons of VII all rulers, e. omit IX as a ruler and f. make no mention of XIII Mandiwa, who ruled c. 1930-46 or his nephew Gwavuya who acted 1946-53.

Fig. 72: Zimuto, Govera, *ngara/wamambo*


Tinginde
Dzidzwa/Nerufe/Gudza
I Mandu *1847±20
Makusha
II Chinovava Zimuto *1875±20
Makamure
Madzivire house
VI Machingura 1926-8
1
III Mhumhi d.c. 1903
3
IV Sedeya d. 1920
V Masendeke 1921-2
VII Nzveka 1934-55
Shirichena
Mutasa
Godzongi
IX Pasurayi 1974-82
VIII Mirisi 1957-70

Note: There are many versions of I's ancestry.

Fig. 73: Mapanzure, Hera, *shava/museyamwa*


I Mutuna *1818±32
1
II Muravu *1846±28
1
III Mapanzure *1874±24
IV Mazorodze *1901±20
Mavhengere
V Chimbuya 1913-
VI Chatikobo 1914-8
VII Shumbayawonda 1918-28
VIII Marwirokono
IX Zishiri 1931-42
X Wushe 1944-7
XI Gwenamu 1949-73
XII Shumbayawonda 1983-

Note: Aquina has a succession of five fathers-sons before I, who was the first to enter the Mapanzure territory.

Fig. 74: Chiwundura, Chamaya, *shava/nyakudirwa*

Fig. 74: Chiwundura, Chamaya, *shava/nyakudirwa*

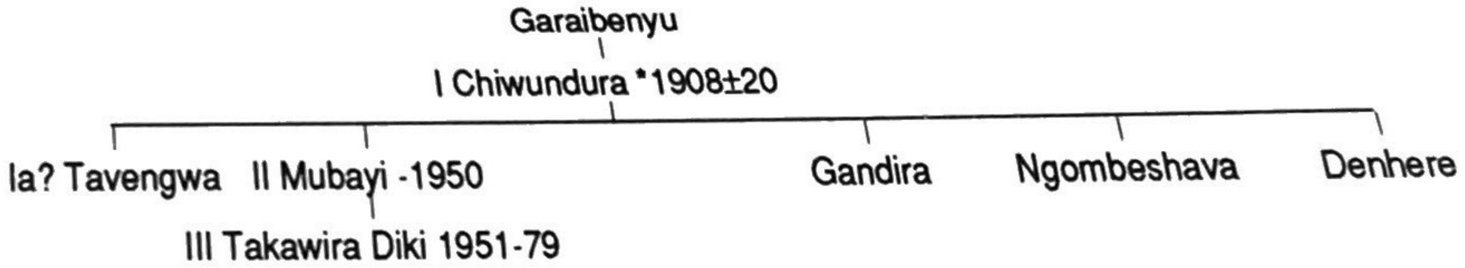

Garaibenyu
I Chiwundura *1908±20
Ia? Tavengwa
II Mubayi -1950
III Takawira Diki 1951-79
Gandira
Ngombeshava
Denhere

Fig. 75: Matenda, Hera, *shava/museyamwa*

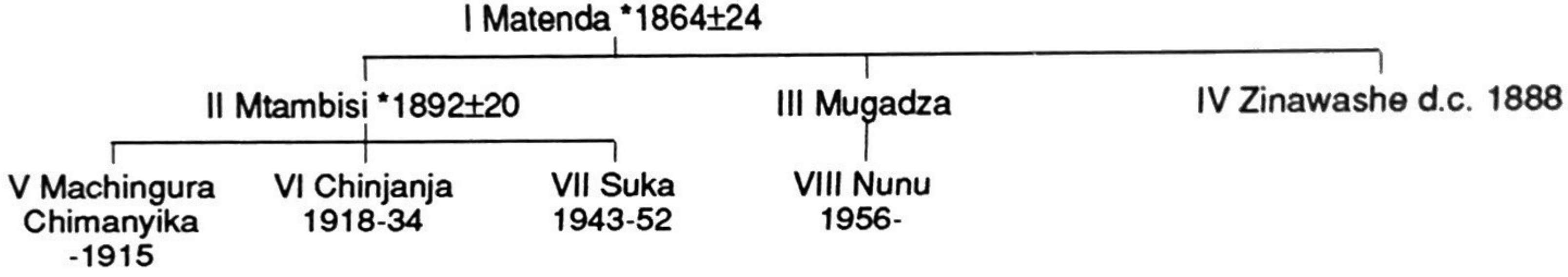

I Matenda *1864±24
II Mtambisi *1892±20
III Mugadza
IV Zinawashe d.c. 1888
V Machingura Chimanyika -1915
VI Chinjanja 1918-34
VII Suka 1943-52
VIII Nunu 1956-

Fig. 76: Mahlebadza, Rufura, *gumbo/madyirapazhe*

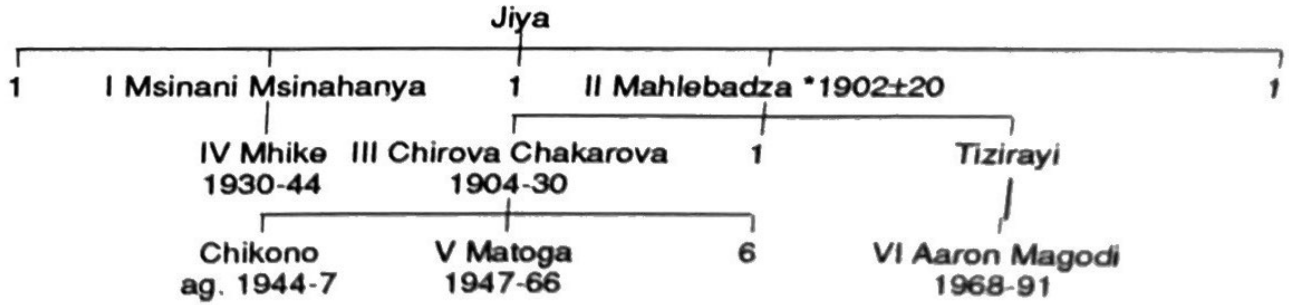

Jiya
1
I Msinani Msinahanya
1
II Mahlebadza *1902±20
1
IV Mhike 1930-44
III Chirova Chakarova 1904-30
1
Tizirayi
Chikono ag. 1944-7
V Matoga 1947-66
6
VI Aaron Magodi 1968-91

Fig. 77: Neshuro, Mbire, *shoko/vudzijena*

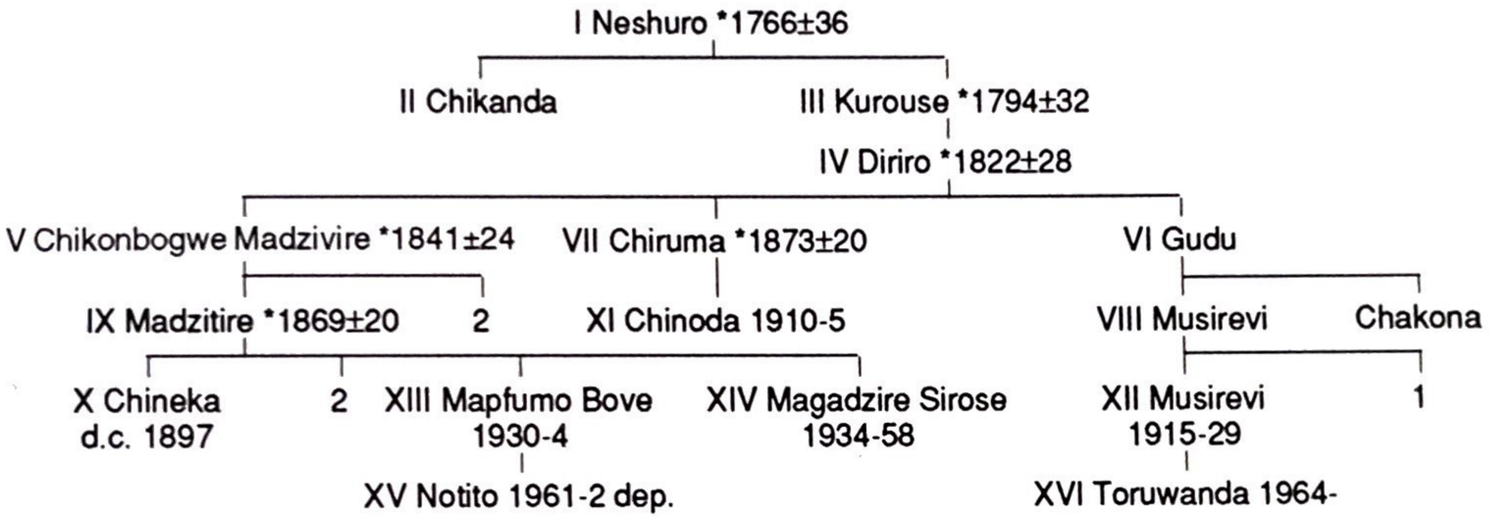
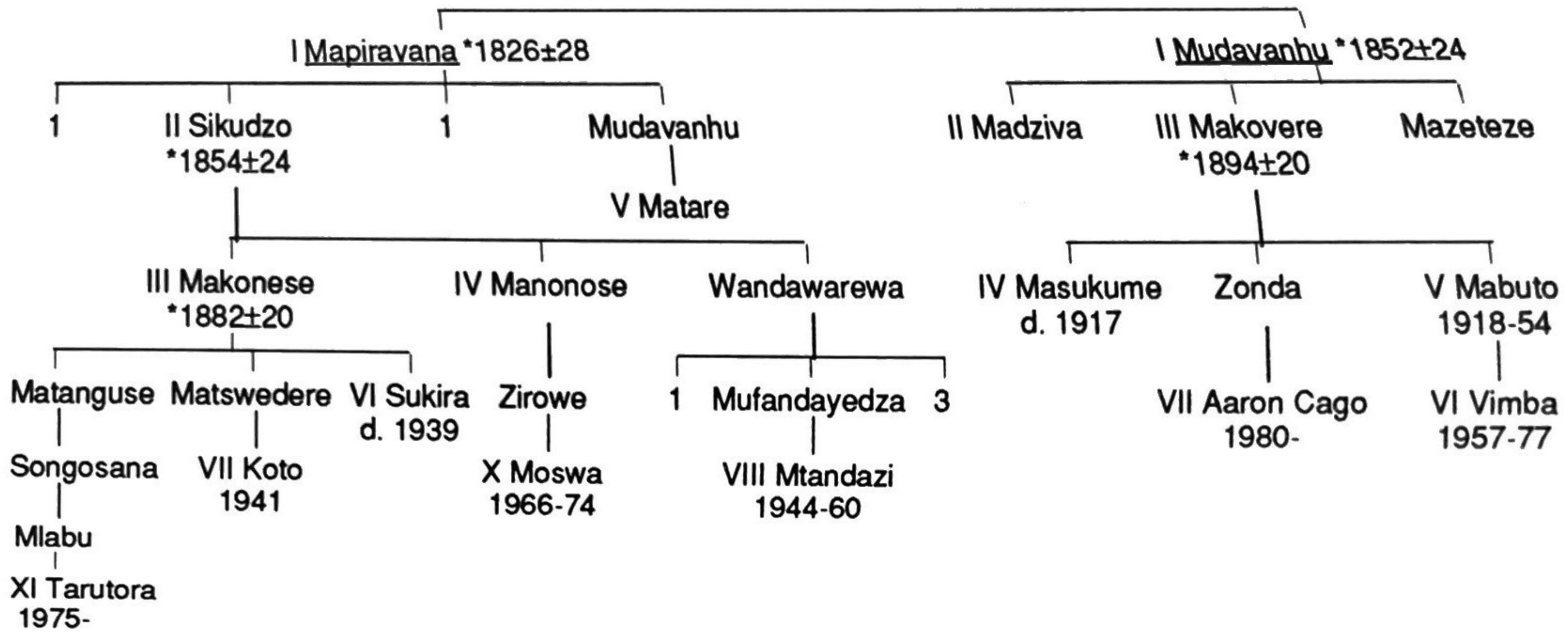
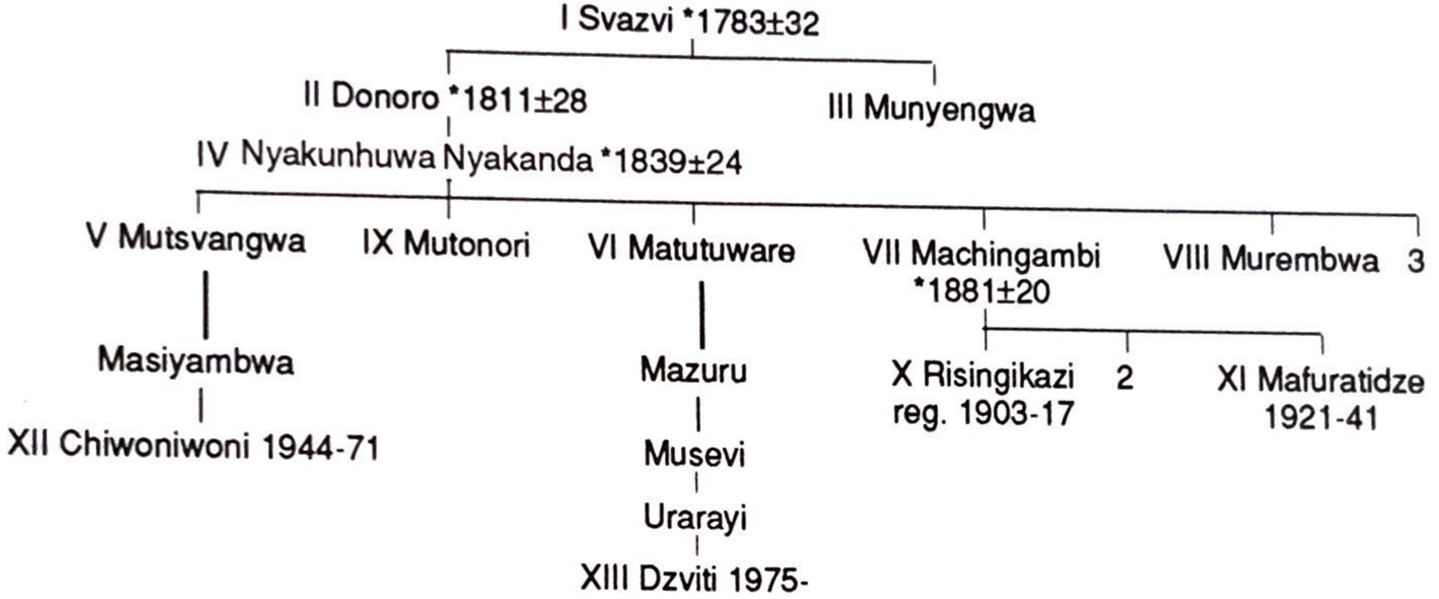

I Neshuro *1766±36
II Chikanda
III Kurouse *1794±32
IV Diriro *1822±28
V Chikonbogwe Madzivire *1841±24
VII Chiruma *1873±20
VI Gudu
IX Madzitire *1869±20
2
XI Chinoda 1910-5
VIII Musirevi
Chakona
X Chineka
d.c. 1897
2
XIII Mapfumo Bove
1930-4
XIV Magadzire Sirose
1934-58
XII Musirevi
1915-29
1
XV Notito 1961-2 dep.
XVI Toruwanda 1964-

Fig. 78: **Mudavanhu and Mapiravana, Zumba, *shoko/mayedza***


I Mapiravana *1826±28
1
II Sikudzo *1854±24
1
Mudavanhu
V Matare
III Makonese *1882±20
IV Manonose
Wandawarewa
Matanguse
Matswedere
VI Sukira d. 1939
Zirowe
1
Mufandayedza
3
Songosana
VII Koto 1941
X Moswa 1966-74
VIII Mtandazi 1944-60
Mlabu
XI Tarutora 1975-
I Mudavanhu *1852±24
II Madziva
III Makovere *1894±20
Mazeteze
IV Masukume d. 1917
Zonda
V Mabuto 1918-54
VII Aaron Cago 1980-
VI Vimba 1957-77

Note: Mapirabana IX Sikomba 1960-6 ancestry unclear

Fig. 79: **Nyakunhuwa, Mbire, *shumba/chipamutoro***


I Svazvi *1783±32
II Donoro *1811±28
III Munyengwa
IV Nyakunhuwa Nyakanda *1839±24
V Mutsvangwa
IX Mutonori
VI Matutuware
VII Machingambi *1881±20
VIII Murembwa
3
Masiyambwa
XII Chiwoniwoni 1944-71
Mazuru
Musevi
Urarayi
XIII Dzviti 1975-
X Risingikazi reg. 1903-17
2
XI Mafuratidze 1921-41

Note: Holland in 1903 omitted I, inserted Baramanza as Ia, omitted III, V, VIII and IX

Fig. 80: Charumbira, Nini, *shumba/sipambi*

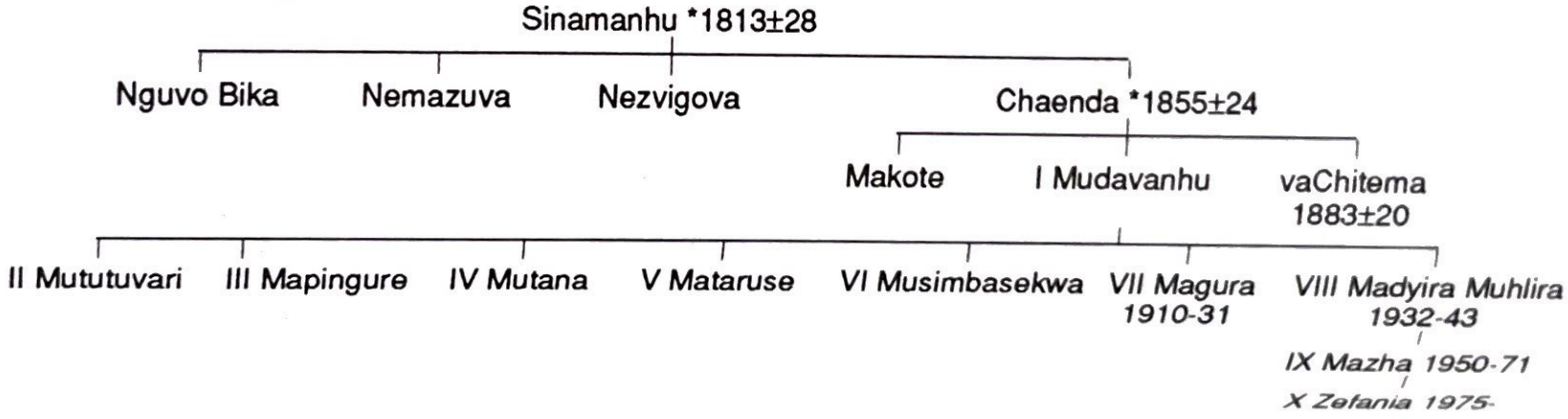
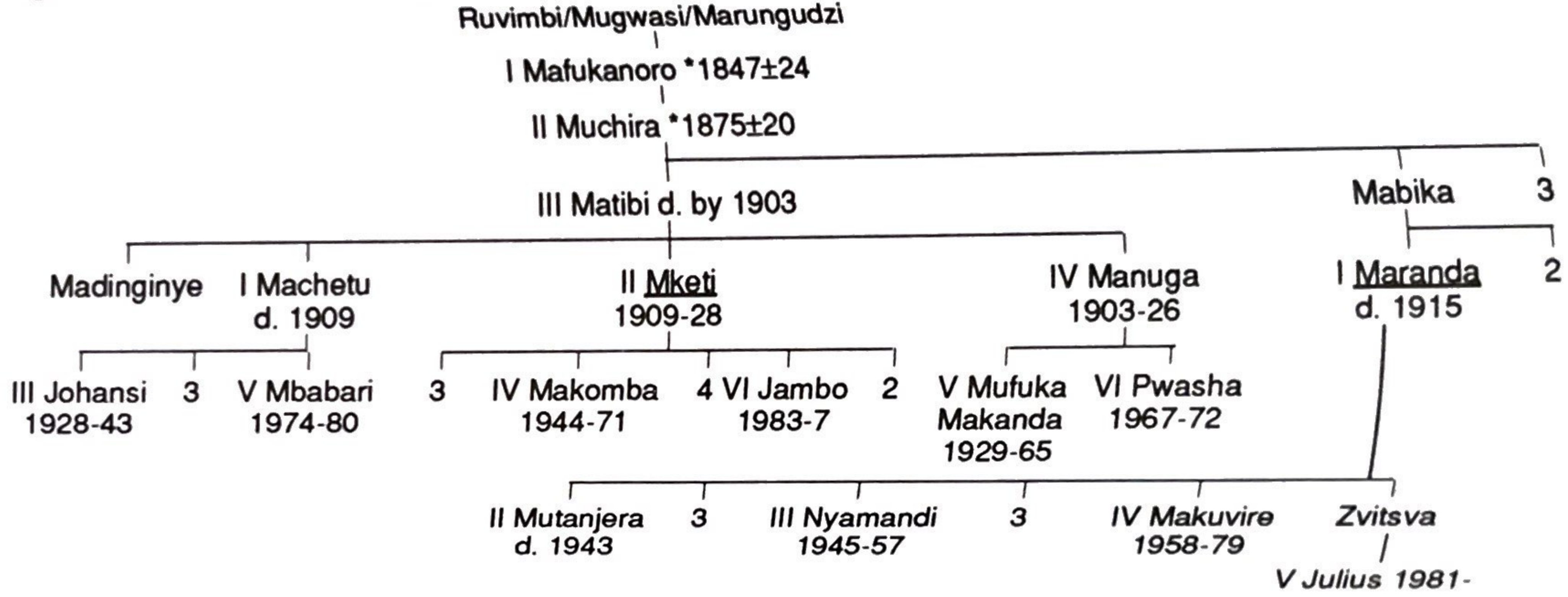
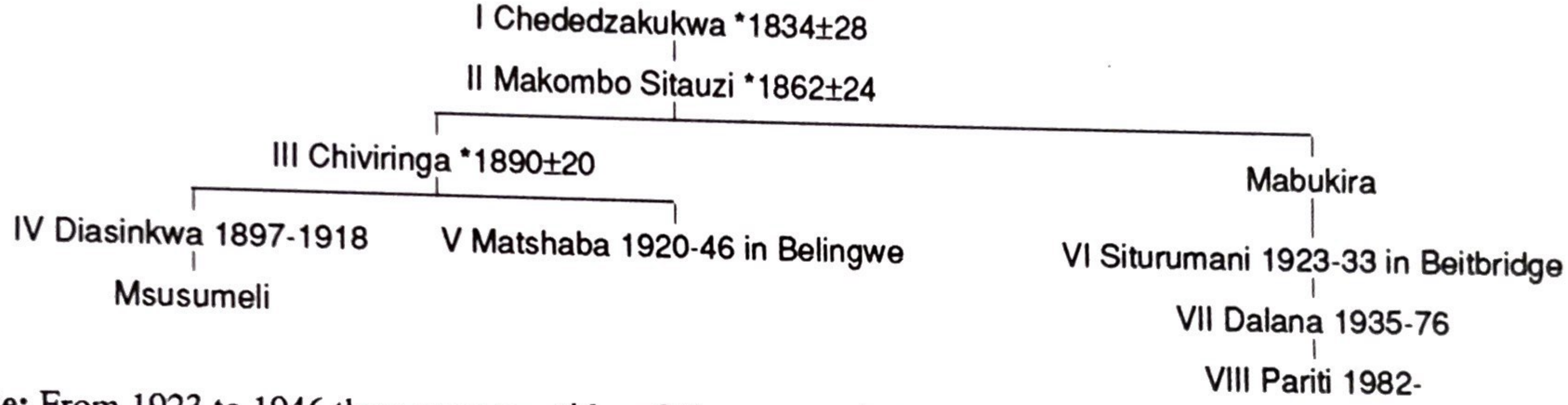

Sinamanhu *1813±28
Nguvo Bika
Nemazuva
Nezvigova
Chaenda *1855±24
Makote
I Mudavanhu
vaChitema 1883±20
II Mututuvari
III Mapingure
IV Mutana
V Mataruse
VI Musimbasekwa
VII Magura 1910-31
VIII Madyira Muhlira 1932-43
IX Mazha 1950-71
X Zefania 1975-

Fig. 81: The Pfumbi, *mbedzi-ngwenya/ruvimbi*


Ruvimbi/Mugwasi/Marungudzi
I Mafukanoro *1847±24
II Muchira *1875±20
III Matibi d. by 1903
Mabika
3
Madinginye
I Machetu d. 1909
II Mketi 1909-28
IV Manuga 1903-26
I Maranda d. 1915
2
III Johansi 1928-43
3
V Mbabari 1974-80
3
IV Makomba 1944-71
4
VI Jambo 1983-7
2
V Mufuka Makanda 1929-65
VI Pwasha 1967-72
II Mutanjera d. 1943
3
III Nyamandi 1945-57
3
IV Makuvire 1958-79
Zvitsva
V Julius 1981-

Note: The Matibi dynasty was divided between three districts, each of which has its own title from the 1900s, with Machetu and Mketi sharing what became the Mketi title of Belingwe, Maranda ruling in Nuanetsi and the remnant Matibi dynasty ruling in Beitbridge. Forrestall, Mugwasi and Sicard give different ancestors for I.

Fig. 82: Chitawudze or Sitauze, Twamamba, *mbedzi/tembwani*


I Chededzakukwa *1834±28
II Makombo Sitauzi *1862±24
III Chiviringa *1890±20
Mabukira
IV Diasinkwa 1897-1918
V Matshaba 1920-46 in Belingwe
VI Siturumani 1923-33 in Beitbridge
Msusumeli
VII Dalana 1935-76
VIII Pariti 1982-

Note: From 1923 to 1946 there were two titles of Sitauze, one in Belingwe, one in Beitbridge.

Fig. 83: Mposi, Lemba, *zhou/sadiki*

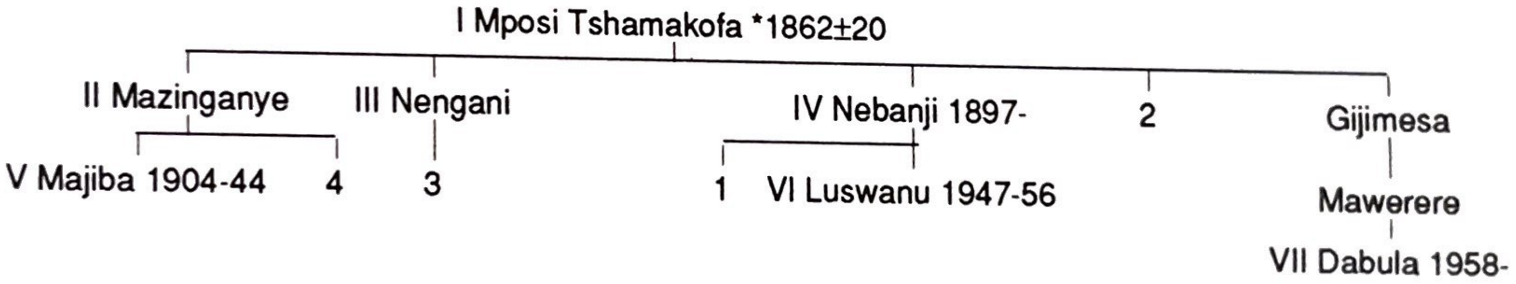

I Mposi Tshamakofa *1862±20
II Mazinganye
III Nengani
IV Nebanji 1897-
2
Gijimesa
V Majiba 1904-44
4
3
1
VI Luswanu 1947-56
Mawerere
VII Dabula 1958-

Fig. 84: The Dumbuseya, Wedza and Mazeteze, *moyo*/*masukume*

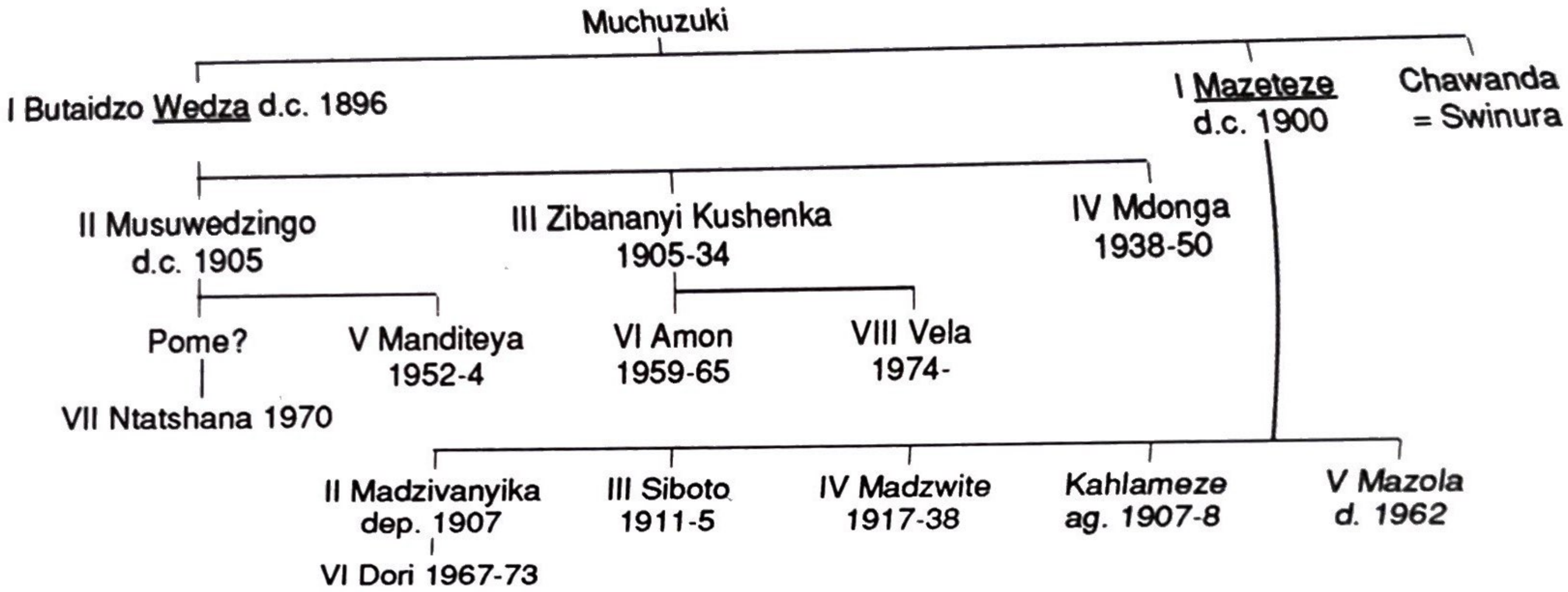
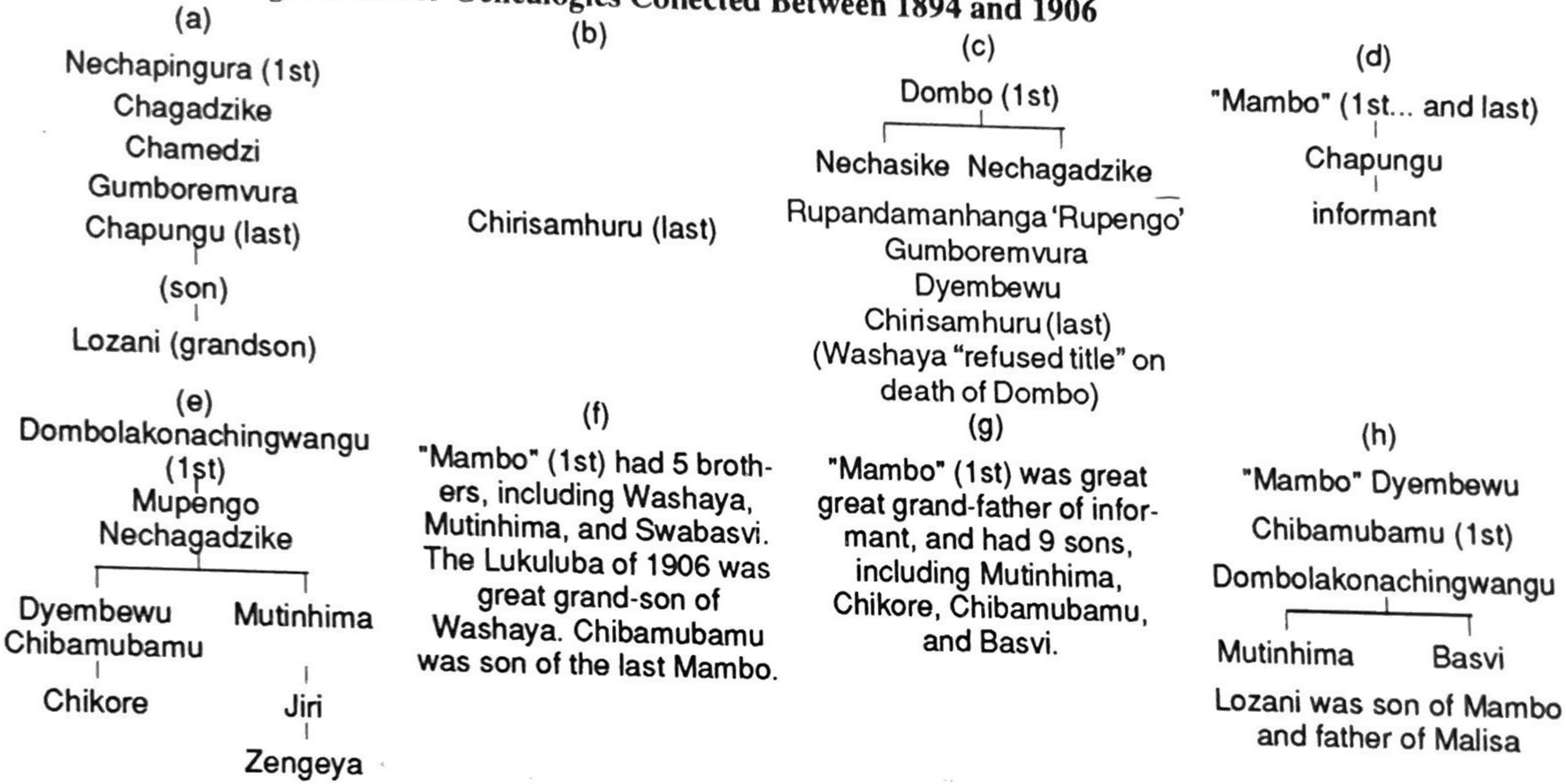

Muchuzuki
I Butaidzo Wedza d.c. 1896
I Mazeteze d.c. 1900
Chawanda = Swinura
II Musuwedzingo d.c. 1905
III Zibananyi Kushenka 1905-34
IV Mdonga 1938-50
Pome?
V Manditeya 1952-4
VI Amon 1959-65
VIII Vela 1974-
VII Ntatshana 1970
II Madzivanyika dep. 1907
III Siboto 1911-5
IV Madzwite 1917-38
Kahlameze ag. 1907-8
V Mazola d. 1962
VI Dori 1967-73

Fig. 85: Rozvi Kinglists and/or Genealogies Collected Between 1894 and 1906



(a)
Nechapingura (1st)
Chagadzike
Chamedzi
Gumboremvura
Chapungu (last)
(son)
Lozani (grandson)

(b)
Chirisamhuru (last)

(c)
Dombo (1st)
Nechasike Nechagadzike
Rupandamanhanga 'Rupengo'
Gumboremvura
Dyembewu
Chirisamhuru (last)
(Washaya "refused title" on death of Dombo)

(d)
"Mambo" (1st... and last)
Chapungu
informant

(e)
Dombolakonachingwangu (1st)
Mupengo
Nechagadzike
Dyembewu Chibamubamu
Mutinhima
Chikore
Jiri
Zengeya

(f)
"Mambo" (1st) had 5 brothers, including Washaya, Mutinhima, and Swabasvi. The Lukuluba of 1906 was great grand-son of Washaya. Chibamubamu was son of the last Mambo.

(g)
"Mambo" (1st) was great great grand-father of informant, and had 9 sons, including Mutinhima, Chikore, Chibamubamu, and Basvi.

(h)
"Mambo" Dyembewu
Chibamubamu (1st)
Dombolakonachingwangu
Mutinhima
Basvi
Lozani was son of Mambo and father of Malisa

Notes:

a. W.A. Elliott, "The Ma-Shuna" in David Carnegie, *Among The Matabele* (London, 1894), ch. 9.

b. S.N.G. Jackson, NC Belingwe, to CNC Statistical Report for year ending 31 March 1898. NB6/1/1. The history given here by the Belingwe Rozvi was mostly on the *mfecane* period, the "Silisamula" (Chirisamhuru) was only mentioned in passing as the last Mambo.

c. J.W. Posselt, NC Charter to CNC Salisbury, *ca.* 1 January 1904, N 3/33/8. This was collected from the Buhera Rozvi, almost certainly from old Chingombe before he died in 1904.

d. H.M.G. Jackson NC Matobo to CNC Bulawayo, 28 May 1906, A 3/18/28. *This was based on two interviews with Rozvi of the "Sabanko" (Chapungu) house, and Chapungu was only mentioned as a son of the last Mambo, not as one himself. This was a severely truncated history.*

(continued overleaf)

e. F.G. Elliott, NC Selukwe to CNC Bulawayo, 19 May 1906, A 3/18/28. The Rozvi section of this history gives a ruling line of *Mambo* up to "Sibambamu" (Chibamubamu), with "Sigoli" (Chikore) failing to get recognition. As might be expected from a Selukwe history, it contains much on the actions of Mutinhima house.

f. T.M. Thomas, Acting NC Insiza to CNC Bulawayo, 16 May 1906, A 3/8/28. This history was apparently collected from the Ndebele-ized Lukuluba Rozvi house. No Mambo was named, but Chibamubamu was mentioned as a son of the last Mambo.

g. R. Lanning, NC Inyati to CNC Bulawayo, 21 April 1906, A 3/18/28. This came from a Rozvi in his fifties, a great-great-grandson of a Mambo. No specific Mambo was named.

h. C.T. Stuart, NC Gwelo to CNC Bulawayo, 16 February 1906, A 3/18/28. From ten informants in their sixties and seventies, including Rozvi. This account has a strong Mutinhima slant, with Mutinhima proclaimed heir apparent when the Ndebele came.

Fig. 86: Typical Gumunyu genealogy

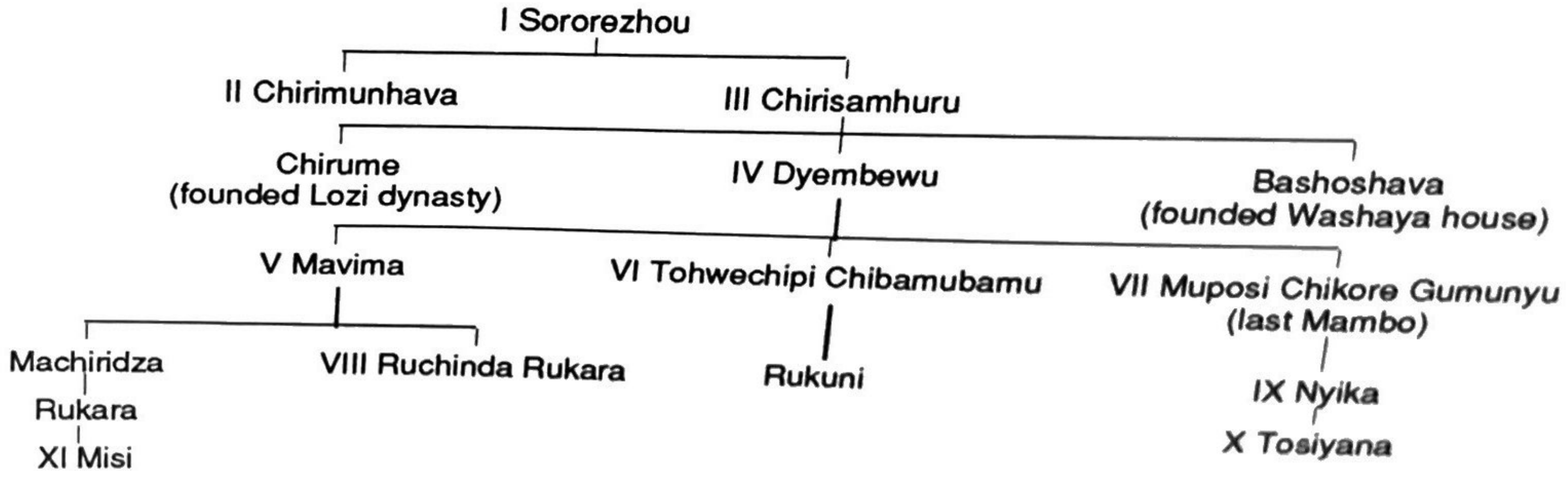

I Sororezhou
II Chirimunhava
III Chirisamhuru
Chirume
(founded Lozi dynasty)
IV Dyembewu
Bashoshava
(founded Washaya house)
V Mavima
VI Tohwechipi Chibamubamu
VII Muposi Chikore Gumunyu
(last Mambo)
Machiridza
VIII Ruchinda Rukara
Rukuni
IX Nyika
Rukara
X Tosiyana
XI Misi

Fig. 87: Mujuru's genealogy of 1957

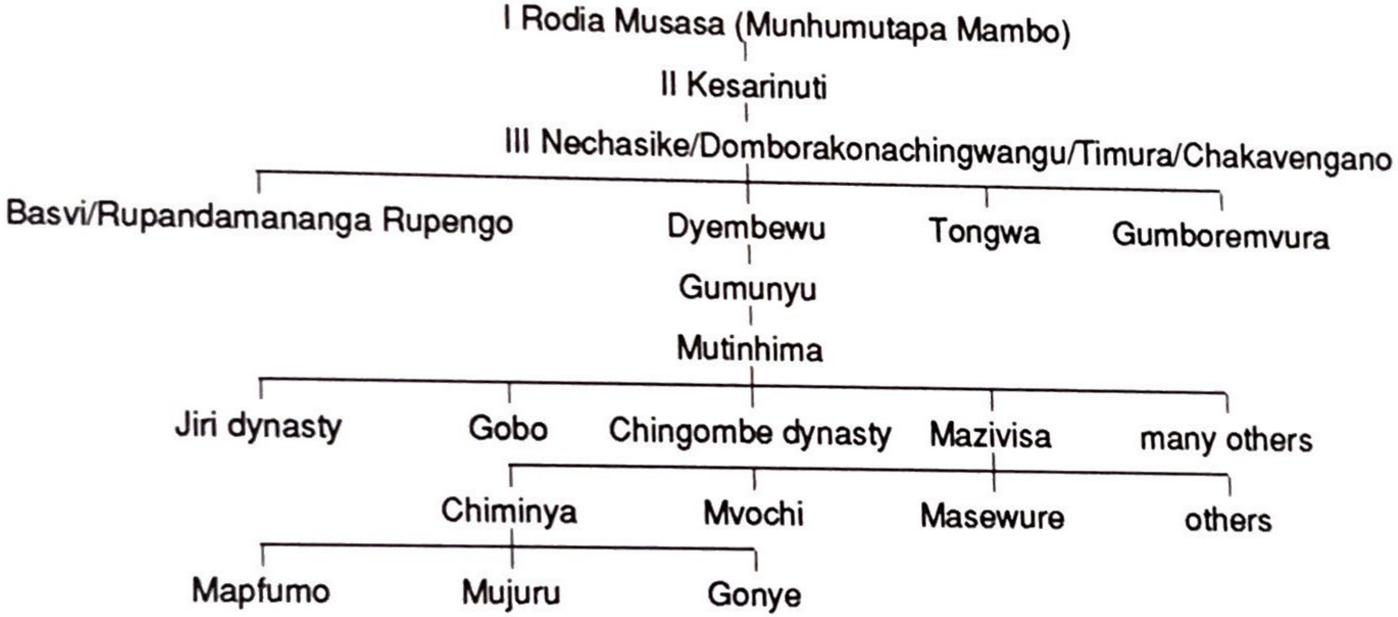

I Rodia Musasa (Munhumutapa Mambo)
II Kesarinuti
III Nechasike/Domborakonachingwangu/Timura/Chakavengano
Basvi/Rupandamananga Rupengo
Dyembewu
Tongwa
Gumboremvura
Gumunyu
Mutinhima
Jiri dynasty
Gobo
Chingombe dynasty
Mazivisa
many others
Chiminya
Mvochi
Masewure
others
Mapfumo
Mujuru
Gonye

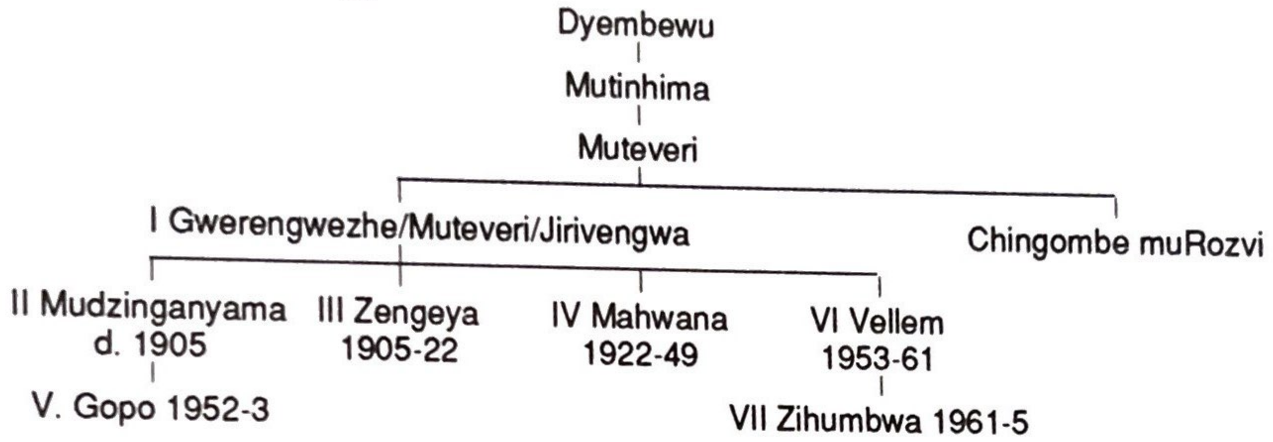
Fig. 88: Washaya's genealogy of 1961

Rodia Musasa Tongwa
|
Nechasike
|
Domborakona/Timura/Chingwangu/Ucharingenu/Zuro
|
Nechazike
|
Nechapingura

1st house	2nd house	3rd house	4th house	5th house
Washaya Duduchipapa	*Gumboremvura*	Basvi, etc.	Garutsa	Gwangwava
Maruswapi (Lozi dynasty)	*Musimbe*	Chikore	Shiriyedenga Chiphaphami	Mangwende
Rinashe	*Chirisamhuru*	Gumunyu	Mutema	Nemakonde
Chirume, etc.	Rozani	Mutinhima	Lukuluba	Tandi
	Chireya	Jiri		
	Njerere	Chingombe		
	Nemangwe	Gobo		
	Mbavha			
	Gonesu			
	Malisa			

Note: Washaya's genealogy is only such as far as Nechapingura, after which it becomes a list of dynasties and houses descended from his five wives. Italicised names are those that Washaya claimed ruled the Rozvi in the past.

Fig. 89: Typical Jiri genealogy


Dyembewu
Mutinhima
Muteveri
I Gwerengwezhe/Muteveri/Jirivengwa
Chingombe muRozvi
II Mudzinganyama d. 1905
III Zengeya 1905-22
IV Mahwana 1922-49
VI Vellem 1953-61
V. Gopo 1952-3
VII Zihumbwa 1961-5

Note: unlike the numbered rulers in Fig. 86, these Jiri rulers were recognised by the colonial government.

Fig. 90: Named Mutapa rulers according to contemporary documents

c. ?	– c.1490	Mocomba
c.1490	– c.1494	Changamir
c.1494	– c.1506+	Queçarymgo
c.1559	– c.1589	Sebastião
c.1589	– c.1623	Gasse Lucere
c.1623	– c.1652+	Inhambo Caprasine
1629	– 1652	Mavura Filipe
1652	– 1663	Cicate Domingos/João
1663	– 1683+	Cupiça Afonso
1679		Filipe
?	– 1694	Nhacunibiri
1694	– 1698	Pande Pedro
1698	– ?	Chirimbe Manoel
?	– 1702	Dangurango João
1702	– 1704	Samutumbu
1704	– ?	Macombe
?	– 1706	Gende
1706	– 1707	Punzaguto
1707	– 1708	Gupo
1708	– 1709	Sacàpio
1709	– 1735+	Inhapando João o quinto
?	– ?	Chicoca
?	– ?	Camboe
?	– ?	Deboe
?	– 1760	Punzaguto
1760	– ?	Zindave
?	– ?	Camota
?	– ?	Motaniqua
c.1762	*– c.1767*	*Zeze*
c.1767	*– c.1768*	*Ganeabaze*
1768	*– c.1776+*	*Changara*
?	– 1784	Ganeabaze (2nd reign)
c.1785	– 1794	Bangoma
1794	– c.1804	Changara (2nd reign)
c.1804	– ?	Bangoma (2nd reign)
c.1806	– c.1807	Choofombo
– c. 1811 –		? Bangoma (3rd reign)
c.1810	– 1830	Candie I
c.1830	– ?	Zeca
?	*– 1867*	*Caturusa*
1867	*– 1876*	*Candie II*
1876	*– 1884+*	*Zuda*

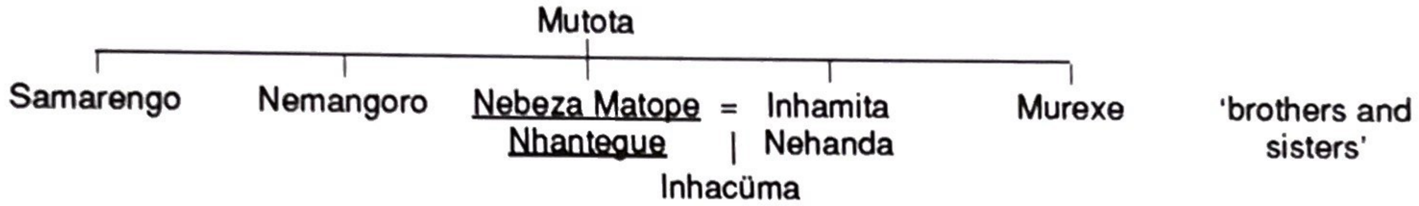
Fig 91: Mutapas according to Mello e Castro, 1763

Nemapangere
|
Nemangoro
Nebeza
Mucombe
Pandde } 'brothers or relatives'
Nhancunibire
Nhanheze

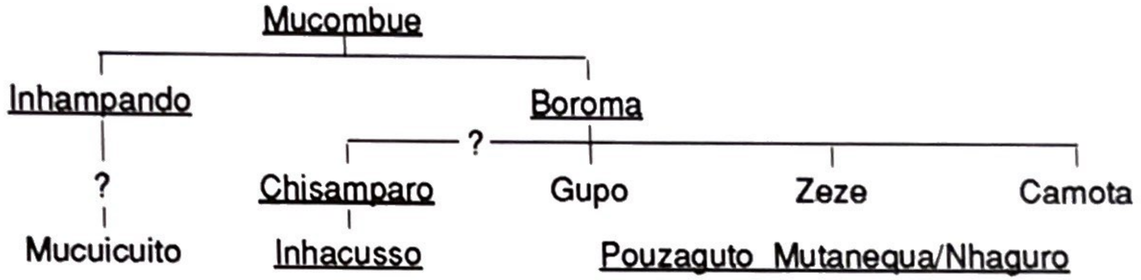
Dangarango
Deboe
Zinhemba
Boroma
Nhampando
Cariza
Chicoca
Camboi
Deboe s/o Nhampando
Punzaguto
Zindave } 'brothers'
Camota
Zeze
Motaniqua s/o Cariza

Fig. 92: Mutapas according to Pacheco, 1862

i.


Mutota
Samarengo
Nemangoro
Nebeza Matope
Nhantegue
=
Inhamita
Nehanda
Inhacüma
Murexe
'brothers and sisters'

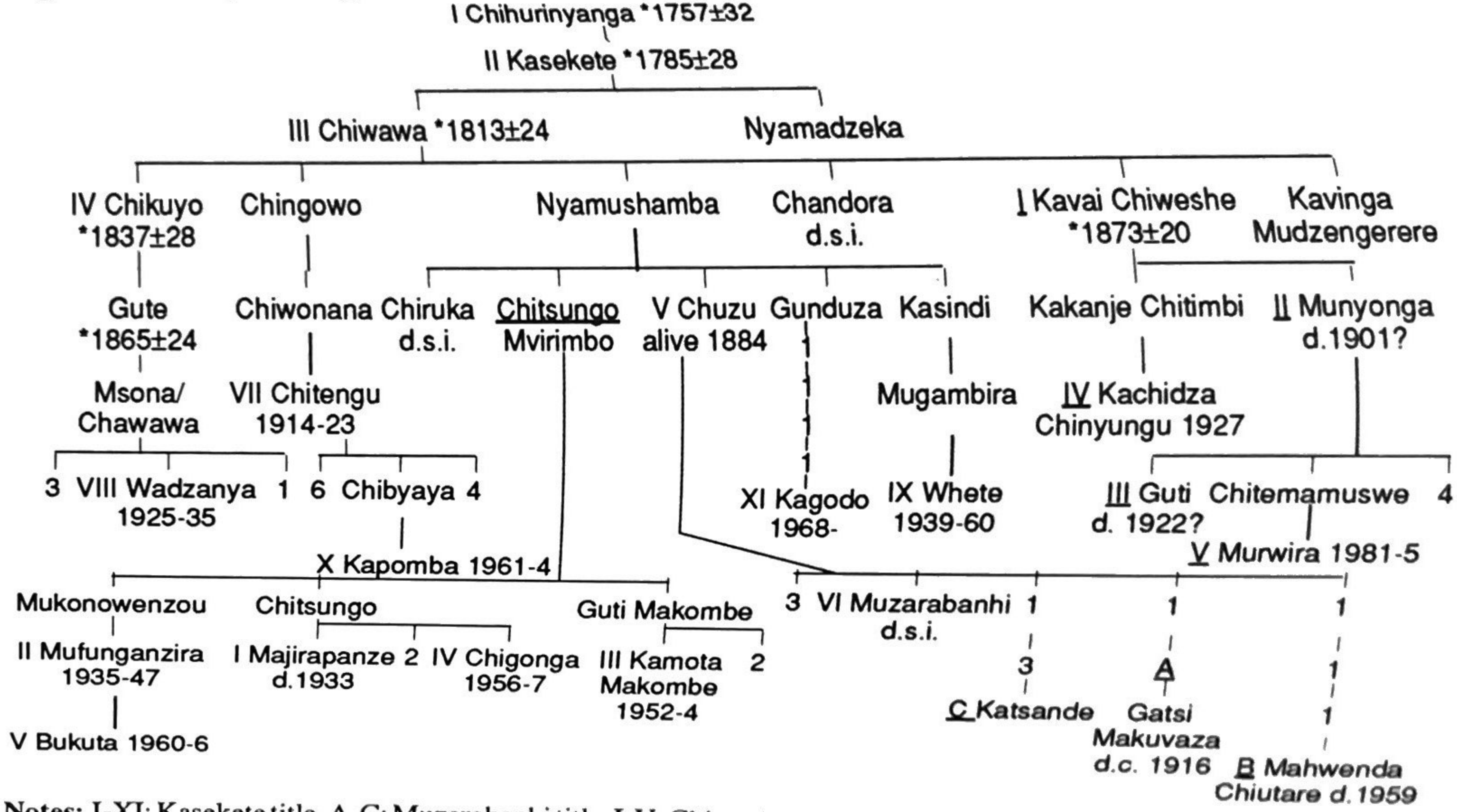
ii.


Mucombue
Inhampando
?
Mucuicuito
Boroma
?
Chisamparo
Inhacusso
Gupo
Zeze
Camota
Pouzaguto Mutanequa/Nhaguro

iii.
Chicuëa
Conhambazo
Changara
Chitengo
Mutedue
Combué
Candie

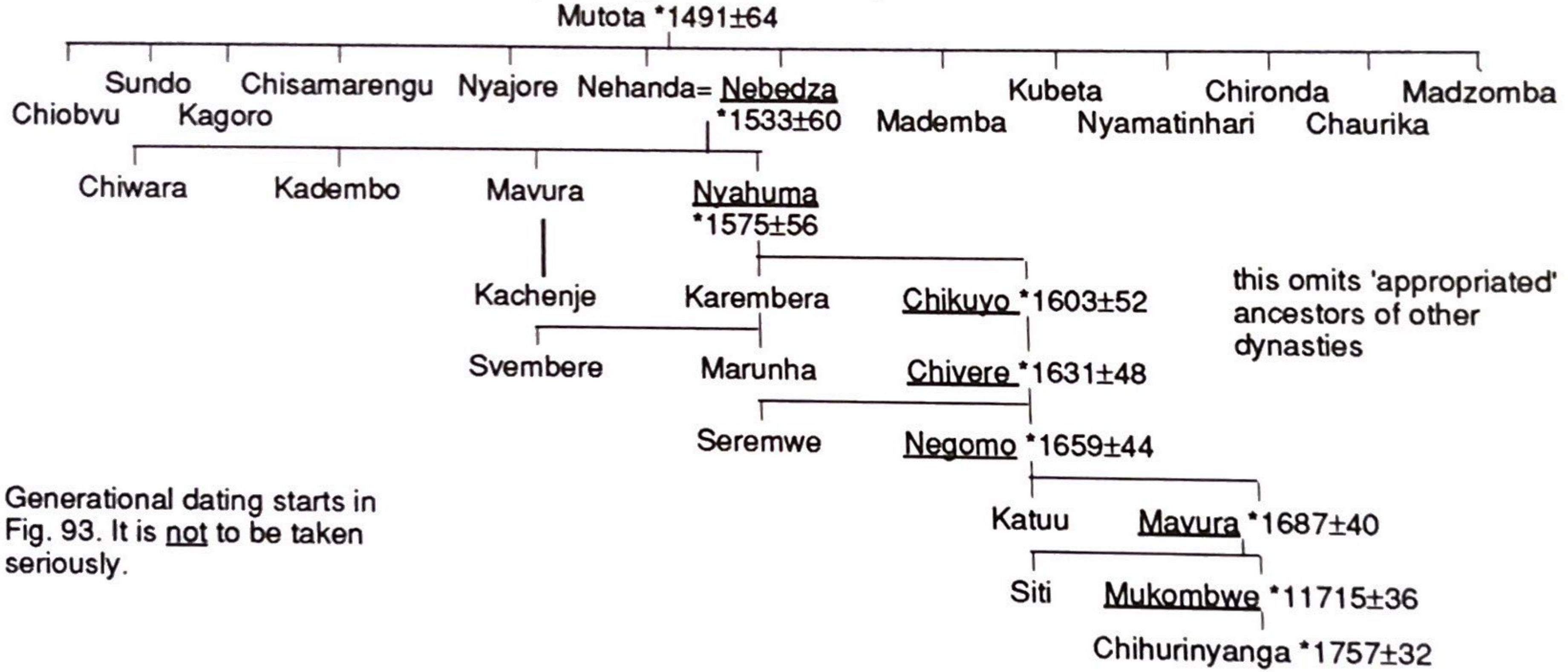
iv.
Chicué
Changara
Mutua/Bangomue
Utiora
Choofombo
Inhamichengue
Chiçausa
Chiminambo
Zeca
Caturuza

Fig. 93: Kasekete, Chitsungo *nzou*, Chiweshe *nzou* and Muzarabanhi


I Chihurinyanga *1757±32
II Kasekete *1785±28
III Chiwawa *1813±24
Nyamadzeka
IV Chikuyo *1837±28
Chingowo
Nyamushamba
Chandora d.s.i.
I Kavai Chiweshe *1873±20
Kavinga Mudzengerere
Gute *1865±24
Chiwonana
Chiruka d.s.i.
Chitsungo Mvirimbo
V Chuzu alive 1884
Gunduza
Kasindi
Kakanje Chitimbi
II Munyonga d.1901?
Msona/ Chawawa
VII Chitengu 1914-23
Mugambira
IV Kachidza Chinyungu 1927
3
VIII Wadzanya 1925-35
1
6
Chibyaya
4
XI Kagodo 1968-
IX Whete 1939-60
III Guti d. 1922?
Chitemamuswe
4
V Murwira 1981-5
X Kapomba 1961-4
Mukonowenzou
Chitsungo
Guti Makombe
3
VI Muzarabanhi d.s.i.
1
1
1
II Mufunganzira 1935-47
I Majirapanze d.1933
2
IV Chigonga 1956-7
III Kamota Makombe 1952-4
2
3
A
1
1
C Katsande
Gatsi Makuvaza d.c. 1916
B Mahwenda Chiutare d.1959
V Bukuta 1960-6

Notes: I-XI: Kasekete title, A-C: Muzarabanhi title, I-V: Chiweshe *nzou* title, with *I-V* under Chitsungo: Chitsungo *nzou* title. Chiweshe *nzou* titles I-III rely on the work of Sainsbury in the Per/5 file, which otherwise only counts rulers in this house from III. Recent genealogies make Kavinga a son of Chiwawa, but Fynn in 1904 showed him as the leader of an entirely separate group. Kanonuwo 1923-5 and Musakanya 1948-60 were presumably son and grandson of Kavinga. In one source, Kupara called II Kasekete 'Kamota'. Chiwonana is omitted in some versions.

Fig. 94: The George Kupara/Mutota genealogy (after Garbett)


Mutota *1491±64
Chiobvu
Sundo
Kagoro
Chisamarengu
Nyajore
Nehanda= Nebedza *1533±60
Mademba
Kubeta
Nyamatinhari
Chironda
Chaurika
Madzomba
Chiwara
Kadembo
Mavura
Nyahuma *1575±56
Kachenje
Karembera
Chikuyo *1603±52
Svembere
Marunha
Chivere *1631±48
Seremwe
Negomo *1659±44
Katuu
Mavura *1687±40
Siti
Mukombwe *11715±36
Chihurinyanga *1757±32

this omits 'appropriated' ancestors of other dynasties

Generational dating starts in Fig. 93. It is not to be taken seriously.

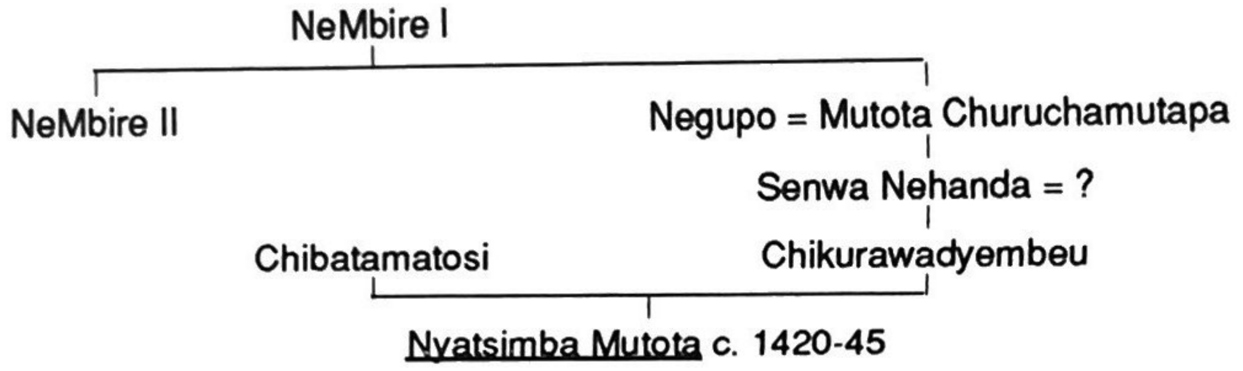
We also have the following direct-descent lines from Mutota to Mukombwe, from Kupara and his associates:

1	2	3	4
Mutota	Mutota	Mutota	Mutota
Nhebedza	Nembedza	Nobedza	Nobedza
Nyahuma	Nyahuma	Nyahuma	Nyahuma
Chikuyo	Chikuyo		Chikuyo
Chivere	Chimvere		Chimvere
		Chitoo	*Gome*
	Mavura	*Mavura*	*Mavura*
Mukombwe	Mukombwe	*Mukombwe*	*Mukombwe*

1. MLD,DDA,Per/5 Chitsungo nzou, genealogy of 6 April 1960.
2. MLG,DDA, Delin. Report, Guruve, Report on spirit mediums, 1965 (Source: Kupara's brother Mushoshoma).
3. MLG,DDA,Per/5 Kasekete, *memo., n.d., of meeting with Mutota 12 December 1967.*
4. *Genealogy attached to 3 above.*

Fig. 95: D.P. Abraham's genealogies (combined and simplified)

Notes: Abraham's 1959 genealogy does not entirely match his text. Chibatamatosi appeared in the 1960 version, and was replaced by Chikurawadyembeu and his ancestors in the 1961-3 version. Manyenganura appeared in the 1960 version. In the 1959 version Gatsi Rusere was a son of Negomo Chisamharu, but in the 1960 version he became a son of Nyandoro, son of Neshangwe Munembire, who also appeared in this version. Ruling Mutapas are in italics/ underlined.


NeMbire I
NeMbire II
Negupo = Mutota Churuchamutapa
Senwa Nehanda = ?
Chibatamatosi
Chikurawadyembeu
Nyatsimba Mutota c. 1420-45

Abraham gave the following children of Mutota : Nyajore Nyamatsvimbo, Chiobvu Nyamakosho, *Samarengu*, *Gatsi* Kagoro Nemangoro, Nyamhita Nehanda, Matope Nyanhewe Nebedza Mutavara, Gute, *Chaurike*, *Mademba*, Karembera Rafanemhuka, Chironda, Chinyangabere, Mukubvu and Mukwirandi. *His genealogy then continued:*

(see overleaf)

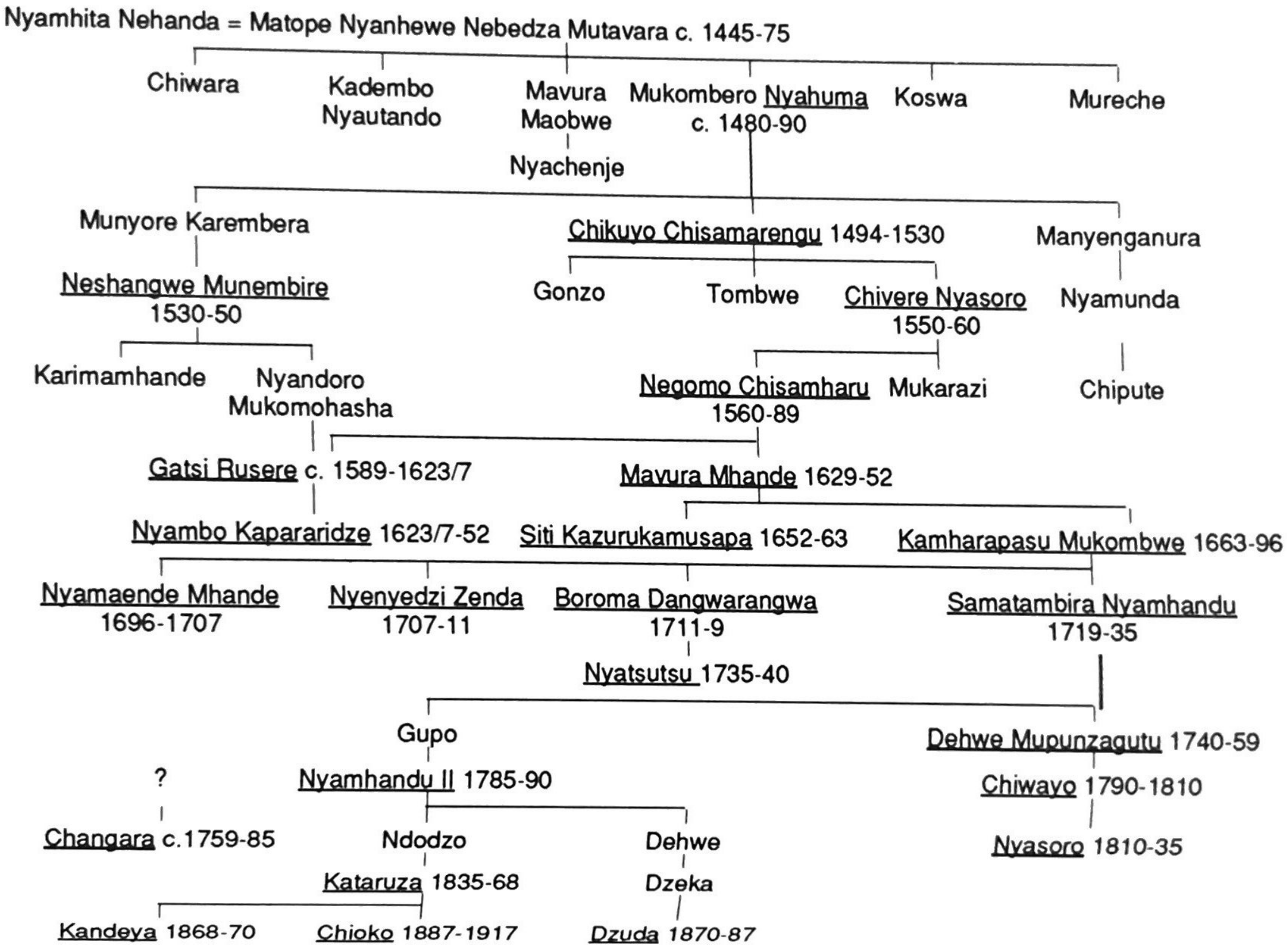
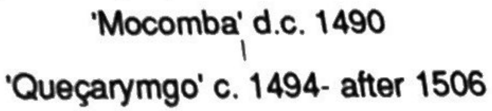
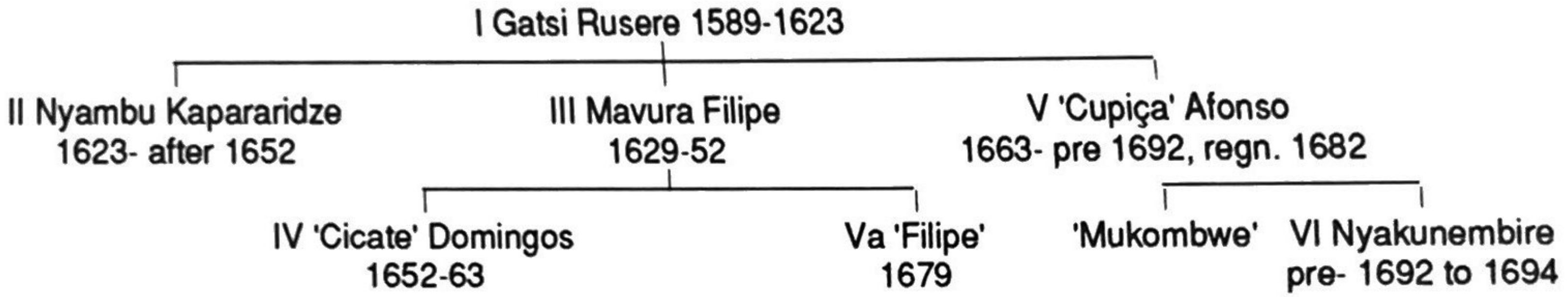

Nyamhita Nehanda = Matope Nyanhewe Nebedza Mutavara c. 1445-75
Chiwara
Kadembo Nyautando
Mavura Maobwe
Nyachenje
Mukombero Nyahuma c. 1480-90
Koswa
Mureche
Munyore Karembera
Chikuyo Chisamarengu 1494-1530
Manyenganura
Neshangwe Munembire 1530-50
Gonzo
Tombwe
Chivere Nyasoro 1550-60
Nyamunda
Karimamhande
Nyandoro Mukomohasha
Negomo Chisamharu 1560-89
Mukarazi
Chipute
Gatsi Rusere c. 1589-1623/7
Mavura Mhande 1629-52
Nyambo Kapararidze 1623/7-52
Siti Kazurukamusapa 1652-63
Kamharapasu Mukombwe 1663-96
Nyamaende Mhande 1696-1707
Nyenyedzi Zenda 1707-11
Boroma Dangwarangwa 1711-9
Samatambira Nyamhandu 1719-35
Nyatsutsu 1735-40
Gupo
Dehwe Mupunzagutu 1740-59
?
Nyamhandu II 1785-90
Chiwayo 1790-1810
Changara c.1759-85
Ndodzo
Dehwe
Nyasoro 1810-35
Kataruza 1835-68
Dzeka
Kandeya 1868-70
Chioko 1887-1917
Dzuda 1870-87

Fig. 96: Tentative 'least unlikely' Mutapa genealogy

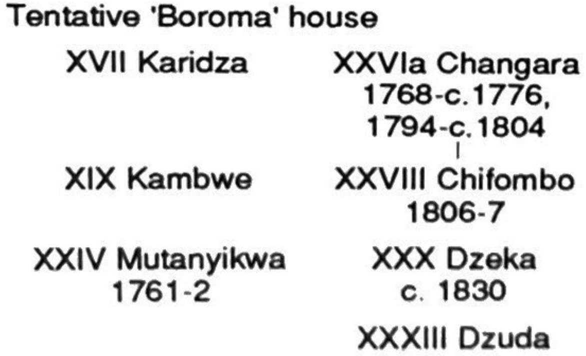

'Mocomba' d.c. 1490
'Queçarymgo' c. 1494- after 1506

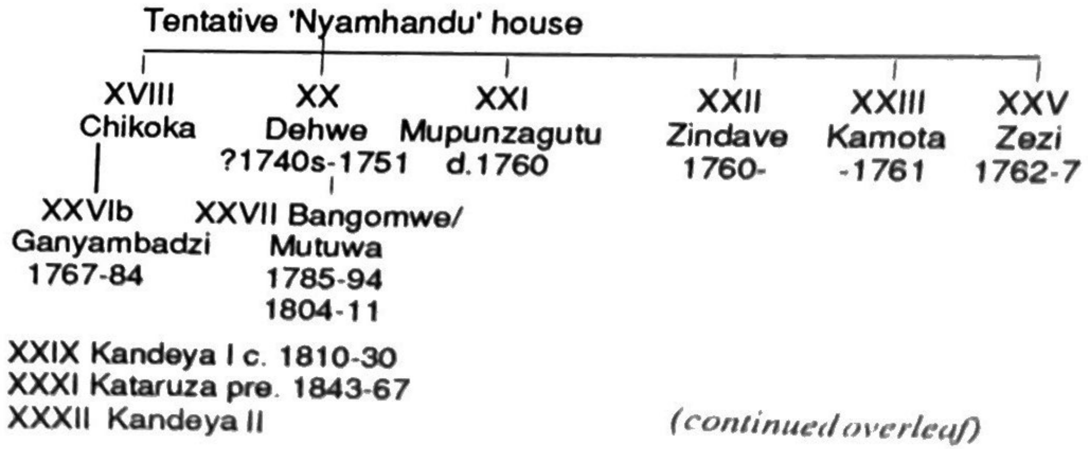
We then have no reliably named rulers from 1506 to 1589, then:


I Gatsi Rusere 1589-1623
II Nyambu Kapararidze
1623- after 1652
III Mavura Filipe
1629-52
V 'Cupiça' Afonso
1663- pre 1692, regn. 1682
IV 'Cicate' Domingos
1652-63
Va 'Filipe'
1679
'Mukombwe'
VI Nyakunembire
pre- 1692 to 1694

We then have a sequence of ten Mutapa rulers, 1694-after 1735. Some were definitely brothers, sons of V or Va:

VII Pedro Mhande 1694-8, VIII Manuel Chirimbe 1698-, IX João Dangwarangwa to 1702, X Samutumbu 1702-4, XI Mukombwe 1704-5, XII Zenda 1705-6, XIII Mupunzagutu 1706-7, XIV Gupo 1707-8, XV Sakapiwa 1708-9 and XVI João o quinto 1709- after 1735. After this, some or all of the descendants of VII-XV coalesced into the 'Boroma' house in opposition to 'Nyamhandu' house descended from XVI:


Tentative 'Boroma' house
XVII Karidza
XXVIa Changara
1768-c.1776,
1794-c.1804
XIX Kambwe
XXVIII Chifombo
1806-7
XXIV Mutanyikwa
1761-2
XXX Dzeka
c. 1830
XXXIII Dzuda


Tentative 'Nyamhandu' house
XVIII
Chikoka
XX
Dehwe
?1740s-1751
XXI
Mupunzagutu
d.1760
XXII
Zindave
1760-
XXIII
Kamota
-1761
XXV
Zezi
1762-7
XXVIb
Ganyambadzi
1767-84
XXVII Bangomwe/
Mutuwa
1785-94
1804-11
XXIX Kandeya I c. 1810-30
XXXI Kataruza pre. 1843-67
XXXII Kandeya II

(continued overleaf)

Notes: If ‘Cupiça’ was young in 1667 and a brother of III, then the latter was more probably a brother of II, as Barreto de Rezende has it, rather than an uncle as closer sources say, because otherwise ‘Cupiça’ would have died nearly a century after Gatsi Rusere’s father, which is unlikely. As the text shows, the ‘Mukombwe’ of traditions could be either V or Va, whereas the real Mukombwe was XI. Mudenge identifies the ‘Filipe’ of 1679 with the V of this genealogy, whereas I think they were separate. Only some of the members of the ‘Boroma’ and ‘Nyamhandu’ houses can be linked genealogically.

REFERENCES TO INTRODUCTION

1. E.A. Alpers, 'Dynasties of the Mutapa-Rozwi complex', *The Journal of African History*, xi, 2, 1970, 203-220.
2. *Aspects of Central African history*, ed. T.O. Ranger, (Heinemann, London, 1968), 276-277; Alpers, 'Mutapa-Rozwi complex', 204; R. Gray and S.Marks, 'Southern Africa and Madagascar', *The Cambridge history of Africa*, iv, ed. R. Gray, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975), 387; W.G.L. Randles, *L'empire du Monomotapa du XVe au XIX siécle* (Mouton, Paris, 1975), 9; D.N. Beach, 'The Zimbabwean plateau and its peoples', *History of Central Africa*, i, eds. D. Birmingham and P. Martin, (Longman, Harlow, 1983), 249-250.
3. D.N. Beach, 'The historiography of the people of Zimbabwe in the 1960s', *Rhodesian History*, 4, 1973, 21-30; D.N. Beach, '*NADA* and Mafohla: antiquarianism in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe with special reference to the work of F.W.T. Posselt', *History in Africa*, 13, 1986, 1-11.
4. D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1984).
5. *Ibid.*, 58-59.
6. D.N. Beach, 'The Rozvi in search of their past', *Hist. Afr.*, 10, 1983, 13-34.
7. D.N. Beach, 'The Mutapa dynasty: a comparison of documentary and traditional evidence', *Hist. Afr.*, 3, 1976, 1-17.
8. D.P. Henige, *The chronology of oral tradition, quest for a chimera*, (Clarendon, Oxford, 1974); J.P. Miller, 'The Imbangala and the chronology of early central African history', *J. Afr. Hist.*, xiii, 4, 1972, 549-574; J.Vansina, 'Comment: traditions of Genesis', *J. Afr. Hist.*, xv, 2, 1974, 317-322.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 1

1. 'Zimbabwe' was not in use as a name for 'Rhodesia' in 1960.
2. (Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, 1961), published in English as *Oral tradition, a study in historical methodology*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965) and replaced as a basic text by J. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985).
3. D.P. Abraham, 'The early political history of the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa, 850-1589', *Historians in tropical Africa: Proceedings of the Leverhulme Inter-collegiate History Conference, September 1960*, (University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, 1962), 61-90.
4. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, xiv-xvi.
5. As far as the University's History Department was concerned, this can be dated fairly securely to the visit of Charles van Onselen in 1972-3.
6. As was pointed out by Kings Phiri in response to criticism by Henry Slater at the History Conference held at the University of Zimbabwe in 1982.
7. Though 'political' history is by no means exhausted as a field for research: D.N. Beach, 'Mapondera', *Hist. Afr.*, 15, 1988, 85-161.
8. T.N. Huffman, 'Corrected radiocarbon dates for the Iron Age of Rhodesia', Appendix I of Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 321-325, shows where in time the bulk of excavated sites had existed.
9. M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'Some aspects of the religion of the eastern Korekore', unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1972; A.K.H. Weinrich, *Chiefs and councils in Rhodesia.*, (Heinemann, London, 1971), *passim*, where fictional titles are given to dynasties whose real titles and histories were published in Sr. Mary Aquina (A.K.H. Weinrich), 'The tribes in Victoria reserve' and 'The tribes in Chilimanzi reserve and their relation to the Rozvi', *NADA*, ix, 2, 1965, 6-15 and 40-51.
10. G. Fortune, 'The contribution of linguistics to ethnohistory', *Historians in tropical Africa*, 17-30.
11. Beach, 'NADA and Mafohla', 1-11.
12. Ministry of Local Government, Division of District Administration, Per/5 files usually started in the 1920s and are kept as current files. Theoretically the contents should be identical at both the District and Head Offices. Rumours that were current in late 1979 and early 1980, to the effect that Rhodesian government officials might be subject to Nuremberg-type trials after Independence, led to the destruction of a great deal of material in both Offices and the National Archives, and it is not yet clear how far this affected the Per/5 files.
13. G.C. Passmore, 'Beyond independence: unfettered community development', *Zambezia*, vi, 1, 1980, 85-99; M. Bratton, *Beyond community development*, (Mambo, Gwelo, 1978).
14. MLG, DDA, Delineation Reports: these were written in the period 1964-68, usually in a very short time. They were roneoed for use by the government and marked 'Restricted', which was understandable as they contained the opinions of officials as well as factual data. Normally they would not have become available to researchers until the 1990s, but, although it was possible for researchers to get permission to read them if 'approved' by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it was also possible to short-cut this process: copies were 'leaked to researchers by sympathetic officials and by the early 1970s most if not all of these reports were unofficially available.
15. N. M. N. Ralushai and J.R. Gray, 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi', *Rhod, Hist.*,8, 1977, 1-11; N.M.N. Ralushai, 'Traditions concerning Luvhimbi and the Mbedzi', *Rhod, Hist.*, 9, 1978, 1-12.

16. R.M.G. Mtetwa, 'The "political" and economic history of the Duma people of south-eastern Rhodesia from the early eighteenth century to 1945', unpubl. D.Phil. thesis, University of Rhodesia, 1976.
17. J.K. Rennie, 'Christianity, colonialism and the origins of nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935', unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1973.
18. G.J. Liesegang, 'Notes on the internal structure of the Gaza Kingdom of southern Mozambique, 1840-1895', *Before and after Shaka*, ed. J.B. Peires, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Grahamstown, 1983), 178-209.
19. H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom, the Manyika and their Portuguese and African neighbours*, 1575-1902, (Longman, Harlow, 1982).
20. D.C. Chanaiwa, 'A history of the Nhowe before 1900', unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1971.
21. D.P. Abraham, 'The principality of Maungwe', *NADA*, 28, 1951, 57-83.
22. D.P. Abraham, 'The roles of "Chaminuka" and the *mhondoro*-cults in Shona political history', *The Zambezian past*. eds. E.T. Stokes and R. Brown, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1966), 33.
23. A.H. Mtetwa, 'A history of Uteve under the Mwene Mutapa rulers 1480-1834: a re-evaluation', unpubl. Ph. D thesis, Northwestern University, 1984; T. Elkiss, *The quest for an African Eldorado: Sofala, Southern Zambezia and the Portuguese, 1500-1865*, (Crossroads, Waltham, 1981); K.D. Dhliwayo, 'External traders in the hinterland of Sofala, 1810-1889', unpubl. M.Phil. thesis, University of London, 1977.
24. A.F. Isaacman, *Mozambique: the Africanization of a European institution, the Zambezi prazos, 1750-1902*, (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1972); M.D.D. Newitt, *Portuguese settlement on the Zambesi*, (Longman, London, 1973); W.F. Rea, *The economics of the Zambezi missions 1580-1759*, (Institutum Historicum, SI, Rome 1976).
25. S.I.G. Mudenge, 'The Rozvi empire and the feira of Zumbo', unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1972.
26. T.I. Matthews, 'The historical tradition of the peoples of the Gwembe valley, Middle Zambezi', unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976; C.S. Lancaster, The *Goba of the Zambezi*, (Oklahoma University Press, Norman, 1981).
27. J.D. White, 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe district', *NADA*, x, 3, 1971, 33-78.
28. J.D. White, 'Esitshebeni: some notes on the history and customs of the Shabani district', unpubl. book, Shabani, 1974.
29. P. Zachrisson, *An African area in change, Belingwe 1894-1946*, (Bulletin of Department of History No. 17, University of Gothenburg, 1978).
30. N.M.B. Bhebe, *Christianity and traditional religion in western Zimbabwe 1859-1923*, (Longman, London, 1979); J.R.D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896', unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976; R.K. Rasmussen, *Migrant kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa*, (Rex Collings, London, 1978).
31. D. Munjeri, 'A brief outline of the political, economic, social and religious history of the Kalanga', University of Rhodesia History Department Henderson Seminar Paper 30, 1974.
32. J.M. Mackenzie, 'A pre-colonial industry: the Njanja and the iron trade', *NADA*, xi, 2, 1975; A. Livneh, 'Pre-colonial politics in Southern Zambezia and their political communications', unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976.
33. I.R. Phimister, 'Alluvial gold mining and trade in nineteenth-century south central Africa', *J. Afr. Hist.*, xv, 3, 1974, 445-456; B.A. Kosmin, 'The Inyoka tobacco industry of the Shangwe people', *The roots of rural poverty in central and southern Africa*, eds. R.H. Palmer and Q.N. Parsons, (Heinemann, London, 1977).

34. University of Zimbabwe History Department Texts 1, 7, 10 Chirumhanzu, Shurugwi (D. Musa); UZHD Texts 2 Mberengwa (D.C. Chigiga); UZHD Text 5 Chivi (F.B. Makore); UZHD Texts 8, 12 Masvingo and Gutu (F. Mashasha).

35. Plural, *mitupo*.

36. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 65-6, 328-329; Chapter 7, below.

37. H. von Sicard, 'The origins of some of the tribes in the Belingwe Reserve: 1-6', *NADA*, 25, 1948, 93-104; '7', 27, 1958, 7-19; '8', 28, 1951, 5-25; '9', 29, 1952, 43-64; '10', 30, 1953, 64-71; '11', 31, 1955, 77-92. Sicard's work spanned four decades and more than fifty articles, pamphlets and books, and badly needs an introductory work that will show how his ideas changed over time.

38. In the 1940s and early 1950s, Sicard was apparently conforming to the current theories of southern African historiography, to the effect that a series of mass migrations by culturally distinct Bantu-speaking peoples had taken place over centuries. Thus in 1946 he suggested a 'Tonga' immigration in AD 500, 'Karanga' moving south from the Great Lakes after 800, followed by Tswana after 1300, with 'Nyai' and 'Venda' reaching the Zambezi in the 14th. century and 'Budya' in the late 15th., all set against a background of Indians, 'Arabic Bantu' and 'Hottentots', H. von Sicard, 'Tentative chronological tables', *NADA*, 23, 1946, 30-35. It is not entirely clear, when Sicard suggested that 'from the north . . . down to the Limpopo . . . the whole east was inhabited by Dziva or Mbedzi clans' that he thought that *everybody* in this area was of the pool/crocodile totem, Sicard, 'Origins . . . 5', 102. I suspect that he, and his informants from whom his ideas concerning totems were drawn, were in fact referring to dominant, ruling lineages, not the whole population, and that they understood that the members of these totem groups would in fact have been a minority, albeit an important one.

39. Rennie, 'Ndau', 55-72; R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', 7-8, 18-22, 37-49.

40. Beach, 'Historiography'; even a paper on Ndebele raiding, presented at the Gaborone history conference in 1973, was actually a by-product of my early attempts at establishing a chronology for central and southern Shona dynasties, during which it became clear that Ndebele raids could be dated more precisely than I had previously thought, D. N. Beach, *War and politics in Zimbabwe 1840-1900*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1986), 13-44.

41. P. Sinclair and H. Lundmark, 'A spatial analysis of archaeological sites from Zimbabwe' *Frontiers: southern African archaeology today*, eds. M. Hall, G. Avery, D.M. Avery, M.L. Wilson and A.J.B. Humphreys, Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10, BAR International Series 207, 1984); D.N. Beach, 'Zimbabwean demography: early colonial data', *Zambezia, xvii, 1, 1990, 31-83.*

42. Thus at one time every tourist who visited the well-known rock of Domboshava just north of the capital was technically breaking the law if no permit to enter the Chinamhora area had been applied for, while even those who accompanied a Historical Monuments team into Mhondoro area in 1970 had to get permits.

43. G. Prins, *The hidden hippopotamus, reappraisal in African history: the early colonial experience in western Zambia*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980).

UZHD Texts 92, 96 Kadoma.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Izidoro Correia Pereira, 'Mappa das minas conhecidas no districto de Senna, 30 July 1857', *Annaes do Concelho Ultramarino (Parte não official)*, i, (ACU, Lisbon, 1858), 187.
2. *Ibid.*
3. E.g. Matsiwu, Gomo, Makuni, Nechombo, Shindi and Tshitshi.
4. See below, this chapter.
5. E.g. Mapanzure *shava*, Chiwundura *shava*, Matenda, Hwata, Chiweshe *shava* and Seke. The addition of the totem in the same example given above means that other dynasties have the same name but different *mitupo* and different origins.
6. Pereira, 'Mappa', 187.
7. National Museums Index.
8. MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/UMT Nechipindire.
9. National Archives to Zimbabwe (unless otherwise stated, all file references are to the NAZ).
10. NUA 2/1/3, Native Commissioner Umtali to Statist 2 April 1895, NC Umtali to Chief Native Commissioner 29 June 1900; N 3/33/8/NC Umtali to CNC 19 January 1904. The 1900 report specifies 'Matebeleland' as the point of origin, but the 1904 report simply refers to 'the west'. The 1904 report states that both Ndebele and Gaza raiders attacked Marange, but whereas the Gaza certainly did there is no other indication that the Ndebele got so far east, and this may be due to confusion caused by the use of the term *madzviti* for both.
11. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange, NC Umtali to Provincial Native Commissioner Manicaland 10 April 1954. Names common to both dynasties are Mutekwatekwa, Betera and Murwira. One Buhera tradition (UZHD Text 81 Buhera) claims that Marange came from Buhera, but another claims that the Nyashanu dynasty came from Bocha; A.S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes*, (Macmillan, Salisbury, 1980) 110.
12. UZHD Text 71 Mutare.
13. UZHD Texts 72, 74 Mutare; MLG, DDA, Per/5 /HM/UMT Mukwada and Mutsago. The Mukwada house evidently borrowed the idea of origins in Mbire III from Mutsago during the anti-Marange 'coalition' of the 1970s.
14. UZHD Text 73 Mutare; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange, NC Umtali to PNC Umtali 30 May 1949. One reason why so few early histories of the Marange dynasty were collected in the early twentieth century, apart from the relative remoteness of the area from Umtali, was that Marange Nyachitu ruled from before 1895 to 1929 and thus the need to compile a genealogy for the government did not arise until his death: S. 1561/10/13, NC Umtali to CNC 3 August 1931.
15. UZHD Text 73 Mutare; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange NC Umtali to PNC Umtali 30 May 1949. Chief Hama Isia, in the interview cited above, said that Mutekwatekwa lived at 'Chitima', which I assumed meant a hill. But no such hill has so far been located, and in retrospect I think that he simply meant the far north, by the railway at Odzi: '*chitima*'.
16. This fits the documentary evidence for comparatively strong Rozvi influence in Manyika in the early 18th. century: Bhila, *Trade and politics*, 93-115.
17. See below, and MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange, NC Umtali to PNC Manicaland 10 April 1954, Genealogy by H. Cripps, 12 May 1971; Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2 History by J. Machiwenyika, 'Lesson 27'.
18. This, on the whole, fits the traditions of neighbouring areas concerning the Changamire Rozvi, suggesting that the re-location of the Changamire on the upper Save from 1857 saw a revival of Rozvi power in that area.

19. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange, Genealogy by H. Cripps, 12 May 1971, NC Umtali to PNC Umtali 30. May 1949: S. 1561/10/13 NC Umtali to CNC 3 August 1931; UZHD Text 73 Mutare.
20. Ibid.
21. UZHD Text 74 Mutare.
22. See the history of Seke in Chapter 3 below.
23. UZHD Text 74 Mutare.
24. UZHD T exts 73, 74 Mutare; N 1/1/11 ANC Umtali to NC Umtali 22 December 1896.
25. UZHD Texts 72 Mutare. The actual period of the Mukwada move to the south was apparently in the nineteenth century: the Mukwada interview cited above made the first Mukwada a son of 'Chahuruva', but Machiwenyika (Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2, 'Lesson 27', puts the period in the time of Nzvenga, a generation earlier.
26. UZHD Text 73 Mutare; MLGTP, DDA, Per/5 Marange, NC Umtali to PNC Umtali to PNC Umtali 30 May 1949; *A memoir of the life and death of the Rev. Father Augustus Henry Law SJ* ed. W.T. Law, (Burns and Oates, 1883), iii, 31.
27. UZHD Text 71 Mutare; MLG/DDA, Per/5 Marange, NC Umtali to PNC Umtali 30 May 1949. Chief Hama Isia (UZHD Text 73 Mutare) was the only source to claim that Dambamuromo's elder brother Chikuni was also a ruling Marange, but Headman Mafararikwa (UZHD Text 71 Mutare) indirectly supported this by referring to a Chikuni *mhondoro* at Senda who protected the Mafararikwa ancestor Tirivarevi.
28. UZHD Texts 71, 74 Mutare; Pereira, 'Mappa', 187.
29. Beach, *War and politics,* 26-29.
30. N 3/33/8, NC Mrewa to Acting CNC 11 December 1903, NC Marandellas to CNC 1 January 1904; 'Mafohla' (pseudonym of F.W.T. Posselt), 'A raid and what led to it', *NADA*, 4, 1926, 102-103; W. Edwards, 'The Wanoe', *NADA*, 4, 1926, 15, *Father Augustus Henry Law*, 181, 184, 192, 198; *Gold and the gospel in Mashonaland 1888,* eds. C.E. Fripp and V.W. Hiller (Chatto and Windus, London, 1949,) 73-77.
31. UZHD Texts 71, 72, 73, 74 Mutare.
32. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange NC Umtali to PNC Umtali 30 May 1949, NC Umtali to PNC Manicaland 10 April 1954; S.1561/10/13 NC Umtali to CNC 3 August 1931.
33. *Ibid*; UZHD Text 73 Mutare claims that Nzvenga fought Dongorere.
34. UZHD Texts 75, 76 Mutare; MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/UMT Wendumba, DC Umtali to PC Manicaland 28 June 1972.
35. Whereas there seems to be no doubt that the Mukwada house formed part of the *shava/mukonde* lineage, just where it fits into the Marange tree is unclear: MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/UMT Mukwada; UZHD Text 72 Mutare; Hist. Mss. MA 14/ 1/2 'Lesson 27'.
36. Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2, 'Lesson 27'. Machiwenyika makes Nzvenga the son of Dongorere, which is contradicted by every other genealogy from 1931 onwards. If Machiwenyika was right, however, then the dating of the entire Marange dynasty before Nzvenga would be two generations earlier than is generally assumed here.
37. UZHD Text 72 Mutare.
38. Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2 'Lesson 27'; UZHD Text 74 Mutare: when I interviewed the Mutsago leader in 1973 he made a special point of showing off his elephant-hunting axe and spear, and a tusk. See MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/UMT Mutsago, for the abortive attempt by the Mutsago house, using lawyers, to get a separate Chieftainship in 1971-2.
39. Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2. 'Lesson 27'.
40. S. 1561/10/13 NC Umtali to CNC 3 August 1931; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange, NC Umtali to PNC Umtali 30 May 1949 both note the killing by the Chimhiti house; the Mafararikwa house (UZHD Text 71 Mutare) gave the version involving exile.

MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/UMT Chikuku.

41. S. 1561/10/13 NC Umtali to CNC 3 August 1931 makes Mafararikwa I a son of Dambamuromo, between Chimhiti and Nzvenga, with his son Mafararikwa II 'ousted by Gandidzanzwa' and his grandson Mafararikwa III 'ousted by Nyakapeni (Nyachitu) Mafararikwa IV the great-grandson being alive in 1931; the Mafararikwa claimed that when Nzvenga went into exile he left two pregnant wives, who bore Tirivarevi, father of Mafararikwa, and Gandidzanwa.

42. UZHD 73 Mutare names Gandidzanwa's homes as Mapembe, Chikonya, Rukandami and Makomwe; *Father Augustus Henry Law*, 31.

43. UZHD Text 76 Mutare; S. 1561/10/13 NC Umtali to CNC3 August 1931.

44. *Ibid.*

45. N 1/1/11 ANC Umtali to NC Umtali 22 December 1896; this sub-division of power in Bocha, later ratified by NC Bazeley, underlay the Mutsago 'independence' movement of the 1970s.

46. *Father Augustus Henry Law*, 172.

47. Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2, 'Lesson 66'; N 3/33/8 NC Melsetter to CNC 23 December 1903; interview with Mr. S. Machuma, 27 February 1973.

48. N 1/1/11 NC Umtali to Secretary, Native Department, 8 July 1895.

49. N 1/1/11 NC Umtali to CNC 6 April 1896.

50. N 1/1/11 NC Umtali to CNC 29 June 1900.

51. NUA 1/2/3 NC Umtali to CNC 29 June 1900.

52. N 1/1/11 ANC Umtali to NC Umtali 22 December 1896; UZHD Texts 74, 76 Mutare; MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/UMT Mutsago, text of meeting in T.R. Thorpe's office, 12 October 1972.

53. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Marange NC Umtali to PNC Manicaland 19 October 1956.

54. S. 1561/10/13 NC Umtali to CNC 3 August 1931.

55. This is the Nyamasanga stream that joins the Nyazvidzi next to Eastdale; part of the Mwerihari was also used to divide the districts, but the whole line here bore little relation to pre-colonial boundaries.

56. UZHD Texts 46, 48 Charter-Chikomba, 79, 80, 81 Buhera; N 3/33/8 NC Marandellas to CNC 1 January 1904.

57. Personal observation of Gombe; G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe culture*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1931); Umtali Boys High School History Society, 'Gombe: a study of a wall', *Zuro*, 6, 1973, 26-34; UZHD Texts 77, 78, 79, 82, 86a; whereas the claim that Mbiru built the wall is ubiquitous and undisputed, his reasons for building it, as given in traditions, are unconvincing: one version states that Mbiru was so worried by the danger of attacks by wild animals, because he was alone, that he built the wall, the other says that he built it as a defence against the Nguni. Apart from the fact that Mbiru obviously lived long before the Nguni, the wall is not suited to either purpose, being basically a screening wall.

58. UZHD Texts 78, 83, 84, 86a. *Mandiwonerepi* legends are very common in Zimbabwe, but one informant was actually using the term 'Bushman', which argues influence from schoolbooks or the radio.

59. UZHD Texts 79, 92, 84, 86 Buhera; variations on the '*mhiri kwegungwa*' origin are one that simply gives 'Harare' and another, in MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali, 18 May 1971, which gives a route 'Salisbury... Hartley... Manhize hills, Chikapakapa Koppie'. There is also a variant that applies to Mbiru's descendant Masarirambi, founder of the Mutekedza dynasty of West Buhera, that gives a 'Zulu' origin, either because 'Nguni' origins were seen as being prestigious or, more probably, because of a pun on 'Mutekedza' and Nguni '*thekela*': H. von Sicard, 'Shaka and the north', *African Studies*, xiv, 4, 1955, 151; Aquina, 'Victoria' 6; UZHD Texts 48, 51 Charter-Chikomba. But this 'Zulu' version is rare even in the Mutekedza area.

60. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904; UZHD Texts 46 Charter-Chikomba, 79 Buhera.

61. UZHD Texts 78, 79, 83 Buhera; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali, 18 May 1971; Umtali Boys High School History Society, 'Gombe', 28-29.
62. See genealogy, based on all sources cited in this section.
63. See Chapter 7 below; for a case of the ruler retiring into cave, see also Beach, 'Mapondera'.
64. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904.
65. See sections below on Masarirambi and the Njanja.
66. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904.
67. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali, 18 May 1971; UZHD Text 83 Buhera.
68. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali, 18 May 1971 (second main tradition). The separation of the Mushumba house was mentioned by several of my informants, (see also J.F. Holleman, 'Some "Shona" tribes of Southern Rhodesia', *Seven tribes of British Central Africa*, eds. E. Colson and M. Gluckman, Oxford University Press, London, 1951, 390) but they were vague on the Matema- Muradzikwa-Mudawose war.
69. S. 716, Range Diary, June-July 1897. This records the first Native Department patrol into the area, with sketch maps.
70. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, Chapter 7.
71. *Ibid.*
72. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904.
73. *Ibid.*
74. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali 18 May 1971; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Nyashanu, 196, gives Dirikwi the credit for this.
75. See genealogy and map.
76. Ibid.
77. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Makumbe and Nerutanga, 1965; the mention of an invasion by Chizema of the Chirimuhanzu dynasty can be dated to the 1850s: Beach, *War and politics*, 27.
78. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Makumbe and Nerutanga, 1965.
79. UZHD Texts 79, 80, 82 Buhera, but UZHD 77, 78 Buhera, Njanja interviews, also argue against actual fighting between Njanja and Hera for Gombe.
80. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC, 1 January 1904 on the famine.
81. Compare the versions referenced in footnotes 66-68.
82. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali 18 May 1971; N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904.
83. *Ibid.*
84. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu DC Buhera to PC Umtali 18 May 1971.
85. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904; UZHD Text 80 Buhera confirms that Chikuwa Mundandi, son of Muradzikwa, fought Murwira Mfumo for the title.
86. S.716, Range Diary, June-July 1897; N 9/1/10 Annual report of NC Charter, 1907;
87. UZHD Texts 82, 84, 85, 86 Buhera identify Mfumo with Murwira; Mafuruse was dead by 1911: EC 3/1/3, Minute 3432, 19 April 1911; Gotora died in 1922, Mabvuregudo in 1939 and Chingombe Pasi in 1943: MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu DC Buhera to PC Umtali 18 May 1971.
88. See map and genealogy.
89. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Nyashanu, 1965.
90. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali 18 May 1971, where, however, it is noted that the Begede village was not in fact in a good position as a look-out post.
91. *Ibid.*
92. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Chamutsa, 1965.

93. J.F. Holleman, *African interlude*, (Nasionale, Cape Town, 1958), 111-112.
94. See section ii above.
95. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904.
96. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyashanu, DC Buhera to PC Umtali 18 May 1971.
97. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Nyashanu, 1965.
98. See map.
99. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Nerutanga, 1965.
100. Modern Buhera, that is: West Buhera under Mutekedza lost considerably.
101. H.E. Summer, 'Ruins of African villages on Zabe hill', *NADA*, ix, 3, 1966, 4; Public Record Office, London, FO 179/279, No. 168, T.V. Lister to G. Petre, No. 57, B. de Freitas, 'Memorandum on the rights of Portugal in the territories ot the south of the Zambezi', 12 July 1890.
102. N 3/33/8 NC Marandellas to CNC 1 January 1904; D. Munjeri, 'How Chief Rambira Mudzimuirema met his death', *NADA*, xii, 2, 1980, 111.
103. See below.
104. D.K. Parkinson, 'The Varozvi of Chief Murambgha', *NADA*, x, 4, 1972, 65,67.
105. PRO, FO 179/279, 186/57 Freitas, 'Memorandum . . .', 12 July 1890.
106. In particular, the maps in the back of S.716, Range Diary.
107. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, Njanja, 1964; UZHD Text 48 Chikomba-Charter.
108. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, 1964; BA 2/8/1 Major Jenner to CSO Salisbury 17 November 1896; S. 716, Range Diary, maps.
109. UZHD Texts 46, 51 Chikomba-Charter. The first of these mentioned a Masarirambi 'Gumbodete'.
110. UZHD Texts 47, 49, 51 Chikomba-Charter; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, 1964.
111. UZHD Text 47 Chikomba-Charter.
112. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, 1964; UZHD Texts 47, 49, Chikomba-Charter.
113. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, 1964; UZHD Texts 42, 49, 51 Chikomba-Charter.
114. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, 1964.
115. See above, on Nyashanu.
116. Beach, *War and politics*, 27-28.
117. UZHD Text 47 Chikomba-Charter; *The northern goldfields diaries of Thomas Baines*, ed. J.P.R. Wallis, (Chatto and Windus, London, 1946), ii, 413.
118. UZHD Texts 42, 46, 47, 51 Chikomba-Charter; *Gold and the gospel*, 80.
119. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904. This omits Musonza, but adds 'Tshitukudza' (= Musonza?) and 'Nyarambgwa' between Dete and Chisvo; MLG, DDA Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, 1964.
120. UZHD Text 46 Chikomba-Charter; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Mutekedza, 1964; N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904 confirms that Chigonero had a much shorter reign than his predecessors.
121. *Gold and the gospel*, 80.
122. PRO, FO 179/279, 186/57 Freitas, 'Memorandum . . .', 12 July 1890.
123. LO 5/2/3 Col. Pennefather to F.R. Harris, 4 September 1890.
124. J.T. Bent, *The ruined cities of Mashonaland*, (Longmans Green, London, 1892), 273.
125. A 1/9/1 J.S. Brabant to RM Victoria, 26 April 1892.
126. Hist. MSS. ED 1/1/1/, Diary of Frank of Edwards, 10 October 1892.

127. A 2/1/2, H.M. Hole to H.Short, 9 January 1892; A 2/1/4, H.M. Hole to H. Short, 23 August 1892; J 1/8/1, RM Victoria to Public Prosecutor, Salisbury, 24 and 28 September 1892; Hist. Mss. WE 3/2/6, Draft history by M.E. Weale; A 2/14/1, Acting Administrator to H. Short, 25 October 1893.
128. Beach, *War and politics*, 85-86, 135-136, 139.
129. Hist. MSS. WE 3/2/6 Draft history by M.E. Weale; A 1/12/36, Firm to Scanlen, 26 June 1896; S.716, Range Diary, 3 October 1896. The last reference contradicts Weale's claim that Short's wife protected him for some time.
130. A 1/12/37, Brabant to Vintcent, 8 July 1896; A 1/12/3, Charges against Capt. Brabant, *passim*; A 1/12/13, Vintcent to White, 15 July 1896; A 1/12/27, Brabant to Administrator, 29 July 1896.
131. BA 2/8/1, Maj. Jenner to CSO Salisbury, 17 November 1896; DS 1/1/3 District Surgeon to RM Salisbury, 23June 1897. A tradition has grown up to the effect that Muchecheterwa provoked the Chimurenga in that region by taking the white wife of NC Taylor, shaving her head and making her wear African clothes. Taylor may well have had an African wife from Manyika or Barwe, but he didn't marry a European wife until later, and the contemporary documents make it clear that the Chimurenga did not arise from this. The tradition looks like an invention by the Musonza houses to exclude the Chingwere house from the succession.
132. N 1/1/2 NC Charter to CNC 3 August 1897.
133. N 9/3/2 Quarterly report of NC Charter, 30 June 1898.
134. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba Charter, Mutekedza, 1964.
135. R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', 30-35.
136. UZHD Text 88 Gutu.
137. UZHD Text 87 Gutu.
138. M.L. Daneel, *Old and new in Southern Shona independent churches*, i, (Mouton, The Hague, 1971), 24; D.J. van der Merwe, 'Some History of the Vakaranga in the Gutu reserve', *NADA*, 14, 1936-7, 71.
139. UZHD Texts 87, 88, 89 Gutu.
140. UZHD Texts 87 and 89 Gutu called him Gumbu; UZHD Texts 88 and 91 Gutu used the name Marumbi (which has also been used for one of Karivara's sisters); UZHD Text 90 Gutu called him a Gaza Nguni, and influenced Daneel, *Old and new*, i, 21, whereas the Gaza Nguni were only in the eastern highlands in 1836-8 and 1862-89. The dating of the Munyaradze dynasty puts very much earlier dates for Gumbu, but the common confusion of the Nguni-influenced Ndau-speakers with the Gaza Nguni proper accounts for this version. In 1973 the male medium of Karivara dressed as an Nguni woman and spoke a form of Nguni; van der Merwe, 'Gutu', 71, confused Gumbu Marumbi with Chamutsa, for reasons made clear below.
141. UZHD Text 87 Gutu; van der Merwe, 'Gutu', 72.
142. UZHD Texts 87, 88, 89, 90 Gutu. The girls were Dukuta, Karivara, Marumbi and Mamhepo, the first three names all having been used at various times for the leader of them, but Karivara seems to have been the actual name of the most important of them.
143. UZHD Texts 87, 89, 90, 91 Gutu; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Munyaradze, NC Gutu to PNC Victoria 22 February 1960 locates the event in Gutu.
144. UZHD Texts 87, 89, 90, 91 Gutu; the latter two mention that Nyashanu forced Karivara to marry him.
145. UZHD Texts 87, 89 Gutu; the latter mentions Rozvi *masvikiro* in Buhera.

146. UZHD Text 88 Gutu says that the contest took place before the Rozvi at 'Zimbabwe' and does not mention 'Matonjeni'; UZHD Texts 90,91 Gutu locate the contest at 'Matonjeni'; van der Merwe, 'Gutu', 72, locates the event in Buhera.
147. UZHD Text 88 Gutu.
148. UZHD Texts 89, 90 Gutu; the brothers were Nousaka Chagonda, Chisvino and Dzivamavamba Goronga.
149. UZHD Texts 88, 89, 90, 91 Gutu.
150. UZHD Text 90 Gutu claims that Karivara refused land offered to her at 'Matonjeni'.
151. UZHD Texts 87, 88, 89 Gutu.
152. UZHD Texts 87 Gutu claims that Chamutsa was *sekuru* to Karivara, but UZHD Text 88 Gutu calls Chamutsa simply a *hama*, neighbour.
153. UZHD Texts 87, 90 Gutu.
154. UZHD Text 90 Gutu.
155. UZHD Text 89 Gutu.
156. UZHD Text 90 Gutu.
157. UZHD Text 87 Gutu.
158. Van der Merwe, 'Gutu', 72; UZHD 90 Gutu; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Munyaradze DC Gutu to PC Victoria, 19 May 1967; M.L. Daneel, *The god of the Matopo hills*, (Mouton, The Hague, 1970), 73-74.
159. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Munyaradze, Memorandum, 12 December 1960.
160. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Munyaradze, DC Gutu to PC Victoria, 19 May 1967.
161. Mtetwa, 'Duma', *passim*; on the Rufura, Chapter 4 below; R.M.G. Mtetwa, 'The relationship between the Gutu dynasty and the Mwari cult in the nineteenth century', *Rhod. Hist.*, 6, 1975, 89-95.
162. R. Summers, *Ancient mining in Rhodesia*, (National Museums, Salisbury, 1969), endpaper map, shows many gold mines in the area, but it is so far impossible to tell how many were being worked at any one time; N 3/24/11, NC Hartley to CNC, 30 January 1898, noted that formerly the district had been much more heavily populated than it was then, but his basis for comparison is not clear.
163. Manuel Barreto, 'Report on the state and conquest of the Rivers of Cuama, 11 December 1667', *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, ed. G.M. Theal, (Government of the Cape Colony, Cape Town, 1898-1903), iii, 484-486; Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, 51-VIII-43, Anonymous, 'Descripcão dos Rios de Cuama, post 16 March 1683'; Bibl. Ajuda, 51-VIII- 40, Felipe de Assumpcão, 'Breve informacão dos Rios de Cuama, 1698'.
164. D.P. Abraham, 'Maramuca: an exercise in the combined use of Portuguese records and oral tradition', *J.Afr. Hist.*, ii, 2, 1961, 211-225; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, L.O.O. Chanakira to Chief Mapanza, Choma, 1 May 1940; DC Hartley, chart dated 20 March 1963 and DC Hartley to PC Mashonaland South, 23 April 1963.
165. Except for a variant in the Neuso tradition, MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Neuso, 1964.
166. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, NC Hartley to CNC, n.d., c. 1940; Hinde to Turton, 17 June 1940; NC Hartley to CNC, 21 August 1942; NC to PNC, 19 March 1951; DC Hartley chart, 20 March 1963.
167. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, NC Hartley to CNC 12 July 1900, L.O.O. Chanakira to Chief Mapanza, Choma, 1 May 1940; Acting NC Hartley to Northern Rhodesia Labour Officer, 20 December 1939; Abraham, 'Maramuca', 223-224.
168. See 167; R.R. Tapson, 'Notes on the Mrozwi occupation of Sebungwe', *NADA*, 21, 1944, 32.
169. See 163; PRO, FO 179/279, 168/57 Freitas, 'Memorandum...' 12 July 1890.
170. See Ngezi genealogy.

171. Early genealogies, e.g. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, NC Hartley to CNC, n.d.c. 1940, wrote off Zinyongo as having no known descendants because they were dispersed by the Ndebele, but by 1951 (MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, NC to PNC, 19 March 1951) his descendants had begun to reappear, and by 1963 (MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, DC's chart of 20 March 1963) he had been placed as ancestor of the Chideya-Chanakira house.
172. Abraham, 'Maramuca', 223-224.
173. *Ibid.* Chanakira's son Musonza died 1940-2.
174. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, NC Hartley to CNC 12 July 1900; statement by Musonza, 14 August 1940.
175. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, statement by Musonza, 14 August 1940; Hinde to Turton, 17 June 1940; Acting NC Hartley to NRLO, 20 December 1939; NC Hartley to CNC, 21 August 1942.
176. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, statement by Musonza, 14 August 1940; statement of Josefa 11 January 1940.
177. Enock Makinzi, appointed Ngezi in 1983, was of the Gangaza house, and it was noted that Gwazvu house also had the right to succeed. Technically this opened up the succession to at least four houses descended from the sons of Ngezi Dumbura.
178. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, (Rhodesian Publishing and Printing, Bulawayo, 1935), 142.
179. See genealogy of Chivero.
180. António Bocarro, 'Decade... of the performances of the Portuguese in the east, c. 1631-49', *Records*, iii, 356.
181. C. Bullock, *The Mashona*, (Juta, Cape Town, 1928), 51; UZHD Text 58 Chegutu; A. Marwodzi, 'The Barozwi', *NADA*, 2, 1924, 88-89; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chitsungo *nzou*, NC Sipolilo to H. von Sicard, 26 November 1957.
182. See 181.
183. With two long reigns (Chimanda 1905-44 and Mishi 1950-74) there was less incentive for officials to work on the Chieftaincy, and when they did they tended to collect genealogies without supporting histories.
184. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC c.1. January 1904. The NC, Jackson, used the term 'Tonga' to mean 'non-Rozvi Shona' because his last effort at collecting history had been from the Rozvi of Belingwe, NB 6/1/1, NC Belingwe to CNC Bulawayo, 31 March 1898.
185. Bullock, *Mashona*, 41; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, 142.
186. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, PNC Mashonaland North to NC Hartley, 5 September 1949.
187. W.M. Kerr, *The Far Interior*, (Sampson Low, Marston, London, 1887), i, 103; Bullock, *Mashona*, 286.
188. Bullock, *Mashona*, 41; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, Note, c.1903.
189. Pereira, 'Mappa', 187.
190. Bullock, *Mashona*, 41, 286.
191. UZHD Text 58 Chegutu.
192. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, genealogy of 4 December 1947; PNC to CNC, 17 June 1950; genealogy, n.d. but on back of 1970s documents; Bullock, *Mashona*, 49.
193. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, Genealogy of 4 December 1947; NC Hartley to PNC 19 January 1948 and 17 June 1950.
194. See 193. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, Chief Chivero to NC Hartley, 1951, states that Chitemamuswe was Chivero when Mashayamombe came.
195. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, NC Hartley to PNC, 4 December 1947.
196. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC c.1 January 1904; EC 3.1.2, 1408, 16 March 1905.
197. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, NC Hartley to CNC, 7 June 1944.
198. In 1950 Nyahunzvi house claimed that Mishi's ancestor Masvosva was descended from

Zhekete, but the PNC overrode this on the grounds that Mishi was older than his rival who was apparently two generations further up the 'tree': MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, PNC to CNC, 17 June 1950. In fact this was by no means impossible, but it meant that from then on Zhekete and Masvosva appeared as brothers when they were probably father and son as in pre-1950 genealogies. As the administration then favoured younger and more educated Chiefs, Mishi was not likely to have argued with them, he being their favoured choice.

199. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904; Kerr, *Far interior*, i, 103.
200. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chivero, Note, c. 1903.
201. MLG,DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Chivero, Chigutiro, 1964; PRO, FO 179/279, 168/57, Freitas, 'Memorandum . . .' 12 July 1890.
202. Bullock, *Mashona*, 49.
203. See below on Gora.
204. See below on Mashayamombe.
205. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, 1964.
206. N 9/1/9, Annual report of NC Hartley, 31 March 1906.
207. F.C. Selous, *A Hunter's wanderings in Africa*, (Bentley, London, 1881), 331-332; Selous, *Travel and adventure in south-east Africa*, (Rowland Ward, London, 1893), 114-116, 465-467; Hist. Mss. 412, 'The Mashonaland', by H.D. Crook, 1879-80; N 1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury, 29 January 1896; F.W.T. Posselt, 'Chaminuka the wizard', *NADA*, 4, 1926, 35-37; M. Gelfand, 'The Mhondoro-Chaminuka', *NADA*, 36, 1959, 6-10; R.C. Woollacott, 'Pasipamire — spirit medium of Chaminuka, the 'wizard of Chitungwiza', *NADA*, xi, 2, 1975, 154-167; Woollacott, 'Chaminuka', *NADA*, xi, 3, 1976, 363-365.
208. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, PNC Mashonaland North to NC Hartley 5 September 1949 (enclosing report of NC Hartley, 1900).
209. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Rwizi, 1964.
210. Woollacott, 'Pasipamire', 156; Woollacott, 'Chaminuka', 363. For another example of a regional myth cited by Woollacott, the division of a corpse in a family dispute, see Parkinson, 'Murambgha', 65-66.
211. Woollacott, 'Chaminuka', 363-5; Woollacott, 'Pasipamire', 154-167. There is a good example of such a site on the Ruwa just south of Chiremba Road.
212. Abraham, 'Chaminuka', 32; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Rwizi, 1964.
213. Selous, *Hunter's wanderings*, 331-332; Hist. Mss. 412, Chaps. 6, 7 and 9; Selous, *Travel and adventure*, 465-467.
214. *Ibid.*; Hist. Mss. 412, Chapter 7. Selous noted meeting this son, 'Jugu' while camped at the Ngezi on 24 June 1880. Crook (Hist. Mss. 412) implies that they passed him one or two days earlier. There are other minor discrepancies between the accounts. J. Chidziwa, 'History of the vaShawasha', *NADA*, ix, 1, 1964, 29.
215. See 214.
216. Selous, *Travel and adventure*, 114-116; but cultivation around Chitungwiza had resumed by 1888: *Gold and the gospel*, 69. This was in spite of another Ndebele raid in that year.
217. N 9/1/6, Statistical report of NC Hartley, year ending 31 March 1900.
218. N 1//1/3, NC Hartley to CNC 14 August 1897; N 3/24/11, NC Hartley to CNC, 30 June 1895; NSE 2/1/1, Report for the statistical department, period ending 30 September 1897.
219. N 9/1/6, Statistical report of NC Hartley, year ending 31 March 1900; NSE 2/1/1, Report for the statistical department, period ending 30 September 1897.
220. N 3/24/11, NC Hartley to CNC, 30 June 1898.
221. NSE 2/1/1, NC Hartley to CNC, 7 May 1898.
222. N 1/2/1, NC Hartley to CNC, 9 April 1899 and 26 February 1900.
223. *Ibid*,; N 8/1/1, Hartley Chiefs, Rwizi.

224. A 11/2/12/11, NC Marandellas to CNC, 26 November and 12 December 1903, CNC to Administrator 7 January 1904, CNC to Chief Secretary 12 January 1904, CNC to Principal Secretary 16 February 1904.
225. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Mushava, 1964.
226. N.3/1/5, NC Charter to CNC, 16 December 1905; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mushava, Memorandum of Secretary of Internal Affairs, 26 August 1966, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Mushava, 1964; UZHD Text 64 Kadoma. Mushava was briefly (1919-1922) given Chiefly status.
227. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Benhura, 1964. Women apparently had a separate *mutupo, gurundiso*.
228. *Ibid.*
229. N 1/2/1, NC Hartley to CNC, 26 February 1900; N 3/4/1, Acting NC Hartley to CNC, 19 December 1911; N 3/14/2, NC Hartley to CNC 18 October 1899 and list of 'Indaba of natives at Salisbury, 25 October 1899'; N 3/24/11 NC Hartley to CNC 7 July 1900 and map attached; N 8/1/1, Hartley Chiefs, Nherera (which notes Nherera as Hera, from Nyashanu); N 9/1/6, Statistical report for year ending 31 March 1900, NC Hartley; N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904;, claims that Runeka's following was mostly of Rozvi *moyo*, of the Basvi section, and that Runeka was brother of Lozani of the Somabula forest area in Gwelo. Thus the available sources on Nherera's origins are completely contradictory.
230. MLG,DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, 1964.
231. UZHD Texts 92, 93, 94, 96, 96a, 96b Kadoma; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, 1964.
232. *Ibid.* Magunde's *dziva* were evidently the *hiya* who turn up in many histories in this area, but this version involves Chaminuka as well.
233. UZHD Texts 92 Kadoma.
234. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 72-73, 258-260. This Chwaya tradition of a joint migration by Neuso and Chireya *might* be an echo of a pre-Chireya migration into Mafungabusi, but it more probably comes from the totem similarity and the trade links between the two.
235. UZHD Text 92-4, 96 Kadoma.
236. *Ibid.*; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Neuso, 1964.
237. PRO, FO 179/279, 168/57, Freitas, 'Memorandum . . .' 12 July 1890.
238. N 1/2/1, NC Hartley to CNC 26 February 1900. NC Scott was obviously considering making Nezimba a Chief as well, but the fact that no Hartley Chiefs were actually subsidised until 1917 meant that the issue never really arose. As in Matanha, there were so many independent groups in the west of the old Hartley District that the administration was faced with the options of making them all Chiefs, not making any of them Chiefs or, as Scott did, putting one over the rest.
239. E.A. Alpers, 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems', in *Aspects of Central African History*, 10-11, is only one example of a widely-circulated schoolbook, and one might add radio as a source of feed-back.
240. Pereira, 'Maps', 187.
241. UZHD Text 95 Kadoma; Abraham, 'Maramuca', 211-225; P.S.Garlake, 'Seventeenth-century Portuguese earthworks in 'Rhodesia', *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, xxi, 1966-7, 157-170,
242. UZHD Text 95 Kadoma; PRO, FO 179/279, 186/57 Freitas, 'Memorandum...' 12 July 1890; N 1/1/3, NC Hartley to CC, 10 June 1895 and 29 December 1895.
243. White, 'Urungwe', 49.
244. See the section of Chapter Three on Chikwaka; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Gora, PNC Mashonaland West to Undersecretary of Administration, 20 February 1962, Notes on Gora Headmanship 14 June and 1967, DC Goromonzi to PC Mashonaland East 11 September 1980 and Memorandum, 15 September 1980; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Gora, 1964; N 1/2/1, NC

Hartley to CNC, 26 February 1900; N 3/24/11, NC Hartley to CNC, 7 July 1900 and map; N 9/1/6, Statistical report of NC Hartley for year ending 31 March 1900. In *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 78, 254, I put the migration of Gora from the Nyaguwe-Mubvinzi angle very early, by implication before the 1690s. Here (and see also *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 73-74) I was using White, 'Urungwe', 48-50, and partly misreading him by assuming that the Nyamunga dynasty was *gwai* when it was not (although it apparently came to the Zambezi by way of Devera and had a Gora *gwai* family with it), while at the same time trying to achieve a set of cross-references from Mudzimu in 1696 to Nyamunga to Gora to Chikwaka. I think now that this is tenuous, and simple dating of Gora and Chikwaka put both at a date long after the 1690s, though before 1800.

245. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 276.
246. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Maromo, H.E. Sumner, 'Notes on the Maromo Chieftainship, c.1968'. Sumner's notes on various dynasties occur in several Per/5 files, and are nearly always very accurate; S.S. Munemo Chiketa, 'History of Mashayamombe people and traditional kingship', n.d.c. 1969. This contained the basis of Mr Chiketa's claim for the title and should be compared to MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mashayamombe, B.J.M. Foggin, 'Mashayamombe histories, 1966'.
247. M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'Peoples of Darwin', *NADA*, x, 2, 1970, 106.
248. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904 and NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Maromo, 1964; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Maromo, Sumner, 'Notes on the Maromo Chieftainship, c.1968', Per/5 Mashayamombe, Foggin, 'Mashayamombe histories, 1966'.
249. UZHD Texts 57, 62 Chegutu; Bullock, *Mashona*, 48-51; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, PNC North Mashonaland to NC Hartley, 5 September 1949, enclosing NC Hartley's report of 1900. This early version credits Choshata, the father of the Mashayamombe then reigning, with the move to the Mupfure, with the war with Matema's *dziva* taking place earlier, on the upper Ngezi at Mbudzirume hill. In view of the dating of the *hiya* wars, the longer chronology looks more probable. Up to the early 1900s NC Scott called Mashayamombe's people 'Hera' because of the time they spent in Buhera.
250. UZHD Texts 53-62, 65-66 Chegutu; N 1/1/3, NC Hartley to CNC, 6 May 1898; N 9/2/1, Half-yearly report of NC Hartley, 31 September 1897.
251. UZHD Texts 57, 62 Chegutu; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mashayamombe, Foggin, 'Mashayamombe histories, 1966'.
252. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904; N 3/24/11, NC Hartley to CNC, 3 May 1898.
253. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Murombedzi, 1964.
254. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mashayamombe, Foggin, 'Mashayamombe histories, 1966'.
255. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Gora, Nherera, 1964; UZHD Text 54 Chegutu; N 9/1//6, Statistical report of NC Hartley for year ending 31 March 1900; N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904.
256. UZHDTexts 57, 62 Chegutu; MLG, DDA Per/5 Mashayamombe, Foggin, 'Mashayamombe histories, 1966'; Beach, *War and politics*, 116-117.
257. N 3/33/8, NC Hartley to CNC, c.1 January 1904; 1904; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mashayamombe, Foggin, 'Mashayamombe histories, 1966'; *The southern African diaries of Thomas Leask, 1865-1870*, ed. J.P.R. Wallis, (Chatto and Windus, London, 1954), 86. Leask did not mention Mashayamombe by name, but it was clear that Mashayamombe's strongholds were occupied. Selous, *Hunter's wanderings*, 331, noted Mashayamombe there in 1878 and Crook (Hist. Mss. 412) met him in 1880: NC Scott in 1900 (MLG. DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, PNC Mashonaland North

to NC Hartley, 5 September 1949) stated that it was Chinengundu who fought the Ndebele at Chingondo hill on the Zwezwe and then moved to Chishawasha. Beach, 'Mapondera', 96, notes the Mashayamombe attempted conquest of Zvimba.

258. L 2/2/106, W.L. Armstrong and C.S. Edmondson to A.H.F. Duncan, 29 December 1893.
259. Beach, *War and politics*, 102-113.
260. NSE 2/1/1, Report by NC Hartley for Statistical Department, 31 September 1897; N 1/1/3, NC Hartley to CNC, 11 may 1898; 9/2/1, Half-yearly report of NC Hartley, 31 September 1897.
261. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Maromo, Sumner, 'Notes on the Maromo Chieftainship, c.1968'; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Maromo, 1964.
262. A 1/9/1, J.S. Brabant to RM Victoria, 26 April 1892; UZHD Texts 38, 41 Chikomba-Charter.
263. UZHD Text 52 Chikomba-Charter; N 1/1/3, NC Hartley to CNC, 6 August 1897.
264. N 3/33/8, NC Makoni to CNC, 2 December 1903; Chiketa, 'Mashayamombe people and traditional kingship'; MLG; DDA, Per/5 Ngezi, PNC Mashonaland North to NC Hartley, 5 September 1949, enclosing the 1900 report, which gives the Chikore area as the original home of the Guzho.
265. A. Tracey, 'The family of the Mbira', *Zambezia*, iii, 2, 1974, 1-10. However, early eighteenth century Lower Zambezi pottery in Bvumbura would be much more solid proof.
266. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904; S.E. Morris, 'The origin of some Mashona names of chiefs and places', *NADA*, 10, 1932, 18; C.S. Davies, 'Odds and ends', *NADA*, 17, 1940, 27-8; H.E. Sumner, 'The Kwenda story', *NADA*, ix, 4, 1967, 3-5; D. Mutoredzanwa, 'The life history of Zhakata', *NADA*, x, 1, 1969, 54-56; T.K. Tsodzo, 'The man from there', *NADA*, x, 3, 1971, 26-29; Hist. Mss. SU 2/1/1, H.E. Sumner, 'Notes on the Njanja'; UZHD Texts 37, 44 Chikomba-Charter; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Njanja, 1964.
267. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904 and NC Marandellas to CNC, c.1 January 1904; Morris, 'Origin ', 18; Davies, 'Odds and ends', 27-28.
268. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904; UZHD Text 78 Buhera; Davies, 'Odds and ends', 28.
269. N 9/1/14, Annual report of NC Charter, 1909.
270. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904; Hist. Mss. SU 2/2/2, Summer, 'Notes on the Njanja'.
271. See 270.
272. Mackenzie, 'Njanja', 204; Pereira, 'Mappa', 187.
273. Hist. Mss. SU 2/1/1, Sumner, 'Notes on the Njanja'.
274. *Ibid*. Sumner, who was evidently unaware of N 3/33/8, produced a similar list of houses; UZHD Text 37 Chikomba-Charter.
275. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
276. S.716, Range Diary, maps.
277. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Makumbe and Nerutanga, 1965.
278. See above on Nyashanu.
279. UZHD Text 78 Buhera.
280. Hist. Mss. SU 2/1/1, Sumner, 'Notes on the Njanja'; Sumner, 'Kwenda', 3-5; S.716, Range Diary, maps.
281. See 280; N 3/1/5, NC Charter to CNC, 8 January 1904.
282. S.716, Range Diary, maps; Mutoredzanwa, 'Zhakata', 54-56.

S. 716, Range Diary, maps.

283. Hist. Mss. SU 2/1/1, Sumner, 'Notes on the Njanja'; N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
284. Hist. Mss. SU 2/1/1, Sumner, 'Notes on the Njanja'; Sumner, 'Kwenda', 3-5; Mutoredzanwa, 'Zhakata', 54-56.
285. Hist. Mss. SU 2/1/1, Sumner, 'Notes on the Njanja'; it is unlikely that either Zinyemba or Zhakata's son Mutoredzanwa Chikwari held the Gambiza title, the former because of lack of support for the tradition, the latter because of the *apparent* regularity of the rotating succession in the early generations. Posselt (N 3/33/8) omits Kawondera, and the story of his murder may indicate that he did not reign.
286. A 1/9/1, Lendy to Jameson, 23 June 1892; FN 1/1/2, NC Charter to CNC, 19 February 1895.
287. N 1/1/2, Range Diary, 21-2 September 1896.
288. N1/1/2, Range Diary, 15 September 1896.
289. N 1/1/2, NC Charter to CNC, 3 June and 14 July 1897.
290. N 3/1/5, NC Charter to CNC, 9 July 1904.
291. EC 3/1/2, 2466, 13 November 1908; N 8/1/1, Buhera Chiefs.
292. H.E. Sumner, 'Notes on the Gunguwo Chieftainship', n.d.c.1968.
293. N 9/1/5, Annual report of NC Charter 1 April 1899.
294. N 1/1/2, NC Charter to CNC, 3 August 1897.
295. N 3/1/5, NC Charter to CNC, 8 September 1901, Acting CNC to Chief Secretary to Administrator, 18 September 1901, CNC to NC Charter 30 September 1901, NC Charter to CC 8 October 1901, Acting CNC to Under Secretary to Administrator, 10 March 1902, Acting CNC to Under Secretary to Administrator, 22 April 1902, NC Charter to CNC, 17 November 1902.
296. N 3/1/5, NC Charter to CNC, 16 February 1903.
297.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 3

1. See Chapter Two above.
2. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 227-9.
3. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 78, 284; Chanaiwa ('Nhowe', 124) quotes Abraham as saying that Nhowe was occupied by a Muslim named Sharif before the Nhowe arrived, but Abraham gave no sources for this. I suspect that they were Gaspar de Macedo and António Gomes (Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 394, 398).
4. S. Rudd, 'Excavations at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi, Hill, Theydon, Zimbabwe', *S.Afr. Archae. Bull.*, 39, 1984, 83-105, tries to link Tsindi to the Changamire, but the latest dates are sixteenth century and T. Maggs ('Some recent radiocarbon dates from eastern and southern Africa') *J. Afr. Hist.* xviii, 2, 1977, 180) assessed these as being 'post-ruin' although Rudd ('Excavations', 105) seems to have been clinging to the idea that such sites lasted to the 1830s.
5. S. H. Fynes-Clinton, 'The history of the Msana Chieftainship', *NADA*, x, 460-61; White, 'Urungwe', 46-8.
6. See below on Chikwaka, and above in Chapter Two on Gora.
7. See below on Chinamhora.
8. See below on Seke.
9. See below on Hwata.
10. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyavira, CNC to NC Hartley 27 July 1942, *African Weekly*, 14 May 1958, NC Sinoia to PNC Mashonaland West 9 October 1958, Under Secretary Administration to PNC Mashonaland West 12 October 1959, Minute by D.P. Abraham, 18 October 1962, Tafirenyika Nyabira to Secretary of Internal Affairs 12 March 1969 and 8 February 1970; MLG, DDA, HIS/3/1, 'Report on the tribal structure in protected villages in Chiweshe TTL, 31 October 1974'.
11. See below on Hwata.
12. N 3/33/8, ANC Mrewa to CNC, 13 April 1898; Edwards, 'Wanoe', 13; Chanaiwa, 'Nhowe', 117-9. In Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 79, citing MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mangwende, D. P. Abraham, 'Historical sketch of Tsokoto area, Mangwende Reserve, 31 January 1962', I mentioned a 'Tondova' ruler, but Chanaiwa ('Nhowe', 127) has shown that actually this referred to a ritual competition between the Nhowe and the local Rozvi.
13. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 137-8.
14. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; Parkinson, 'Murambgha', 64.
15. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Musarurwa, 1964.
16. UZHD Texts 35, 40, 43 Chikomba-Charter, 69 Buhera.
17. Parkinson, 'Murambgha', 64-65.
18. N 1/1/2, Range Diary, 3 October 1896.
19. Parkinson, 'Murambgha', 65-66.
20. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Murombedzi, 1964.
21. S.I.Mudenge, 'The role of foreign trade in the Rozvi empire', *J. Afr.Hist.*, xv, 3, 1974, 384.
22. See above on Njanja.
23. N 1/1/2 and S.716, Range Diary, 15 October 1896.
24. N 1/1/2, NC Charter to CNC, 3 August 1897.
25. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chikomba-Charter, Musarurwa, 1964.
26. See references 16-17.
27. BA 2/9/2, Diary of column to Enkeldoorn, 3-9 November 1896 and map.
28. LO 5/4/1, DSO Mashonaland to OC BSAP Mashonaland 14 January 1897.
29. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904.

30. *Ibid.*; UZHD Text 63 Kadoma; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Nyika, 1964.
31. N 1/1/2, Range Diary, 2 October 1896.
32. N 1/1/2, Range Diary, late 1896, *passim*; UZHD Text 63 Kadoma.
33. N 3/24/11, CNC to all NC's, 25 August 1900.
34. N 9/1/8, Annual report of NC Charter, year ending 31 March 1903.
35. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c.1 January 1904.
36. N 3/1/5, NC Charter to CNC 16 December 1905.
37. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyika, Genealogy of 15 April 1958.
38. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyika, general correspondence, 1986.
39. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Benhura, 1964.
40. Munjeri, 'Mudzimuirema', 110.
41. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Benhura, 1964,; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Benhura, NC Gatooma to PNC Mashonaland West, 9 November 1959, Secretary of Native Affairs to PNC Mashonaland West, 12 December 1959, Genealogy of 20 September 1968.
42. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 69, 138.
43. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c.1 January 1904.
44. N 1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury 29 January 1896; N 3/33/8 ANC Mrewa to CNC 13 April 1898, NC Salisbury to CNC 11 December 1903, NC Marandellas to CNC c.1 January 1904; Edwards 'Wanoe', 18 PRO, FO, 179/279, 168/57, Freitas, 'Memorandum ... 12 July 1890'; C E Nowell, *The Rose-Colored Map*, (JICV, Lisbon, 1982), 164-5.
45. N 1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury, 20 January 1896.
46. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
47. *Ibid.*; N 1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury 29, January 1896. Note that the source of this was Rozvi informants.
48. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
49. N 1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury 29 January 1896; Edwards, 'Wanoe', 18. A possible reason for Ndebele cattle being distributed so far north so early might have been fear of Afrikaner raids.
50. *Ibid.*; N 1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury, 29 January 1896; Nowell, *Rose-Colored Map*, 164-5. These versions differ on the details of the process by which Kunzvi became leader.
51. N 1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury 29 January 1896.
52. *Ibid.*; Edwards, 'Wanoe', 18.
53. N/1/1/9, Quarterly report of NC Salisbury, 29 January 1896; Nowell, *Rose-Colored Map*, 164-5.
54. T.O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, 1896-7, (Heinemann, London 1967). 85-6, 199, 217-220, 360-6.
55. N 3/14/5, NC Charter to SN Salisbury, 24 April 1915.
56. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Marondera, Nyandoro, 1965; N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; MLG, DDA, Per/5Nyandoro, NC Marandellas to CNC 17 April and 7 July 1937.
57. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Samuriwo, 'History of the Samuriwo people . . . 1972'; MLG, DDA, Per 5 Rusike, ANC Goromonzi to NC Salisbury, 29 March 1949.
58. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC c.1 January 1904; MLG, DDA Per/5 Samuriwo, 'History of the Samuriwo people . . . 1972'; UZHD Text 104 Marondera.
59. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyandoro, NC Marandellas to CNC, 7 July 1937.
60. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC c.1 January 1904. This, the earliest and most detailed history of Samuriwo, is the basis for most of this section.
61. N 1/1/2, NC Charter to CNC 27 and 29 July 1897.

62. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report Marondera, Samuriwo, 1965.
63. UZHD Text 104 Marondera.
64. N 3/33/8, Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903.
65. *Ibid.* See below on Masembura and Mangwende and in this same reference on Masembura: if Masembura and Nyamweda people were 'more or less mixed up' with each other they were presumably not identical.
66. *Ibid.* MLG,DDA Per/5 Nyamweda, NC Hartley to CNC 20 November 1940, 17 December 1940 and 12 June 1944, DC Hartley to PC Mashonaland South, 3 October 1964; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report Chegutu, Nyamweda, 1964.
67. J. Sawanhu, 'The Waharawa history', *NADA*, 3, 1925, 59; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Seke, genealogy by NC Goromonzi, 19 January 1962; G.E.P. Broderick, 'Some notes', *NADA*, 16, 1939, 110; *Tsamba ye Cina, Rusape Reader No. 2, Masoko e VaMambo ve kare ve nyika ino neNgano Shoma*, (Lovedale, Lovedale, 1934), 44-7.
68. UZHD Texts 81 Buhera, 98-102 Goromonzi.
69. Sawanhu, 'Waharawa', 59; UZHD Texts 98-102 Goromonzi.
70. UZHD Texts 98-9, 102 Goromonzi.
71. Broderick, 'Notes', 107. UZHD Text 102 Goromonzi interprets Seke Mutema's death as the result of an attempt by him to invade the Mutapa state. Nowadays, perhaps influenced by textbooks, informants take a more conventional line on the power of the Rozvi, but the Rozvi war was given as the reason for the failure of Hunguru's house to gain the Seke title, MLG, DDA, Per/5 Seke, Genealogy of NC Goromonzi, 18 October 1942.
72. See Chapter Two on Marange.
73. MLG, DDA Per/5 Seke, Genealogy of NC Goromonzi, 18 October 1942, NC Goromonzi to PNC Mashonaland East, 19 January 1962.
74. Sawanhu, 'Waharawa', 59; Broderick, 'Notes', 107, 110; UZHD Texts 98, 100-1 Goromonzi; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Seke, Savanhu supporter to CNC, 10 December 1943. Nemasanga appears to have become a *mhondoro*.
75. Sawanhu, 'Waharawa' 59; MLG, DDA Per/5 Seke, Genealogy of NC Goromonzi, 29 January 1962.
76. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
77. UZHD Texts 100-1 Goromonzi.
78. See below on Hwata.
79. UZHD Text 102 Goromonzi.
80. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
81. Broderick, 'Notes', 110; MLG, DDA Per/5 Seke, Genealogy of NC Goromonzi, 18 October 1942, DC Goromonzi to PC Mashonaland South, 22 July 1963.
82. MLG, DDA Per/5 Seke, NC Goromonzi to CNC, 13 November 1943, Savanhu supporter to CNC, 10 December 1943, Genealogy of NC Goromonzi, 29 January 1962.
83. MLG, DDA Per/5 Seke, NC Goromonzi to CNC, 23 October 1943 and 13 November 1943, PNC Mashonaland East to Under Secretary Native Affairs, 8 February 1962.
84. LO 5/4/1, Lt. C. Harding to Acting CNC, 3 December 1896.
85. LO 5/4/1, OC Ballyhooley to CNC, 19 January 1897; N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 22 July and 1 August 1897.
86. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; EC 3/1/2, 3206, 6 December 1910.
87. J. H. Seed, 'A glimpse of native history', *NADA*, 14, 1936-7, 8; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 18.
88. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 206,299.
89. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 17-21; A.C. Hodza and G. Fortune, *Shona Praise Poetry*, (Clarendon, Oxford, 1979), 179-185. N. C. Nesbitt in N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury, 11 December 1903, did suggest that the Chinamhora dynasty came from Svosve, but Seed and Chidziwa were

clear that they were separate. Hodza's work, which is completely unreferenced, appears to be a major effort to lump all people of the same *mutupo* into the same lineage.

90. Seed. 'Glimpse', 10.
91. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; Seed, 'Glimpse', 10; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 18-19.
92. Seed, 'Glimpse', 10-12; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 19.
93. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 28. G.A. Taylor, 'The genealogical method of anthropological enquiry', *NADA*, 2, 1924, 41.
94. Seed, 'Glimpse', 13; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 25.
95. Seed, 'Glimpse', 11-12; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 18; N3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903.
96. Seed, 'Glimpse', 7; Broderick, 'Notes', 111; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', genealogy; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Goromonzi, Chinamhora, 1965 and Delin. Report, Bindura, Madzima, 1965.
97. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 19.
98. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 24; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 69,146,153,165.
99. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 21.
100. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 21-2; C Gwati and J.E.S. Turton, 'Native history of Salisbury', *NADA*, 16, 1939, 17-9; MLG, DDA Per/5 Hwata, E.P. Meaker,'Hwata Chieftainship', late 1940s.
101. Seed, 'Glimpse', 7; Broderick, 'Notes', 111.
102. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 23-5.
103. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 24,26.
104. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 29.
105. Seed, 'Glimpse', Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', *passim.*
106. Seed makes him a son who did not succeed, Broderick a son who did succeed and Chidziwa a son who predeceased Derere.
107. Seed and Broderick agree on this, Chidziwa does not – but Chidziwa tends to cut out rivals to Mhembere house anyway.
108. See 107.
109. Again, Chidziwa is vague on this point.
110. Pereira, 'Mappa', 187.
111. See Seed, Broderick and Chidziwa, *passim.*
112. Seed and Chidziwa, *passim.*
113. The Gutu equivalent is *gumbo/madyirapasi.*
114. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Musana NC Bindura to PNC Mashonalnd East, 22 May 1961.
115. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Musana, DC Bindura to Secretary for Internal Affairs, 11 June 1974.
116. Fynes-Clinton, 'Msana', 60-63. Notes compiled by H.E. Sumner are, unfortunately, not in the Harare Per/5.
117. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Musana, Genealogy of 29 June 1982.
118. Fynes-Clinton, 'Msana', 61; N J Maruta 'The coming of the Mbire clan to southern Mashonaland'; I.K. Katoke, *The Karagwe Kingdom*, (EAPH, Nairobi, 175), 47-52.
119. The Chiveso house was later under Masembura, probably because of colonial district borders.
120. White, 'Urungwe', 46-47.
121. See Chapter Four on Gutu and the Rufura. Musana traditions tended to play down the Gutu link until the 1970s.
122. MLG, DDA Per/5 Musana, NC Bindura to PNC Mashonaland East, 22 May 1961, Memorandum of 14 May 1973; DC Bindura to Secretary of Internal Affairs 11 June 1974, DC Bindura

to PNC Mashonaland Central, 18 October 1977, Appendix to minute of DC Bindura 23 November 1977, Genealogy of 29 June 1982; N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; Fynes-Clinton, 'Msana', 60-3.

123. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 254.
124. See Chapter Two above on Gora.
125. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chikwaka, ANC Goromonzi to NC Salisbury, 20 February 1932; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Goromonzi, Chikwaka, 1965 amended.
126. *Ibid.*, MLG, DDA, Per/5Chikwaka, ANC Goromonzi to NC Salisbury, 20 February 1932.
127. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chikwaka, DC Goromonzi to PC Mashonaland East, 11 September 1980.
128. N 3/33/8, ANC Mrewa to CNC, 13 April 1898; Edwards, 'Wanoe', 13.
129. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903.
130. Chanaiwa, 'Nhowe', 116-7.
131. See below on Mangwende.
132. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903.
133. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 28-9; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Masembura, ANC Bindura to NC Mazoe, 14 February 1941, R.C. Makumisa to ANC Bindura, 13 January 1941, NC Mazoe to CNC, 15 February 1941.
134. See Section ii of this Chapter.
135. See above on Musana.
136. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 28, 31.
137. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903; the 1956 and 1978 genealogies put Chiwara under Gwabada house, but the 1982 tree puts him under Chirowodza. Note that this 1982 tree was compiled by the same research team that produced a similar effect in Musana's tree. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Masembura PNC to Secretary to Administration, 27 November 1956, DC Bindura to PC Mashonaland Central, 27 November 1978, Genealogy of 16 October 1982.
138. N 8/1/1, Goromonzi Chiefs, Masembura.
139. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903.
140. EC 3/1/2, 3652, 30 January 1912; J.D. White, 'Chiefs and Headmen'. White gives no references, but his work is very reliable.
141. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, NC Goromonzi to CNC, 8 February 1926.
142. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, Memorandum of NC Goromonzi, 26 April 1946.
143. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, NC Goromonzi to NC Marandellas, 4 September 1942.
144. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, Memorandum of ANC Goromonzi, 17 October 1946.
145. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, ANC Goromonzi to NC Salisbury, 14 October 1947, NC Goromonzi to PNC Mashonaland North, 29 October 1949 and 1 June 1950, Notes from Goromonzi office on 1950 election.
146. *Ibid.*
147. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, DC Goromonzi to PNC Mashonaland East, 29 July 1975 and 5 May 1977.
148. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, DC Goromonzi to PC Mashonaland East, 21 January 1981 and 12 May 1981.
149. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 78, 204.
150. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903.
151. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, ANC Goromonzi to PNC Mashonaland North, 29 October 1949.
152. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, NC Goromonzi to PNC Mashonaland North, 29 October 1949.
153. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 147.
154. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, NC Goromonzi to PNC, 1 June 1950.

155. *Ibid.*
156. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, ANC Goromonzi to NC Salisbury, 29 March 1949. (Note: some of the documents in this file have been shifted around between when I first read them in the 1970s and 1988).
157. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 332-6.
158. S. 401, 261, Regina *vs*. Masenda, Rusike and Mukuvaza, 8 February 1898, 13 January 1898.
159. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, Memorandum of ANC Goromonzi, 29 October 1949.
160. *Ibid*., and NC Goromonzi to PNC of same date.
161. See 156.
162. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rusike, Memorandum of NC Goromonzi, 2 May 1952.
163. N 3/33/8, ANC Mrewa to CNC, 13 April 1896.
164. Bocarro, 'Decade . . .'. 268, 319.
165. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report. Mrewa, Mangwende, 1965.
166. Chanaiwa, 'Nhowe', 109-110.
167. D.N. Beach, 'Re-reading traditional history'.
168. Beach, '*NADA* and Mafohla', 1-11.
169. See Chapter Six below.
170. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mangwende, Abraham, 'Tsokoto', 1962.
171. N3/33/8, ANC Mrewa to CNC, 13 April 1898; Edwards, 'Wanoe', 13-4; Chanaiwa, 'Nhowe', 115-7.
172. N 3/33/8, ANC Mrewa to CNC, 13 April 1898; Edwards, 'Wanoe', 13-4; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mangwende, Abraham, 'Tsokoto', 1962; Beach, 'Re-reading'.
173. *The journals of Carl Mauch, his travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, 1869-1872*, ed. E. E. Burke, (National Archives, Salisbury, 1969), 233, notes a drought 1869-71 in the area.
174. Beach, 'Re-reading', concentrated on the succession as perceived at various times rather than the history as such. Edwards (N 3/33/8, ANC Mrewa to CNC, 13 April 1898 *and* 'Wanoe') produced two versions of nineteenth century history. The first, collected from an old man who kept stressing the ancestry of the then Mangwende, Mungati II, was confused in several ways, apparently mixing up Gatsi I and Gatsi II, backtracking and bringing in Hundungu the father of Mungati II at every opportunity. Edwards corrected only some of the errors in the actual succession in 'Wanoe', but he did arrive at a more probable chronology. Using known historical dates we get *three* successions of reigns and events from the *two* sources.

	1898 Version	1926 Version
1833-5 Ngoni raid	Gatsi I	Gatsi II
1860s Ndebele raid	Dembetembe	
	Gatsi II	
1860s Gaza raid	Hundungu *or* Motani	Motani
	Motani *or* Hundungu	Hundungu
	Katerere	Katerere
1880s Sousa	Mungati II	Mungati II

The 1926 version is more probable than the 1898 one because the latter crams too many rulers into the 1860s. See also on Mangwende history Chanaiwa, 'Nhowe', *passim*, and J. H. Holleman, *Chief Council and Commissioner*, (Royal VanGorcum, Assem, 1969).

175. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mutoko, Chimoyo, Mkota, 1965.
176. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Guruve, Chipuriro, 1965.
177. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 131-144.

178. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nembire, NC Darwin to PNC Salisbury, 10 April 1946; Bourdillon, 'Darwin'. 104-5.
179. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nembire, NC Darwin to PNC Salisbury, 25 March 1947; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Darwin, Nembire, 1965.
180. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; F.W.T. Posselt, 'The Banyemba legend and ceremony', *NADA*, 2, 1924, 11; UZHD Text 104 Marondera.
181. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c.1 January 1904; UZHD Text 108 Hwedza.
182. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c.1 January 1904; F.W.T. Posselt, *A survey of the native tribes of Southern Rhodesia*, (Government Printer, Salisbury, 1927), 24; Maruta, 'Mbire', 1-2; UZHD Text 108 Hwedza.
182. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Moçambique, Caixa 17, Anonymous, 'Descripção Corográfica do reino de Manhica, seus custumes e leis', c. 1794.
184. Pereira, 'Mappa', 187.
185. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c.1 January 1904.
186. UZHD Texts 105, 108 Hwedza; Maruta, 'Mbire', 3; F.W.T. Posselt, 'Marondera, *NADA*, 5, 1927, 47-8.
187. UZHD Text 105 Hwedza ; Maruta, 'Mbire', 4.
188. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
189. F.W.T. Posselt, 'Marondera', 48; UZHD Text 108 Hwedza; Maruta, 'Mbire', 4.
190. F.W.T. Posselt, 'Marondera', 48.
191. H.M.T. Meade, 'An arboreal place of worship', *NADA*, 4, 1926, 106; Maruta, 'Mbire', 3.
192. But see reference 202 below.
193. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; UZHD Text 108 Hwedza.
194. *Gold and the gospel*, 71-8.
195. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; F.W.T. Posselt, 'The curse of Chigodoro', *NADA*, 6 1928, 20-3.
196. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; F.W.T. Posselt, 'Raid', 102-3; A 1/9/1 Lendy to Jameson, 23 June 1892; F.W.T. Posselt, *Native Tribes*, 25.
197. Pereira, 'Mappa', 187; Mackenzie, 'Njanja', 203, 210.
198. *Carl Mauch*, 224.
199. *Gold and the Gospel*, 73.
200. *Ibid.*
201. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
202. *Carl Mauch*, 224-5.
203. F.W.T. Posselt, 'Raid', 102-3.
204. *Gold and the gospel*, 71.
205. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c.1 January 1904.
206. N 8/1/1, Marandellas and Wedza Chiefs; EC 3/1/1, 1193, 25 March 1904.
207. Hodza and Fortune, *Shona Praise Poetry*, 179-185.
208. N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, 11 December 1903.
209. N 3/33/8, Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
210. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Marondera, Mudzimuirema, 1965; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mudzimuirema, Interview with Chief Mudzimuirema, 14-15 February 1967; UZHD Text 103 Marondera.
211. *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 334.
212. Munjeri, 'Mudzimuirema', 110-16.
213. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mudzimuirema, NC Marandellas to CNC, 19 September 1928; Munjeri, 'Mudzimuirema', genealogy.
214. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; F.W.T. Posselt, 'Banyemba', 11-3;

MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chihota, NC Marandellas to CNC, 16 December 1926 and 1 October 1943.

215. *Gold and the gospel*, 69.
216. PRO, FO 179/279, 168/57, Freitas, 'Memorandum . . .' 12 July 1890.
217. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 69, 154; White, 'Urungwe', 56-7. This tentatively assumes a link between Mushowe and Keritayi in Gwima.
218. See Chapter Four below.
219. UZHD Text 101 Goromonzi.
220. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Marandellas, Nenguwo, 1965; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nenguwo Genealogy of 20 March 1956 and NC Marandellas to CNC 26 April 1901.
221. Gwati and Turton, 'Native History', 17-9; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 21-2; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftaincy', 1940's, UZHD Text 81 Buhera.
222. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 21-2.
223. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship', 1940s Genealogy of 17 March 1936, NC Mazoe to CNC, 27 March 1936, NC Mazoe to CNC Mashonaland East, 26 January 1959.
224. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship', 1940s.
225. Gwati and Turton, 'Native History', 19; Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 22; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship', 1940's.
226. N 9/1/4, Annual report of NC Mazoe, year ending 31 March 1898.
227. MLG, DDA, HIS/3/1, 'Report on the tribal structure in protected villages in Chiweshe TTL, 31 October 1974'.
228. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyavira, Under Secretary of Administration to PNC Mashonaland West, 12 October 1959, Minute of D.P. Abraham, 18 October 1962; Gwati and Turton, 'Native History', 17; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship', 1940s: MLG, DDA, HIS/3/1, 'Protected villages', 31 October 1974.
229. N 9/1/4, Annual Report of NC Mazoe, year ending 31 March 1898; Beach, 'Mapondera', 95.
230. Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 21-22.
231. Pereira, 'Mappa', 187.
232. *Carl Mauch*, 220; *Thomas Baines*, ii, 472-5; PRO, CO 417 (14) South Africa 1887, ii, Mandy to Jones, 8 February 1887, 46. I am indebted to Prof. N. Bhebe for this last reference.
233. 'Mziki' (A.A. Campbell), *Mlimo*, (Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, 1926), 139; *Thomas Baines*, ii, 498; ;PRO, CO 417 (14) South Africa 1887, ii, Mandy to Jones, 8 February 1887, 46.
234. PRO, FO 179/279, 169/57, Freitas, 'Memorandum…' 12 July 1890; N9/1/4, Annual Report of NC Mazoe year ending 31 March 1898; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship', 1940s.
235. Letters in the Anglican Mission Journal *Mashonaland Quarterly* show no acknowledged Hwata by 1892.
236. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata Genealogy of 27 March 1936.
237. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, NC Mazoe to CNC, 27 March 1936; N 9/1/4, Annual Report of NC Mazoe, year ending 31 March 1898.
238. S.401,252, Evidence of Gutsa, 12 January 1898; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Hwata, Meaker, 'Hwata Chieftainship', 1940s, NC Mazoe to CNC 27 March 1936, NC Concession to PNC Mashonaland East 9 April 1959; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mazoe, Nehanda, 1967;
N 9/1/4, Annual Report of NC Mazoe year ending 31 March 1898. Chiweshe *shava's* records in Per/5 Chiweshe are straight records of succession, and are summarized in the genealogy.
239. Chapter Seven of *Shona and Zimbabwe*.
240. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 265-270.

241. However, Cobbing, 'Ndebele', 124, confuses Mavudzi *dziva* with Mavudzi *shava*, the former being *hiya*. See Chapter Four.
242. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 268.
243. See this and preceding Chapter.
244. White, 'Chiefs and Headmen', Tandi.
245. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report Makoni, Chiduku, 1965.
246. Beach, 'Rozvi', 19; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chingombe muRozvi, NC Buhera to PNC Midlands, 15 April 1958, Genealogy of 1980s, n.d.
247. *Gold and the gospel*, 71, 73-4.
248. A 1/9/1, Lendy to Jameson, 23 June 1892.
249. S.401, 379, Regina *vs* Chikwava and Matowa, 22 November 1898.
250. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rozani, NC Marandellas to SN Salisbury, 27 January 1923; E.M. Lloyd and S. Muhlanga, 'Mbava', *NADA*, 3, 1925, 62-4 and 'Mbava and Others', *NADA*, 4, 1926, 91-9; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rozani, NC Gutu to SN Victoria 15 February 1923.
251. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rozani, NC Marandellas to CNC, 29 November 1927, ANC Wedza to NC Marandellas, 15 November 1943.
252. *Ibid.*
253. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rozani, ANC Wedza, Notes on Rozani, 2 March 1948.
254. *Ibid.*
255. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rozani, NC Wedza to PNC Mashonaland East 3 August 1955 and 5 September 1957, DC Wedza to PC Mashonaland East 14 July 1969 and 28 December 1970 and following correspondence.
256. 'Dyembeu' means, in effect, any Changamire, 'Torwa' refers to the pre-1680s rulers of the south and *may* have been introduced to the family histories by Muhlanga in the 1920s if he had read Theal's general histories. If not, then this is apparently the only Rozvi reference to this ancient dynasty.
257. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Lozani, 1965,; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Rozani, NC Gutu to SN Victoria, 15 February 1923.
258. See 256 above and Chapter Five below.
259. See Chapter Two above on Neuso and Devera and Chapter Five below on Goronga.
260. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chiduku, NC Rusape to CNC 21 April, 8 May and 26 May 1937, DC Rusape to PC Manicaland 14 and 16 August 1969, 17 July 1970 and 1 December 1976; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Makoni, Chiduku, 1965.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 4

1. R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', *passim.*
2. J.H. Bannerman, 'Hlengweni: the history of the Hlengwe of the Lower Save and Lundi rivers from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century', *Zimbabwean History*, 12, 1981 1-45.
3. Cobbing, 'Ndebele under the Khumalos', *passim.*
4. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 205-8.
5. R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', 21.
6. *Ibid.*, 184-198.
7. K.R.Robinson, *Khami Ruins*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1959), 162.
8. Aquina, 'Victoria', 8.
9. R. Mtetwa 'Duma', 184-198.
10. MLG, DDA, Per/Masvingo/Nemanwa, PNC Victoria to CNC 20 January 1944.
11. See genealogies.
12. D.K. Parkinson, 'Chief Chibi: 1890', *Rhodesiana*, 15, 1966, 64: Beach, *War and Politics*, 50, 59.
13. D 3/1/1. Queen vs. Robert Duncan, 3 February 1893.
14. NVC 1/1/1 NC Chibi to CNC 11 September and 17 October 1897.
15. Chapter 3 above.
16. *Carl Mauch*, 138.
17. R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', 20, 22, 68.
18. Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 47-9. Note that Aquina's informants gave two versions of the origin of the *mutadza* praise-name, one from the eighteenth century and one from the 1890s.
19. N 3/4/1, NC Chilimanzi to SN Victoria 30 September 1914.
20. Sicard, 'Origins . . .8', 5-25; H. von Sicard, 'Die Rembetu', *Anthropos*, 45, 1950, 205.
21. Sicard, 'Origins . . .8', 5-25; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chingoma, Genealogy and notes, 5 January 1960 and 17 November 1970, PC Midlands to SIA 22 January 1971.
22. As the entries in the *Carl Mauch* diaries show, Mauch – the first literate traveller in the southern plateau whose works have survived – used several terms for the southern Shona. Like most travellers approaching across the south-east lowveld, he first called them 'Banyai', but it seems clear that this was a term used by the lowveld people and those living south of the Limpopo, not by the southerners themselves, because after a short time he stopped using the term. After that, he used the term 'Makalaka' which he had previously used for the south-western Kalanga. This in itself does not prove that the southerners called themselves 'Karanga' at this time, but his map (p. 138) shows them as 'Makaranka *oder* (or) Makalaka', indicating that he was aware of the difference in dialect and that the southerners used the word.
23. This term must not be confused with Sicard's 'southern Rozvi', who were in fact the Changamire Rozvi as seen through the partly fabricated traditions of the Gumunyu faction. See Chapter 5 below.
24. Sicard, 'Origins . . .1', 93-5; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Bankwe, NC Belingwe to CNC 18 October 1939, NC Belingwe to PNC Gwelo 11 September 1956, Memorandum 28 February 1975; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Bankwe, 1965.
25. Sicard, 'Origins . . .4', 97-9; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chizungu, DC Belingwe to PC Midlands 25 May 1967, 28 October 1968 and 16 March 1971; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report Mberengwa, Chizungu, 1965. If the claim that Chizungu representatives stayed with the Changamire is true, it can hardly have applied to the individual named (Sigwanca) as he would have been too young. Descended from the Torwa population or not, the Chizungu dynasty cannot be dated any earlier than the mid-eighteenth century.
26. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mwenezi, Murove, 1967.
27. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC, 9 February 1904; H. Franklin, 'The conspiracy of the five sons' *NADA*, i, 5, 1927 45-7; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Shindi, 1965.

28. Sicard, 'Origins . . .10', 64-71; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyamhondo, DC Belingwe to PC Midlands, 25 June 1968; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report Mberengwa, Nyamhondo, 1965; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mwenezi, Mawarire, 1967; S. 401, No.306, Evidence of 'Umguiba', 29 October 1897.
29. Sicard, 'Origins . . .11', 77-84; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Negove, DC Belingwe to PNC Matabeleland South 2 July 1963.
30. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mwenezi, Negari, 1967.
31. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mtubayedze/Mutevaidze Genealogies of 30 October 1967 and May 1981; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report Mberengwa, Mtubayedzi, 1965; Sicard, 'Origins . . .3', 96-7; NB 6/1/1 NC Belingwe to CNC Bulawayo 31 March 1898.
32. Sicard, 'Origins . . .5', 99; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Chizungu, 1965.
33. See Chapter Two above.
34. *Ibid.*
35. N 3/33/8 Acting NC Gutu to CNC 5 December 1903; White; 'Chiefs and Headmen', notes that the Nesongano dynasty held a Headmanship under Gutu up to 1919 and then a Chieftainship for one reign up to 1949 after which the title was abolished entirely. No file on Nesongano could be located in MLG, DDA, Head Office in 1988-9.
36. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Chirisa, 1965; MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/Victoria/Gurajena, NC Victoria to PNC Mashonaland South 19 February 1960 and DC Victoria to PC Victoria 16 November 1966. There is a claim made by the Gurajena and Nemarundwe groups, summed up in the 'Zimuto' section of the 1965 Delineation Report, to the effect that until the coming of colonial rule and the creation of reserves the Zimuto dynasty was confined to the lands west of the Mshagashe-Makoholi, Nemarundwe and Gurajena being independent rulers to the east of these rivers. Zimuto is said to have become influential with the Rhodesians so that, when he lost his land to the farmers and was moved into the present Zimuto communal area, he was made Chief over the other two who were forced to share their lands with him. Such stories are not uncommon among Shona traditions, and in some cases they are based on fact, but in this case it can be shown that the allegations are untrue. The map of *Carl Mauch*, 138, and references in the diaries, show that the whole area from the Shashe to the Pokoteke, and up to the Munyambi headwaters, was under Zimuto in the early 1870s. The names 'Zimuto', 'Govera' and 'Mandu' are clearly marked, and the Nyamandi house of Zimuto actually occupied Mazambara hill. By 1893 Zimuto houses such as Makamure and Madzivire were within eight kilometres of Fort Victoria (S. Glass, *The Matabele War*, Longman, London, 1966, 114) and in the early 1900s the first reserves put 'Gurajena' right up against the Shashe, 'Nemarundwe' between the Makoholi and the Pioneer Road (and later railway) and 'Zimuto' east of the road. N 3/24/34 Map by A. Drew 3 February 1900, and 'Reserve Report'; 10 December 1900; L 2/2/117/46 SN Victoria to CNC 19 October 1908). On the other hand, for a short time NC Drew did refer to Gurajena and Nemarundwe as 'Chiefs' before making them 'Sub-Chiefs' under Zimuto (N 1/2/1 CNC to NC Victoria 12 July 1900 and NC Victoria to CNC 12 July 1900). Thus the claim in the 1960s that Gurajena occupied Mazambara before Zimuto might be an invention to reinforce the Gurajena claim to equality with Zimuto.
37. N 3/33/8, NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Madzivire, Gororo, 1965.
38. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Gurajena, Nemarundwe, Zimuto, 1965, but see reference 36 above.
39. UZHD Texts 7a, 7L Chirumanzu; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Serima, Genealogy of 25 July 1970.
40. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Wozhere, 1966.
41. Chapter Three above.

42. Chapter Two above.
43. *Ibid.*
44. See Section iv of this Chapter and F. Mashasha, 'The early history of the Gutu Chiefdom', University of Rhodesia History Department Research Seminar paper, 1979. Dr Mashasha resumed at the end of the 1970s the research on Gutu that he had begun at the beginning of the decade. (See reference 36 to Chapter One above). This unpublished paper and two others by the same author in the same Research Seminar series in 1979 ('The Gutu Chiefdom 1850 to 1900' and 'J.H. Williams: first NC of Gutu',) were written four years *after* the first drafts of this chapter and Dr Mashasha was able to use both these first drafts of 1975-6 and my doctoral dissertation of 1971. Hoping that he would eventually be able to publish his work on Gutu, I made no attempt to summarise his very detailed work when I began to revise these chapters for publication, but after the news of his tragic death arrived I considered it necessary to combine elements of his work with further research of my own. Francis Mashasha's unpublished papers remain the most detailed studies of Gutu history so far. The sequence of research thus goes as follows: 1971, Beach dissertation; 1971, early research by Mashasha; 1975-6, Beach first drafts of 'Shona Dynastic Histories'; 1979, Mashasha's three Gutu papers; 1988-9, Beach's draft of *A Zimbabwean Past*, with each stage of research borrowing from and adding to its predecessor.
45. UZHD Text 10 Chirumanzu, and section below on Chirimuhanzu.
46. UZHD Text 12g Gutu.
47. N 3/33/8 Acting NC Gutu to CNC 5 December 1903 makes Chisvino the eldest of the brothers as well as the founder of the Gutu dynasty, but no other source supports this.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Van der Merwe, 'Gutu', 73; MLG, DDA, Ndanga, Ndanga, 1964.
50. White, 'Esitshebeni', 55-6.
51. N 3/33/8 Acting NC Gutu to CNC 5 December 1903.
52. Morris, 'Origin', 19; van der Merwe, 'Gutu', 73; Daneel, *Old and new*, i, 24.
53. N 9/1/6, NC Gutu to CNC 31 March 1900.
54. Van der Merwe, 'Gutu', 72-3. This article's chronology is jumbled, but the episode referred to is shown to precede the arrival of the Rozvi in Bikita.
55. UZHD Texts, 12a, 12d Gutu.
56. Hist. Mss. BE 2/1/1/, C. Beuster, 'Diary of the Tshewase station, 27 July 1892'.
57. See Chapter Two above.
58. Argief van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Cape Town, S.P. Helm, 'Report...31 July 1890'.
59. UZHD Texts 12g Gutu.
60. Beach, *War and Politics*, 27.
61. N 9/1/6, NC Gutu to CNC 31 March 1900; UZHD Text 85, Buhera.
62. N 3/33/8, NC Melsetter to CNC 23 December 1903; J. Young, 'The legendary history of the Hodi and Ngorima chiefs,' *NADA*, x, 2, 1970, 55.
63. CT 1/5/2, R.G. Nicholson to F. Rutherfoord Harris, 7 November 1890; LO 5/2/3, E.G. Pennefather to F. Rutherfoord Harris, 13 August 1890.
64. Mashasha, 'Gutu ... 1850-1900', *passim.*
65. See Genealogy.
66. Mashasha, *op.cit;* MLG, DDA, Per/5 Gutu, NC Gutu to SN Victoria 29 September 1917; SN Victoria to CNC 23 March 1913, NC Gutu to SN Victoria 26 March 1913, CNC to Secretary to Administrator 24 July 1919, NC Gutu to SN Victoria 30 August 1928, NC Gutu to PNC Fort Victoria 31 December 1943, NC Gutu to PNC Fort Victoria 1 August 1947.
67. See Chapter Two above, and this chapter.

68. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Nerutanga and Maburutse, 1965; Beach, *War and Politics*, 87.
69. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC 1 January 1904.
70. UZHD Texts 53, 55, 57 62 Chegutu; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Mashayamombe, Chivero, 1964.
71. N 9/1/4, NC, Mazoe to CNC 31 March 1898; N 3/33/8, NC Salisbury to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
72. Beach, 'Mapondera', 90.
73. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Kadoma, Neuso, 1966.
74. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Makonde, Nemakonde, 1965.
75. N 3/33/8 ANC Mrewa to CNC 13 April 1898.
76. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Gweru, Gambiza, 1965.
77. A 3/18/28 NC Gwelo to CNC, 16 February 1906.
78. Manuel da Costa, 'Termo de Adjunto que se fezda recepção dos Enviados do Regulo Changamira, Vila de Zumbo, 13 Marco 1769, *Moçambique*, 84, 1955, 92.
79. Mudenge, 'Rozvi and Zumbo,' 144.
80. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Gweru, Gambiza, 1965.
81. A 3/18/28 NC Gwelo to CNC, 16 February 1906; the name 'Nyandoro' occurs in the Nerutanga dynasty as the first ancestor: MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Nerutanga, 1965.
82. White, 'Esitshebeni', 115-6. Unless otherwise indicated all the information on the Ngowa below relies upon pp. 111-158 of this work.
83. White, 'Esitshebeni', 121.
84. In particular, in 1895-6 they staved off a Mhari threat to their land by supplying the local NC, M. E. Weale, with a wife: MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Makonese; UZHD Texts 16, 18, 21 Chivi; NVC 1/1/1 NC Chivi to NC Chilimanzi 14 February 1897; N 9/1/1/ NC Chilimanzi, Chibi and M'Sipambie to CNC Annual Report 1895; the last report strongly implies that Musipambi was equal to Chivi.
85. White, 'Esitshebeni', 54-5. Once again, unless otherwise stated, all the information on the *shiri* of Zvishavane-Shurugwi comes from pp. 42-110 of Mr White's painstaking work.
86. White, 'Esitshebeni', 58.
87. *Ibid*, 59. The point at issue here is whether it was Sakunara or simply his descendants who lived at Ngorobwe.
88. *Ibid.*, 62.
89. *Ibid.*, 86-7; A 3/18/28 NC Selukwe to CNC 19 May 1906; MLG, DDA. Delin. Report, Shurugwi, Ndanga, 1963.
90. White, 'Esitshebeni', 58-9.
91. *Ibid.*, 60-1.
92. *Ibid.*, 61-2.
93. *Ibid.*, 62-66; Beach, *War and Politics*, 25.
94. N 3/33/8 NC Chivi to CNC 9 February 1904 simply names 'Mbire'; H. Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', *NADA*, 6, 1928, 80, L.F. Seymour, 'The tradition of the Vamare of Chibi', *NADA*, 17, 1940, 73, J.H. Tagwireyi, 'Origin of the VaMari clan', *NADA*, 27, 1950, 63 and UZHD Text 5 Chibi all name Mutoko as the Mhari place of origin, and the Nenguwo dynasty of Marondera district claims to have broken away from the main Mhari migration: MLG, DDA, Delin. report, Marondera, Nenguwo, 1965, MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nenguwo, genealogy of 20 March 1956 and Acting NC Marandellas to CNC 25 April 1901.
95. Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 80, says that the Mhari changed from a *gumbo* totem to *ngonya* and from *ngonya* to *shumba*. For Charles Bullock, anything that supported his idea that all totems originated in sexual symbols was to be accepted, and he suggested that the Mhari came from Zvimba, (*Mashona*, 14). There *is* a tradition among the Serima group that they are connected

with the Mhari, but the holder of this tradition was himself a Mhari who seems to have done a little historical research of his own (UZHD Text 7e Chirimhanzu). Mhari traditions as a whole do not reflect any Zvimba origin.

96. Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 80; Seymour, 'VaMare', 74; Tagwireyi, 'Vamari', 63; N 3/33/8 NC Chivi to CNC 9 February 1904.
97. Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 80; Seymour, 'VaMare', 73; Tagwireyi, 'Vamari', 63.
98. The sources in reference 96 all differ on the sequence of names of early Chivi rulers and are not agreed as to whether it was Mudzungairi's father or grandfather who arrived in the area.
99. Such as Mudzungairi's father-in law Mudarikwa of the *zhou* totem: UZHD Text 25, Chivi.
100. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 80; Tagwireyi, 'Vamari', 64; Seymour, 'VaMare', 74.
101. *Ibid.*, see Section vi. above on the Ngowa.
102. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 80; NB 1/1/3 NC Selukwe to CNC 13 February 1898; A 3/18/28 NC Selukwe to CNC 19 May 1905.
103. N 9/4/3 NC Chibi to CNC 3 June 1899.
104. N 3/33/8 NC TO CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 81; A 3/18/28 NC Selukwe to CNC 19 May 1905.
105. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 81.
106. A 3/18/28 NC Selukwe to CNC 19 May 1905.
107. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 81.
108. See Section vi. above.
109. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Shurugwi, Mazivisa, 1963; UZHD Text 10L Shurugwi.
110. UZHD Texts 10j, 10L, 10o Shurugwi.
111. UZHD Texts 10L, 10o Shurugwi; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Shurugwi, Nhema, 1963.
112. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC c.1 January 1904, NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 82.
113. See refernce 111 above and N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904, Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 82.
114. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 239-40.
115. N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC c. 1 January 1904; F W T Posselt, *Mambo and his court*, (Argus, Salisbury, 1923), 4-5; the first version simply refers to 'Chibi's people', but the second refers to the 'Batonka' (Rozvi terminology for non-Rozvi Shona, *tonga*) of Nhema and Banga.
116. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; UZHD Text 10n Shurugwi.
117. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; UZHD Text 5 Chivi adds that this was after a clash with Banga's relative Bere in the Turwi-Shashe bend area.
118. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; UZHD Text 5 Chibi.
119. See Section vi. above.
120. *Ibid.*
121. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe,' 82.
122. Beach, *War and Politics*, 25.
123. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904, writes that Zengeya handed over Nyaningwe, but Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 82, Seymour, 'VaMare', 75 and UZHD Text 17 Chivi refer to the clash with Nechivavarire.
124. See Section vi. above.
125. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Parkinson, 'Chief Chibi', 64-5.
126. UZHD Texts 16, 21 Chivi.
127. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904. The dating of Tavengerweyi's death is discussed at length by White ('Esitshebeni', 228-331). A factor making it probable that it occurred at the end of the 1850s is that his youngest son but two died in 1927.

128. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February and Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 83, both refer to this but confuse it with the visit of the missionary F. Coillard in 1877. See also Seymour, 'VaMare', 76 and MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Musuvugwa, 1965.
129. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 84.
130. *Ibid.*; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Musuvugwa, 1965; UZHD Text 13 Chivi. The story that Makonese opposed his father is used to explain the separate entity of the Makonese house today: normally it would have formed part of Matsweru house. The idea that a son could betray his father was not considered unlikely by the Mhari, whether specific instances of this were true or not: Seymour, 'VaMare', 76.
131. Masunda I was obviously dead by 1871-2, since the Masunda of that time was a young man: *Carl Mauch*, 159.
132. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin 'Nyaningwe', 84.
133. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, 1965.
134. In writing papers up to 1973 I was led by Coillard's stress on Madhlangove as the Mhari leader in the Nyaningwe area to believe that Mazorodze must have been already captured by September 1877 and that the single reference to an actual meeting with 'Chivi' referred to a medium of a *mudzimu*: F. Coillard, *On the threshold of Central Africa*, (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1897) 32. This melodramatic incident referred to in the book is not mentioned in any contemporary letter or diary. Dr. Julian Cobbing's researches showed that the capture *and* death of Mazorodze were in 1879.
135. Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 84; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Makamure, 1965. Tarwireyi even gained status equivalent to that of his uncles under colonial rule.
136. Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 83-4.
137. Beach, *War and Politics*, 53.
138. Hist. Mss. TH 2/1/1/, Diary entry for 1 December 1879; *Gubuluwayo and beyond*, e.d. M. Gelfand, (Geoffrey Chapman, London 1968), 116-122; N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 84-5.
139. F 4/1/1 Secretary to the Native Department to Statist, 21 September 1895; Hist. Mss. MA 1/1/1-2, Diary entry for 30 April 1890; Hist. Mss. GR 6/1/1, M.D. Graham to his mother, 3 August 1890; N 9/1/1, NC Chibi to CNC Annual Report, 1895; Hist. Mss. BE 2/1/1, Diary of Tshewase Station, 19 July 1892.
140. That some reports, e.g. LO 5/2/3, *Cape Times* correspondent to *Cape Times*, 17 August 1890; use the death of Mazorodze for these ends can be understood in the light of the importance of Chivi's status at that time: Beach, *War and Politics*, 45-67; That S. Marks, 'Southern Africa 1867-1886', in *Cambridge History of Africa*, vi, eds. R. Oliver and G. N. Sanderson, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), 411, follows the lead of Dr. Cobbing in deciding that Nyaningwe in 1879 was an Ndebele victory can perhaps be partly explained by the fact that both writers originally wrote about Nguni peoples. If the Mhari (and not Rozvi as Prof. Marks notes) *had* been Nguni then the capture and killing of the ruler would have been a crippling blow. Among the much looser political structure of the southern Shona, the loss of the ruler did not matter so much, but the defence of the stronghold did. As Nyaningwe has moved from utter obscurity in 1970 to the pages of a major collection in 1985, we might as well keep the facts as straight as possible.
141. Hist. Mss. BE 2/1/1, Diary of Supt. Knothe, 15 August 1888. On this occasion a raiding party of 44 men went to Nyaningwe to demand a share of cattle stolen by the Mhari, apparently from other Shona. No fight seems to have taken place, but in 1892 a big Ndebele raid over much of the southern plateau was resisted in Chivi: Beach, *War and Politics*, 36. M.E. Weale wrote that after the 1879 war the Ndebele 'left Tshibi almost entirely alone not daring to fight them in their hills which were well fortified with stone walls and confining themselves to

trapping them and catching them in their gardens when they gave them no mercy whatever.' N 9/1/1 Annual Report of NC Chibi 1895.

142. Beach, *War and Politics*, 36-8.
143. *Ibid.* 25.
144. NB 1/1/3 NC Selukwe to CNC 29 January 1898.
145. NB 1/1/3 NC Selukwe to CNC 13 February 1898.
146. UZHD Text 10L Shurugwi.
147. NB 1/1/3 NC Selukwe to CNC 29 February 1898.
148. J.D. White, 'The VaMari', *NADA*, xii, 2, 1980, 117-129. This is in fact a part of the writer's 'Esitshebeni' draft book.
149. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Wutete and Madamombe, 1965.
150. UZHD Text 5 Chivi gives the fullest history of this group obtained so far, while White, 'Chiefs and Headmen', gives a list of appointed Chiefs of this dynasty up to the extinction of the title in 1938. Unfortunately the names in UZHD 5 Chivi's rudimentary genealogy do not fit the titles in White exactly. *Carl Mauch*, 178, indicates that Bere was dead by 1872 and that his son 'Sandelai' had yet not obtained the obedience of Chiwara (Bere's brother and former subordinate), 'Manungu' and Mawengetsi'. UZHD Text 5 Chivi sees the dispossessed Chadokwenda as a son of Zimuto, with the 'Vuvume' stream as the boundary between the two, adding that after Bere replaced the former the boundary was the Mucheke. This should be taken with caution, as dispossessed dynasties such as Bere and Nemanwa are prone to exaggerate their former holdings.
151. Sicard, 'Origins . . .8', 5-25.
152. Mapanzure *shava*, of Masvingo, Mapanzure *shumba* of Zvishavane; Masunda *shiri* of Zvishavane, Masunda *shumba* of Chivi; Madzivire *ngara* of Zimuto, Madzivire *beta* of Chivi; Nhema *moyo* of Ndanga, Nhema *shumba* of Shurugwi; Ndanga *shiri* of Shurugwi, Ndanga *gumbo* of Ndanga; Chikwanda *moyo* of Gutu — and the Chikwanda territory of the Ndau.
153. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Zimuto, 1965; *Carl Mauch*, 220.
154. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Zimuto, 1965; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 50.
155. Sicard, 'Origins . . .2', 79.
156. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Zimuto, 1965.
157. *Ibid.* UZHD Text 8c Masvingo; N 3/33/8, NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/Buhera/Neshava, extract from Delin. Report, 1965.
158. MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/Buhera/Neshava, Z.B. Neshava to PNC Gwelo, n.d., c. 1963?
159. See Chapter 3 above.
160. A European parallel to this would work as follows: supposing that the whole world was preliterate, given the dominance of the USA among English-speakers, it would not be surprising if the English thought that they came from the USA, but if the English-speakers of the USA *also* had a tradition of origin in an obscure European island, that would be surprising and possibly true.
161. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Zimuto, 1965; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Zimuto, NC Victoria to PNC Mashonaland South, 23 September 1957, and tree of 1973; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Nemavuzhe, 1965; N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904.
162. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Zimuto/Gurajena, 1965.
163. *Carl Mauch*, 138.
164. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Zimuto, 1965.
165. See genealogy.
166. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904.
167. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Nemavuzhe, 1965.
168. *Ibid.* N 3/33/8 NC Chivi to CNC 9 February 1904.

169. MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/Buhera/Neshava, DC Buhera-PC Manicaland 7 February 1963, ZB Neshava to PNC Gwelo, n.d., 1963?, extract from Delin. Report, 1965; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 50-1.
170. N 3/33/8 Acting NC Chilimanzi to CNC 5 December 1903; P. Tizerai, 'The story of the Chilimanzi people.' *NADA*, 26, 1949, 36; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 41-2.
171. SN 3/33/8 Acting NC Chilimanzi to CNC 5 December 1903; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi Reserve', 43; on the Rozvi settlement at Ndarikure, UZHD Text 10 Chirimuhanzu.
172. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 240.
173. Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 42; N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; see this chapter, above, on the Mhari.
174. Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 40.
175. The one killed by the Rozvi was Rutenga. For the different sequences of rulers, see the genealogy and: N 3/33/8 Acting NC Chilimanzi to CNC 5 December 1903, Tizerai, 'Chilimanzi', 36-8, Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 40-44; MLA, DDA, Delin. Report, Chirumanzu, Chirimuhanzu, 1964, UZHD Texts 1a-b,7c, 10-10i, 26-33 Chirimuhanzu. Simba was most probably a son of Nherera or Mutizirepi.
176. NB 6/1/1 NC Selukwe to CNC S31 March 1898; *The Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860*, ed. J.P.R. Wallis, (Chatto and Windus, London, 2 volumes, 1945), i, 369, ii, 59; A.A. Campbell, 'Mlimo, (Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, 1926) 103-4; Beach, *War and Politics*, 25-6; N 3/33/8 Acting NC Chilimanzi to CNC 5 December 1903.
177. N 9/1/1 NC Chilimanzi to CNC 31 December 1895.
178. N 3/24/3 map of Chilimanzi area.
179. See this chapter, Section iv on Serima, and *Carl Mauch*, 221.
180. UZHD Text 78 Buhera; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Nerutanga, 1965.
181. N 9/4/13, NC Chilimanzi to CNC 1 November 1902; UZHD Text 26 Chirimuhanzu.
182. LO 5/2/3, Pennefather to Harris, 13 August 1890.
183. UZHD Text 33 Chirimuhanzu; Hist. Mss. WI 5/1/1, entry for 7 April 1897.
184. N 9/1/1, NC Chilimanzi to CNC 31 December 1895; Hist. Mss. WE 3/2/6 Draft history by M.E. Weale.
185. NB 1/1/10, Acting CNC Salisbury to CNC Bulawayo 24 June 1898.
186. N 3/1/5, NC Charter to CNC 5 December 1899.
187. Beach, *War and Politics*, 74.
188. UZHD Text 30 Chirimuhanzu; RC 3/7/1, CNC to Chief Secretary to Administrator, 22 March 1899; UZHD Text 10i Chirimuhanzu; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 44; N 1/2/3, NC Chilimanzi to CNC, 16 November 1897.
189. N 1/1/2, Charter to CNC, 27 and 30 March, 5 and 19 April 1897; N 9/4/15, Acting NC Chilimanzi to CNC, 2 June 1903; Hist. Mss. WI 5/1/1, entry for 14 August 1897.
190. Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 49.
191. RC 3/7/1 and DE 1/2/9, *passim*; N 9/4/4, NC Chilimanzi to CNC 31 July 1899; NAZ Oral/WH 1, 4-5.
192. N 9/4/13, NC Chilimanzi to CNC 1 November 1902; N 9/4/14, NC Chilimanzi to CNC 2 March 1903; N 9/4/15, NC Chilimanzi to CNC, 30 April 1903; NVG 1/1/1, ANC Chilimanzi to CNC 8 September 1905; N 3/4/5, minute by Cornell, 10 June 1914; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi', 46-7; Weinrich, *Chiefs and Councils*, 96-100.
193. Aquina, 'Chilimanzi Reserve', 44.
194. White, 'Esitshebeni', 178-190.
195. Chapter 2 above.
196. Aquina, Victoria', 6-8; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Mapanzure, 1965.
197. White, 'Esitshebeni', 208-219.

198. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Gweru, Chiwundura, 1965.
199. Beach, *War and Politics*, 22.
200. See this chapter, above, on the Rufura.
201. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mahlebadza, genealogy c. 1963; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Mahlebadza, 1965.
202. Sicard, 'Origins . . .6', 103-4.
203. See above, Chapter Three.
204. Daneel, *Matopo hills*, 42-6.
205. Abraham, 'Chaminuka', 32-4. This article, together with R. Summers and J. Blake-Thompson, 'Mlimo and Mwari', *NADA*, 33, 1956, 53-5 and W.J. van der Merwe, 'The Shona idea of God', *NADA*, 34, 1957, 54-5, did much to promote the idea of an Mbire-Rozvi-Mwari linkage among historians. Granted that there was a link between the Changamire Rozvi and an early, pre-cave cult version of Mwari worship (Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 247-253), there is still no convincing evidence for the kind of prominence assisgned to the Mbire by van der Merwe. Yet it is easy to see why the popular linking of *soko* with Mbire — that is, the common assumption that all *soko* are Mbire — came about: Mbire III and its *soko/mondizvo* Svosve dynasty lay almost at the centre of the Zimbabwean plateau, beaconed by Mount Wedza, right across a lot of the trade routes, and emigrant Mbire dynasties could be found all the way from the eastern highlands to the southern edges of the plateau.
206. R.G. Mwanza, 'Mwari: the God of the Karanga', *Conference on the History of Central African Religious Systems*, Lusaka, 1972, 6, specifically indicates that the Chokoto lineage came from 'Rozvi-Venda' ancestors, yet, on the next page — apparently influenced by Abraham and van der Merwe — he claims that the lineage was Mbire. (In Mwanza's home in Shurugwi the main *soko* group *was* Mbire). In the published development of Mwanza's paper (J.M. Schoffeleers and R.G. Mwanza, 'An organisational model of the Mwari shrines', *Guardians of the land*, ed.J.M. Schoffeleers, Mambo, Gwelo, 1979, 297-315) there is the same assumption, as in Daneel, *Matopo Hills*, 44,46.
207. *Ibid.*
208. Abraham, 'Chaminuka', 33.
209. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 247-253.
210. See above in this chapter on Hama and below on the Lemba.
211. N3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mwenezi, Neshuro, 1965.
212. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Nyajina, extract from Delineation Report, 20 May 1965.
213. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Mapiravana, 1965; UZHD Text 10L Shurugwi.
214. Sicard, 'Origins . . .2', 95-6.
215. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Mapiravana, Mudavanhu, 1965.
216. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Ndanga, Nyakunuhwa, 1964.
217. See above, this chapter, on NeManwa.
218. Aquina, 'Victoria', 12-15; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Masvingo, Charumbira, 1965; Bika's relations with Charumbira were cool in the 1870s; *Carl Mauch*, 191-2.
219. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 210-218, 260-263.
220. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904.
221. *Ibid.;* this conflicts with Sicard's longer genealogy, but this included one toponym as a ruler and a very vague first ancestor: 'Origins . . .9', 43-5.
222. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Beitbridge, Matibi, 1965.

223. *Ibid.*; N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Sicard, 'Origins . . .9', 44-5, 57-8; H. von Sicard, 'Ruins and their traditions on the lower Mzingwane and in the Beitbridge area', *NADA*, 38, 1961, 67.
224. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mwenezi, Maranda, 1965.
225. See genealogy.
226. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; Sicard, 'Origins . . 9', 49.
227. *Ibid.*, 49, 53.
228. Hist. Mss. BE 2/1/1, C. Beuster, 'Diary of Tshewase station, 4 September 1892'.
229. Sicard, 'Origins . . . 9', 43, 58-6C.
230. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904; this did not affect Ndebele support for Vurumela against his Gaza-backed rivals inside his own dynasty, for Vurumela was also tributary to the Ndebele for a while: Cobbing, 'Ndebele', 317.
231. Hist. Mss, BE 2/1/1, Diary of Tshakoma station, 1st. quarter, 1887; DV 1/1/1, Hay and Crowne to F. Rutherfoord Harris, 7 March 1894; DV 7/2/2, trial of H.D. Hay, 14 December 1893; L 2/3/8, Vigers to Duncan, 7 December 1893.
232. D.T. Laing, *The Matabele Rebellion,* (Dean, London 1897), 106-178; UZHD Texts 344c-d Mberengwa.
233. N 9/1/4 NC Chibi to CNC 14 April 1898.
234. N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC 9 February 1904.
235. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Beitbridge, Chitawudze, 1965.
236. *Ibid.*; Sicard, 'Origins . . .1', 93, 'Origins . . .7', 7-8; D 3/1/1, trial of 'Gomalla', 6 June 1893.
237. Sicard, 'Origins . . .7', 7-8; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Beitbridge, Chitawudze, 1965.
238. e.g. R.N. Hall, *Prehistoric Rhodesia,* (T.F. Unwin, London, 1909), 130; R.Gayre, *The origin of the Zimbabwean civilisation,* (Galaxie, Salisbury, 1972), chapter 12.
239. D.C. Chigiga, 'A preliminary study of the Lemba in Rhodesia', *Central African Historical Association Conference,* Salisbury, 1972, 1-19.
240. Duarte Barbosa, 'Description of the situation, customs and produce of some places of Africa', c.1518, *Documents on the Portuguese in Moçambique and Central Africa 1497-1840,* ed. A. da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter, (CEHU, Lisbon, 1965), v, 357-9.
241. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 200.
242. G.J. Liesegang, 'New light on Venda traditions: Mahumane's account of 1730' *Hist. Afr.*, 4, 1977, 171.
243. For a recent overview, see E. Mandivenga, 'The history and "re-conversion" of the Varemba of Zimbabwe', *Journal of Religion in Africa,* xix, 2, 1989, 98-124.
244. Chigiga, 'Lemba', 3-16; R.H. Baker, 'The *mutupo* among the Wamanyika', *NADA*, 3, 1925, 54; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Mposi, 1965; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Mposi, NC Belingwe to PNC Midlands, 11 August 1947; H. von Sicard, 'The Dumbuseya', *NADA*, ix, 5, 1968, 32-5; UZHD Texts 343a, 343c, Mberengwa, 10j-k, Shurugwi; White, 'Esitshebeni', 191-4.
245. R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', 149-150.
246. Sicard, 'Origins . . .10', 65.
247. Sicard, 'Origins . . .4', 98 and 'Dumbuseya', 32-5; White, 'Esitshebeni', 252-321.

REFERENCES TO SECTION 3

1. The nearest to it was that of F.W.T. Posselt. *Fact and Fiction*, 146-6. For its sources, see Beach, '*NADA* and Mafohla', 6, 8.
2. Beach, 'Mutapa dynasty', 1-17.
3. D. Lan, 'Making history: spirit mediums and the guerrilla war in the Dande area of Zimbabwe', unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, London School of Economics, 1983; D. Lan, *Guns and rain, guerrillas and spirit mediums in Zimbabwe*, (ZPH, Harare, 1985); S.I.G. Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa c. 1400-1902*, (ZPH, Harare, 1988).

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 5

1. H. Hensman, *A history of Rhodesia compiled from official sources,* (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1900).
2. From very early in white-Ndebele contacts up to the 1970s. See J.G. Storry, *The shattered nation,* (H. Timmins, Cape Town, 1974).
3. Most notably F.W.T. Posselt, Charles Bullock, Harald von Sicard and Efimie Bogomas.
4. J.C.W. Malifa, 'Zimbabwe resulted from friendships between Monomotapa, Sheba, Solomon', *The Daily News,* 1 October 1962.
5. Howman Rozvi File (Hereafter HRF) 3/2, J.W. Gothosa and G. Jaravaza, 'The history of Munhumutapa', c. 1957.
6. Chidziwa,'Vashawasha, 16-33.
7. Currently being edited for publication by H.H.K. Bhila.
8. A man born in 1830 would have been old enough to remember some features of life in the Changamire state before the coming of the Ndebele in 1838 and still be in his early seventies, while it would have been possible for octogenarians who recalled the 1820s to be still alive. On pre-colonial life expectancies for Shona adults, see D.N. Beach, 'The Shona generation', *Central African Journal of Medicine,* xxv, 3, 1979, 45-53.
9. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 220-277.
10. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Murombedzi, 1964; UZHD Text 69 Buhera.
11. W.R. Peaden, 'Nenguwo Training Institution and the first Shona teachers', *Christianity south of the Zambezi,* ed. A.J. Dachs, (Mambo, Gwelo, 1973), 71-82; T.O. Ranger, *The African voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930,* (Heinemann, London, 1970) 20-25.
12. Marwodzi, 'Barozvi', 88-90.
13. N 1/1/8, NC Ndanga to CNC, 2 March 1897; N 1/1/2, NC Charter to CNC, 25 March 1897; S. 716, Range Diary, 18 March 1897; N 9/1/5, NC Charter to CNC, 1 April 1899; N 3/4/1, NC Charter to SN Salisbury, 25 September 1914; N 8/1/1, Register of Chiefs and Headmen, c. 1920s; S. 138/22, NC Charter to CNC, 20 November 1931; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Chingombe, 1965; UZHD Text 70 Buhera.
14. Bullock, *Mashona,* 126-8; S.138/22, NC Rusape to CNC, 29 December 1930.
15. S. 138/22, NC Lomagundi to CNC, 16 December 1930, NC Rusape to CNC, 29 December 1930, NC Rusape to CNC, 4 August 1931, NC Bikita to SN Victoria, 21 August 1931, NC Marandellas to CNC, 7 September 1931, NC Rusape to CNC, 17 November 1931, NC Charter to CNC, 20 November 1931, CNC to Secretary to Premier, 2 December 1931, NC Lomagundi to CNC, 25 January 1932.
16. S. 1542/C6, ANC Buhera to Acting NC Bikita, 24 November 1934, NC Bikita to CNC, 10 December 1935.
17. Hist. Mss. MISC/RU 4/1/1, M.V.J. Rukara, 'Autobiography' and 'History of Varozvi of Mambo'.
18. G. Fortune, 'A Rozvi text with translation and notes', *NADA,* 33, 1956, 67-91; K.R. Robinson, 'A history of the Bikita district', *NADA,* 34, 1957, 75-87; Hist. Mss. MISC/RU 4/1/1, M.V.J. Rukara, 'History of Varozvi of Mambo'; C.J.K. Latham, 'Dzimbadzamabwe', *NADA,* x, 2, 1970, 24-30; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Bikita, Jiri, 1963; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Buhera, Chingombe, 1965.
19. Gaspar Veloso, 'Notes, 1512, *Documents,* iii, 182; N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904, give the only other pre-Rukara references to 'Samanyayi' as the Rozvi capital or land, the first in fact referring to a Mutapa site.
20. The theological aspects of this need further research.
21. M. Hannan, *Standard Shona dictionary.* (Rhodesia Literature Bureau, Salisbury, 1974); S.I.G. Mudenge, review of *Origins of Rhodesia* in *Pfumo,* April 1971, 10.

See, for example, Chapter 4 above, on Zimuto.

22. This, however, was quite a common tradition among the Shona and was also found in Malawi.
23. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Mataruse, 1965, S.J. Ntara, *The history of the Chewa (Mbiti yaAchewe)*, (Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1973), 97.
24. This, though Mujuru does not say so, sounds as though he may actually have thought that he was possessed by the spirit of Mambo.
25. HRF, 2/7, Mujuru Chiminya, 'Manyangira amatoro . . .', n.d.
26. HRF, 1/9, NC Rusape to R. Howman, Office of the SNA, 7 December 1956. In 1951 the Government reduced many subsidized Chieftainships to Headmanships or even abolished them altogether. Apart from the reduction in status and salary involved, this often placed rulers under their hereditary rivals and traditional evidence was still further altered by attempts to gain reinstatement. This was why Isaac Samuriwo joined Mujuru in 1957 (see below): he was trying to get the demoted Samuriwo Chieftainship revived.
27. *Ibid.*
28. HRF, 1/13, NC Buhera to R. Howman, Office of the SNA, 24 January 1957.
29. HRF, 1/16, NC Bikita to R. Howman, Office of the SNA, 3 January 1957. In view of this, a letter purporting to be from Jiri to Chiduku in March 1956, asking him to come to Chiminya's to appoint a Munhumutapa may be false: HRF, 1/10, 'Chief Jiri' to Chief Chiduku, 16 March 1956, attached to (26) above; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Jiri, NC Buhera to? (first page of document missing, but after 13 June 1956).
30. HRF, 1/11 (attached to 26 above), Chief Munhumutapa to Chief Chiduku, 7 September 1956; HRF, 1/3, R. Howman to J.H. Holleman, African Administration Department, City of Bulawayo, 16 November 1956; HRF, 1/5, NC Wedza to R. Howman, Office of SNA, 22 November 1956; HRF, 1/9, NC Rusape to R. Howman, Office of SNA, 7 December 1956; HRF, 1/13, NC Buhera to R. Howman, Office of the SNA, 24 January 1957.
31. HRF, 1/5, NC Wedza to R. Howman, Office of the SNA, 22 November 1956; HRF, 1/9, NC Rusape to R. Howman, Office of the SNA, 7 December 1956; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Jiri, NC Buhera to? (See 30 above); MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chingombe (Buhera), NC Buhera to PNC Midlands, 15 April 1958.
32. HRF, 1/9, NC Rusape to R. Howman, Office of the SNA, 7 December 1956.
33. *Rhodesia Herald*, 27 May and 11 June 1957; *African Daily News*, 13 June 1957. 'Ubiquitous' is not intended in a critical sense. From 1947 to 1983 Samuriwo was involved in an amazing number of interests and causes. See reference 26 above and *Prominent Rhodesian personalities*, ed. L. Newitt, (Cover Services, Salisbury, 1977,), 197.
34. The minor Gobo house was bought off with a promise of participation in the Mambo successions in future.
35. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Chingombe (Buhera), NC Buhera to PNC Midlands, 15 April 1958. Mujuru continued to fight a lonely battle for his cause into the 1960s, but he was reduced to being yet another correspondent to the Native Department/Internal Affairs. A long series of letters culminated in a sad protest at the waste of £500 and 36 cattle (actually £34 and 4 cattle) that he had spent in getting elected in 1956; MLG, DDA, Per/5/General, Mambo Chieftainship, 2. Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent references in this chapter are from this file.
36. ANC Que Que to PNC Midlands, 1 November 1956; Mujuru Chiminya to CNC, 10 May 1960.
37. Noah Washaya to SNA, 13 April 1961.
38. A. Dunlop, 'Report, the Marozwi Tribe Meeting, 28 February 1959', 14 March 1959. Detective Inspector J.L. Dunbar, 'The Marozwi Tribe Meeting', 28 February 1959. A questionnaire set by Dunlop on Rozvi history was answered largely by Washaya.
39. A. Dunlop, 'Report on the Marozwi Tribe Meetings, Que Que 30 August and 31 October 1959', 1 December 1959.

40. Noah Washaya to NC Buhera, 25 September 1958.
41. See 38 above.
42. See 39 above.
43. R.Howman for SNA to PNC Midlands, 24 April 1959; PNC Midlands to A,. Dunlop, 11 December 1959.
44. N. Washaya and F. Mtema to SNA, 30 June 1960; NC Sinoia to PNC Mashonaland West, 18 August 1960.
45. Noah Washaya to SNA, 21 November 1960; CNC Memorandum of 16 January 1961.
46. Rabison Dzvenga and Keraia Nyika to Under SNA, 11 April 1961.
47. Titus Chada Mcheri to SNA, 21 September 1958, 25 July 1960, 25 November 1960.
48. Acting Director of National Parks to SNA, 20 July 1961; N. Washaya to SNA, 29 June 1961.
49. NC Gokwe to PNC Midlands, 6 October 1961.
50. *Rhodesia Herald,* 2 July 1962; *Daily News,* 27 June 1962, 2 and 7 July 1962; Detective Sergeant G.W. Gibson to CID Gwelo, 4 July 1962.
51. N. Washaya to PNC Midlands, 20 December 1962; Minutes of Meeting, n.d. but just after the ceremony; *Rhodesia Herald,* 3 July 1962.
52. J.M. Duve to SNA, 3 and 31 March 1959, 9 April 1959; R.Howman for SNA to J.M. Duve, 3 April 1959; *Rhodesia Herald,* 2 May 1957.
53. *Daily News,* 17 July 1962; T. Jonhera to NC Hartley, 20 August 1963; M. Foto Munyepere to CNC, 9 and 22 February 1963.
54. PC Midlands to DC Gokwe, 29 December 1962; PNC Midlands to Divisional Inspector, Native Education Department, 31 December 1962; PC Midlands to Secretary of Internal Affairs, 22 November 1963; SIA to Minister of Internal Affairs, 9 November 1963; A. Dunlop to MIA, 23 November 1963.
55. N. Washaya to MIA, 21 November 1966.
56. But see Abraham, 'Chaminuka', 32, 35.
57. See extensive correspondence in MLG, DDA, Per/5 Jiri.
58. NC Bikita to PNC Midlands, 13 February 1960.
59. Sons of Gumunyu to NC Bikita, 4 September 1959.
60. Latham, 'Dzimbadzamabgwe', 24-30; C.J.K. Latham, 'Oral traditions; some speculations', *Rhodesiana*, 39, 1978, 9-16; *The Herald,* 24 March 1982, 1 and 28 April 1982.
61. See, for example, *The Herald,* 30 December 1981; *Sunday Mail,* 17 January 1982 and 31 January 1982; *The Herald,* 18 January 1982.

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Bhila, *Trade and politics*, 104, 106, 145-168, seems to suggest that individual Chikanga rulers of Manyika were only mentioned by contemporary sources from the 1790s; Makombe rulers of Barwe, similarly, only appear to be individualy named from the 1760s (Bhila, *Trade and politics*, 124-125); in Teve, individual Sachiteve rulers are named in 1561, 1644, 1699 and, more frequently from the 1730s onwards (A.H. Mtetwa, 'Uteve', 84, 186 187, 192); Newitt, *Portuguese settlement*, 206; Alpers, 'Mutapa-Rozwi complex', 211).
2. Beach 'Documents', 129-145.
3. Diogo de Alcáçova to the King, 20 November 1506, *Documents*, i, 390-397. For most of this chapter I will be giving the names of Mutapa rulers as they appear in the Portuguese documents, even when it is possible to deduce the Shona version quite easily. This is because (i) some of the names in the documents, such as 'Mocomba', 'Macombe', 'Mucombe' and 'Mucômbué, are so similar that some writers have incorrectly assumed that they refer to the same person and (ii) as Mudenge points out (*Munhumutapa, 3)* not all of the names can be confidently converted to modern Shona. Thus in Mudenge (*Munhumutapa*, 376-81, 399-420) and Bhila ('*Munhumutapa*: the history and mis-spelling of a Shona term', *Rhod. Hist.*, 5 1974, 79-80) we have the following differences:

Bhila	Mudenge
Mukombashasha	Mukomohasha
Katuruza	Kataruza
Chirisamhuru	Chirisamharu
Mutwa	Mutuwa

4. Abraham, 'Early political history', 73-89.
5. Bocarro, 'Decade . . .', c. 1631-49, *Records*, iii, 280. I have suggested elsewhere that Bocarro's source was Diogo Simões Madeira.
6. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Moçambique. Caixa 1, Diogo de Souza de Menezes to the King, 1 April 1624. Menezes found news of the sons of the dead Mutapa fighting each other when he arrived at Sofala in February, and thus it is probable that the actual death was in the previous year.
7. Pedro Barreto de Rezende, 'Of the state of India, 1634', *Records*, ii, 390-391.
8. *Ibid.*; 'Testimony of baptism of Monomotapa . . .' 1652, *Records*, ii, 445.
9. Barreto de Rezende, 'Of the state of India, 1634', *Records*, ii, 391; António Gomes, 'Viagem que fez o padre António Gomes da Companhia de Jesus ao Imperio de de (sic) Manomotapa; e assistencia que fez nas ditas terras desde alguns annos' 2 January 1648, ed. E.Axelson, *Studia*, 3, 1959, 233; Goa Archives, Livros das Monções, xli, 14, Domingos Henriques, 'Certidão . . .' 21 July 1632.
10. 'Testimony of baptism of Monomotapa . . .' 1652. *Records*, ii, 445 states that Felipe's son and successor was baptized as Domingos in that year; Bibl. Ajuda 51-VIII-44, Anonymous, 'Descripção dos Rios Cuama', after 16 March 1683, states that Filipe's successor was João, who was burned to death by the Captain of the Portuguese and succeeded by Afonso, who was ruling in 1683. See below for further discussion.
11. On the actual sequence of rulers, the arguments go as follows: everybody agrees that Domingos succeeded Filipe Mavura in 1652 (see reference 10 above), but a letter from Goa to Lisbon of February 1655 refers to a recent war between two sons of a dead Mutapa (E. Axelson, *Portuguese in south-east Africa 1600-1700*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1960, 136). Axelson and Mudenge (*Munhumutapa*, 274) both considered that

this marked the end of Domingos's reign, but in a footnote Axelson added that the Goan letter might have referred to the situation in 1652. Given the usual lag in correspondence in the Indian Ocean, complicated by the monsoons, this is not unlikely. By April 1663 a new Mutapa named Afonso was writing to ask for continued Portuguese military aid (AHU, Moç., Cxa 1, Manamotapa to the King, 20 April 1663). This can be read either as a last-minute appeal by a ruler who had been in power for nine years and is about to be eliminated in a civil war (Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 274-275) or as a request for normal recognition by a Mutapa who has just eliminated his nephew Domingos. Certainly, between October 1662 and August 1663 a Mutapa had been killed and replaced (Goa Archives, Livros dos Monções, xxiv-xxx, Manuel Mascarenhas to Viceroy, 4 August 1663) and in 1667 it was stated that one un-named Mutapa had been killed by his own followers in a war against the Portuguese, who then appointed a new Mutapa (Manuel Barretto, 'Report . . . 1667, *Records*, iii, 483). This new Mutapa was not named by Barretto, but the anonymous writer of Bibl. Ajuda 51-VIII-44, 'Descripção dos de Cuama, 'after 16 March 1683, wrote that Filipe had been succeeded by João who had been burned alive by the Portuguese and replaced by 'Cupiça' or Afonso 'and he is still in power'. To add to the confusion, a letter from a Mutapa 'Filipe' was sent to Lisbon in 1679 (AHU, Moc., Cxa 1, Manamotapa to the king, 28 June 1679). The 1683 writer could not have any information more recent than 1682, because of the time-lag between the Zimbabwean plateau, Goa and Lisbon, but it is unlikely that his information was twenty years out of date. This being so, the sequence of rulers was; Filipe 1629-52, Domingos/João 1652-62/3, Afonso 1662/3-? It is possible that the Filipe of 1679 had replaced Afonso by that time, or that, as was all too easy during this whole time, someone like António Lobo da Silva (named in Filipe's document) had obtained the official Mutapa seal and used it to 'create' his own Mutapa; Council to the King, 8 February 1684, *Records*, iv, 426. If that was so, Afonso may indeed have ruled to 1682 or beyond. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, has a sequence of Domingos 1652-5, Afonso 1655-63 and Filipe 1663-92, but this does not account for the 1683 evidence (though that of 1655-63 is ambiguous). The error of the 1683 writer in making 'Domingos' 'João' is easily explained: three out of four baptized Mutapas so far had been named after the ruling kings of Portugal of their day (Sebastião, 1557-78, Filipe I, 11 and III, 1580-98, 1598-1621, 1621-40 and Afonso VI, 1656-83) and whereas up to the 1660s Domingos's baptismal name was remembered, the 1683 writer fell into the trap of assuming that the ruler between Filipe and Afonso must have been named after João IV, 1640-56. Unlike Kongo rulers, Mutapas with Portuguese names did not number them (not even 'Joãoquinto', as will be shown below). Finally, during this period two sources referred to a title that could be ancestral to the name 'Mutota'. In 1663 the Captain of Dambarare of 1652 referred to Filipe's eldest son and successor as 'Mutota' (Goa Archives, Livros dos Monções, xxviiiA, António Alveres Pereira to the King, 15 September 1663) while the 1683 writer, referred to above, refers to 'our Motata D. Filipe' and 'Motata Cicate or D. João'. 'Motata' seems to mean something like 'prince, noble' and D.P. Abraham has suggested that it is a first version of 'Mutota' ('Early political history', 79). For discussion, see below.

12. António da Conceição, 'Tratado dos rios de Cuama', 1696, *O Chronista de Tissuary*, ii, 1867, 106-107, King to Viceroy, 23 March 1712, *Records*, v, 33, gives Pedro's Shona name as 'Pande'.
13. Bibl. Ajuda, 51-VIII-40, Joseph da Fonseca Coutinho to Viceroy, 29 July 1698.
14. Henrique Bravo de Moraes, 'Continuam as noticias do Arcebispado de Goa', 1726, ed. L. da Rocha, *Monumenta*, 9, 1973, 19-30. Moraes was writing twenty years after the event, and Randles, *Monomotapa*, 59-60, thought that these wars occured in 1711 because of a complaint by Pedro's son Constantino that João had usurped the Mutapa title from him when his (Constantino's) uncle died (King to Viceroy, 23 March 1712, *Records*, v, 33). In fact, royal

and vice-regal letters from Lisbon and Goa were often referring to events of some years back. Moraes was not always accurate, for Rocha shows that he was personally on the Zambezi only in 1701-3, whereas Moraes claimed that the fabulous silver strike at Chikova was made in 1702 rather than the late 1690s. However, the vice-regal letter of 1704 referring to the impending fall of a Mutapa installed by a recently deceased Changamire would seem to date the episode fairly firmly: Goa Archives, Livros das Monções, ixviii, 192-193. Viceroy to the King, 14 November 1704. This letter of 1704 cannot be referring to the events of ten years back, as it is up to date on matters in the Sofala region. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 295-300, gives a very different sequence of events: Manuel Chirimbe/Gende/Nyenyedzi/ Zenda c. 1697/8-1702 *and* c. 1703-11, Samutumbu/Samutambira/Nyamhandu/João II 1702-3 *and* c. 1712-1718, Boroma Dangwarangwa João I c.1712, Zinyemba João III c. 1719-, Nyatsutsu Boroma João IV c. 1723, Nyamhandu João V Debwe I, 1723-43. Mudenge is careful to indicate the uncertainty of this sequence, but this is spectacularly complex even for Shona politics. If one allows for the fact that Mudenge was accepting a lot of the assumptions of Abraham's 1959 article in the linking of one Shona name to another; that the fact that the Mutapa calling himself 'Joãoquinto' in 1735 need not have had four predecessors called 'João'; that the 1711-12 vice-regal and royal letters referred to much earlier events; and that João 'Dangurango' and 'Samutumbu' did in fact die in 1702 and 1704, then the situation becomes much simpler, without double reigns. However, the clinching document is that cited in the following footnote.

15. Goa Archives, Livros das Monções, lxxv, Manuel Gonçalves Guião to Viceroy, Sena, 12 June 1710. This not only gives the sequence of rulers from 1702 to 1710 but confirms much of the information available in the Moraes document. Thus it dates the rapid rise and fall of 'Macombe' and 'Gende' to the captaincy of João Fernandes de Almeida (1703-6), and of 'Punzaguto' to that of Luis de Brito Freire (1706-7). The dates for these come from M.S. Alberto and F.A. Toscana, *O Oriente Africano Português,* (Minerva Central, Lourenço Marques, 1938), 60-61.
16. Goa Archives, Livros das Monções, lxxxix, B, Fr. Manuel de Santo Thomás, Report, Sena, 19 June 1723.
17. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa,* 300-303; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 144-145, gets into a muddle, separating the 'João Inhampando' of 1723 from the 'João o quinto' of 1735, and merging the latter with his son Mupunzagutu.
18. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa,* 303-305.
19. Mello e Castro, Dionízio de, 'Notícia do Império Marave e dos Rios de Sena', 20 January 1763, *Anais da Junta de Investigacões do Ultramar*, ix, 1, 1954, 130-133.
20. Miranda, António Pinto de, 'Monarchia Africana', c. 1766, *Relações de Moçambique setecentista*, ed. A.A. Andrade, (Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1955), 303-312. Differences between Mello e Castro and Miranda are:

Mello e Castro	Miranda
Nemapangera	Nemassengere
—	names three rulers formerly under Mutapa and now under the Portuguese
Mucomboe	Nucomboé
Pandde	Pandelé
Nhacunibire	Nhancunibiri

Nhanheze	Nhenheenze
Zinhemba	Pinlemba
Boroma	Buroma
Camboi	Camboé
Nhampando	Nhanampando
Zindave	Zindabe
Motaniqua	Mutanico
—	refers to princes 'Chintique' son of 'Deboé 2°' and 'Goniavazi' son of 'Chicoca'

These differences are those relevant to this chapter, there are others.

21. Thus 'father', 'son', 'uncle', 'nephew' in English and Portuguese translate into Shona *baba, mwana, sekuru, muzukuru* and so forth, but the same is not necessarily true translating the other way around, and the historian is left to guess how carefully the Portuguese writer investigated the actual blood relationship before writing down the Portuguese word.
22. Another cross-date in both Mello e Castro and Miranda is the statement that the Changamire who founded the Rozvi state did so by rebelling against Mutapa 'Mucomboé', which dates the latter to the 1670s or 1680s.
23. King to Viceroy, 23 March 1712, *Records*, v, 33; Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 294.
24. See reference 15 above, and Viceroy to Monomotapa, 26 January 1719, *Records*, v, 67.
25. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 311-358.
26. 'Punzaguto' first appears as the name of one of the ephemeral Mutapas of 1704-10 (see reference 15) and then as a son of 'Inhapando' ruling after 'Deboe II' to 1760, as in Mello e Castro. But Mello e Castro saw these last two as separate people. Abraham, 'Monomotapa, 81-2, merges them and Mudenge does not correct him. Thus when Mudenge writes that Bangoma was son of 'Debwe Mupunzagutu'(*Munhumutapa*, 312) I assume he means 'Punzagutu' but cannot be certain.
27. Albino Manuel Pacheco, *Uma viagem de Tete ao Zumbo*, (Nacional, Mocambique, 1883), 22-28. The manuscript of this journal, kept from 12 December 1861 to 4 March 1862 with long accounts of Chidima, Dande, Zumbo and the lands to the north, was re-located in 1881-2. It was also reproduced in French in P. Guyot, *Voyage au Zambeze*, (Paris, 1895), 225-326, and *Bulletin de la Societé de Geographie de Est, Nancy*, viii-, 1886-9.
28. The printed text of Pacheco gives 'Namangóso' on p. 23 and 'Namagóro' on p. 24.
29. Again, the printed Pacheco text, p. 24, gives 'Nehauda', but I assume that this is a simple misprint.
30. S.I.G. Mudenge, 'An identification of the Rozvi and its implication for the history of the Karanga, *Rhod. Hist.*, 5, 1974, 19-31; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 119-121, 138-139, 220-235, 131-132.
31. Ignacio Caetano, Xavier, 'Noticias dos dominios portuguezes na costa de Africa oriental', 1758, *Relacões*, 163-164. Here, however, it is 'prince Cambuy' (Mello e Castro's 'Camboi'?) who is responsible.
32. Pacheco, *Viagem*, 27, inserts the actual dates of 1806-7 into the text from his own knowledge of the death of Truão.
33. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 153; Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 358.
34. Thus, in Chapter Five above, the Jiri house of Rozvi was probably entirely descended from the original Mutinhima, but the Gumunyu house was an alliance of various origins.
35. According to Pacheco's fourth section, 'Utióra' reigned for a few days in between 'Bangomoe' and 'Choofombo'. Yet Mudenge (*Munhumutapa*, 351-354) shows that there was a

'prince Utiora' active in 'Chifombo's time'. We only have Pacheco's informants' word for it that 'Utiora' was ever a Mutapa, even for only a few days.

36. Most Mutapa genealogies since Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 66, follow him in making Chioko (d. 1902) and his successor of the same name, who was in the 1917-18 revolt against the Portuguese, a successor of the Mutapas. Genealogically he was (indeed, after over four centuries, who was not?) but Bourdillon, 'Korekore', 17, doubted that Chioko was in fact regarded as a Mutapa.
37. P. Schebesta, 'Die Zimbabwe-Kultur in Afrika', *Anthropos*, xxi, 1926, 488; P. Schebesta, *Portugals Konquestamission in Sudost-Afrika*, (Steyler, St. Augustin, 1967), 155, 176-177, gives his sources more precisely.
38. Sicard, 'Tables', 30-35.
39. H. Stanford Smith, 'Monomotapas', *NADA*, 35, 1958, 84-86.
40. H. Capello and R. Ivens, *Quelques notes sur l'établissement et les travaux des Portugais au Monomotapa* (Nacional, Lisbon, 1889), 24, 38, 40. This introduced 'Chirimbe' to the list of *published* Mutapas.
41. Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 58-84.
42. *Ibid.*; Abraham, 'Early political history', 67-68, 85.
43. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 358-361; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 152-154.
44. Ranger, *Revolt*, 5-6.
45 J. J. Taylor, 'Personnel of the Native Department in Mashonaland and Eastern Matabeleland, 1894-1014', unpubl. notes, 1968.
46. N 3/33/8, ANC North Mazoe to CNC, c. January 1904.
47. Bourdillon, 'Darwin', 103-114; Bourdillon, 'Korekore', 15, 16, 379-386.
48. This and the subsequent paragraphs are based on: MLG, DDA, Per/5 Kasekete, NC Darwin to CNC, 24 October 1925 and 21 October 1938, NC Darwin to PNC Mashonaland East, 2 November 1961, J.B.W. Anderson to R. Howman, 13 October 1965, J.W.B. Anderson for SIA to PC Mashonaland North, 1 November 1965, Memo., n.d., re. Mutota's meeting, 12 December 1967, DC Darwin to PC Mashonaland Central, 14 May 1968; Per/5 Chiweshe *nzou*, NC Darwin to SN Salisbury 18 September 1923, Acting DC Centenary to PC Mashonaland Central 5 May 1978; Per/5 Chitsungo *nzou*, NC Sipolilo to H. von Sicard, 16 November 1957, and genealogy of 6 April 1960; Per/5/HM/Muzarabani, DA Centenary to Under Sec. Development, Mashonaland Central, 16 January 1984.
49. Chuzu is an historical figure, fighting the Portuguese from his base on the plateau in the 1880s (Kerr, *Far interior*, 191-212).
50. 1:1 000 000 Carta de Moçambique, Ministério da Marinha e Colonias, Commissão de Cartografia, 1911, Folha 4, 'Zumbo-Tete'.
51. Lan, *Guns and rain*; Lan, 'Making history'; G.K. Garbett, 'Disparate regional cults and a unitary field in Zimbabwe', *Regional cults*, ed. R.P. Werbner, (Academic Press, London, 1977), 55-92.
52. Beach, 'Mutapa dynasty', and *Shona and Zimbabwe*, chapters 2 and 4.
53. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 410.
54. Pacheco, *Viagem*, 23-28, 45.
55. Beach, *Mapondera*, 38-43, covers some of the sources. The Choma cult of Nhenhene was then the most prominent one.
56. Garbett, 'Regional cults', 80.
57. *Ibid.*, Table 1, Map 1, Genealogy 2.
58. The 'Bangomwe' of the Portuguese documents was the son of the Mutapa 'Debwe Mupunzagutu' (Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 312) but the 'Bangomwe' of Chidima-Dande was a Tande ancestor: Lan, *Guns and rain*, 107.
59. Lan, *Guns and rain*, 176-204; Garbett, 'Regional cults', 84-85.

60. Garbett, 'Regional cults', 87-88.
61. Lan, 'Making history', 233, 246.
62. Garbett, 'Regional cults', 87-88.
63. Lan, *Guns and rain,* 176-204.
64. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, chapter 4, makes the strongest claim for this.
65. Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 60-71; Lan, *Guns and rain,* 181.
66. Abraham, 'Maungwe', 56-83.
67. Sicard, 'Origins... 11', 80, 90; H. von Sicard, 'Rhodesian sidelights on Bechuanaland history, *NADA*, 31, 1954, 73, 78, 85-86; Sicard, 'Shaka and the north', 147; Sicard, 'Places of ancient occupation in Chief Negove's country', *NADA*, 33, 1956, 46; Sicard, 'The Jawunda', *NADA*, 36, 1959, 108.
68. Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 60.
69. Garbett, 'Regional cults', 87-88.
70. Obviously, these place-names are not traditional, so either Kupara was supplying them from his own knowlege of geography, or this is an interpolation by Abraham.
71. The one placed unusually was Karembera, usually three generations down from Mutota (Garbett, 'Regional cults', 64), but made a son of Mutota as well as being put in the usual place by Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 61, 65. There is nothing unduly suspicious about having the same name recur in the same family. I assume that the 'Gatsi Nemangoro' of the Abraham genealogy is the Kagoro of Garbett's genealogy.
72. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 119, 162-163.
73. *Ibid.*, 197-201; Chapter Three, above, on Mbava-Rozani.
74. Nor, in 1976, did I; Beach, 'Mutapa dynasty', 8.
75. Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 253, follows Bhila, 'Munhumutapa', 80, in giving the origin of the name as *manvura,* but usually spells it 'Mavhura', which follows the practice of all researchers who have actually recorded the name from northern Zimbabwean informants.
76. White, 'Urungwe', 38-40, genealogy.
77. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 131-138.
78. *Ibid.*, 132.
79. Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 66-71, 81-82, makes this clear.
80. Abraham, 'Early political history', 62.
81. *Ibid.*, 61.
82. *Ibid.*, 66.
83. *Ibid.*, 62.
84. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Makope, 'Story of Makope' and 'The claim of the house of Gweshe', late 1940s; MLG, DDA, Delin.Report, Mazowe, Makope, 1968; C.J.K. Latham, 'Munhumutapa: oral traditions', *NADA*, x, 4, 1972, 82.
85. Abraham., 'Early political history', 62; the name given, 'Chibatamatosi', literally means 'handler of bird droppings'; Lan, 'Making history', 318; Lan, *Guns and rain,* 89-90.
86. Abraham, 'Early political history', 64; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 357.
87. Abraham, 'Early political history', 67.
88. Beach, 'Mutapa dynasty', 7-8; Garbett, 'Regional cults', 82-88. If, as I suspect, Abraham was not interviewing Kupara/Mutota at a grand meeting of mediums when he confronted him with 'Neshangwe Munembire', this would explain why Kupara did not continue to mention this ruler in later interviews.
89. Abraham, 'Early political history', 68, 74.
90. *Ibid.*, 68. See Mudenge, *Munhumutapa*, 304, for the probable reason.
91. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 357-358.
92. D.P. Abraham, 'Ethno-history of the empire of Mutapa: problems and methods', in *The*

historian in tropical Africa: studies presented and discussed at the Fourth International African Seminar at the University of Dakar, Senegal, 1961, eds. J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L.V. Thomas, (Oxford University Press, London, 1964), 106; Abraham, Chaminuka', 32-33.

93. Abraham, 'Chaminuka', 33n4; M. Gelfand, *Shona ritual,* (Juta, Cape Town, 1959), 30-31; UZHD Texts 106-107 Rusape; F.W.T. Posselt, *Fact and fiction,* 141-143; Beach, 'Historiography', 24, 26.

93a. Alpers, 'Mutapa-Rozwi complex; 206-209.

94. Personal communications.

95. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 119-121, 197-201, 227-231; Mudenge, 'Identification of the Rozvi', 19-31. However, Mudenge, *Munhumutapa,* 47-57, 278, seems to revert to a position more like that of Abraham, by suggesting that *changamire* was simply an honorific title for the Torwa. I think that this is confusing and goes beyond what the sources actually said. (As I have pointed out before, Mudenge wrote his book at about the same time that I wrote mine: *Moto,* 77, 1989, 22).

96. MLG, DDA, Per/5 Makope, 'The story of Makope', late 1940s.

97. Lan, 'Making history', 246.

98. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 146. Clearly, in the light of this chapter, the Kamota of 1719 was not the same as that of the 1760s.

99. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe,* 116-117.

100. Lan, *Guns and rain,* 75-107. As I corresponded with Lan on this point between his finishing his dissertation and publishing his book, I obviously failed to convince him, but my argument was that the 'Guruuswa' legend was too general to be explained as he did it, and that his structural interpretaion was based on a special-case argument. It could just as well be argued that those telling 'Guruuswa' stories on the northern plateau area where Kupara lived until 1957 were living in an area that had more reliable rainfall than the land at the sources of their rivers in the south, and that therefore the 'Guruuswa' story moved from 'dry' to 'wet'.

101. Barreto de Rezende, 'Of the state of India, 1634', 391, makes Mavura a 'brother' of Kaparidze; Fr. Luis to the Provincial, 3 February 1630, *Records,* ii, 427, and Fr. Geronimo to the Provincial, 20 February 1630, *Records,* ii, 428, make him Kaparaidze's uncle.

102. As I have pointed out above, the name 'Mukombwe' seems to have evolved from the ephemeral 'Macombe' of 1704-5 into the ancestor of all later Mutapas. Historians tend to think that the historical Mutapa equivalent to him, who ruled from 1663, ruled up to about 1692 because the sources do not suggest that Nyakunembire had ruled for long before the 1693 war.

REFERENCES TO SECTION 4

1. Beach, 'Mutapa dynasty', 1-17; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 116-117, 376-377.
2. M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'The manipulation of a myth in a Tavara chiefdom', *Africa*, xiii, 1972, 112-121; Lan, 'Making history', *passim*; Lan, *Guns and rain*, *passim*.
3. J.K. Rennie, 'Ideology and state formation: political and communal ideologies among the south-eastern Shona, 1500-1890', in *State formation in Eastern Africa*, ed. A.I. Salim, (Heinemann, Nairobi, 1984), 162-194.
4. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*; D.P. Henige, *Oral Historiography*, (Longman, Harlow, 1982); J.C. Miller, ed. *The African past speaks*, (Dawson, Folkestone, 1980).

REFERENCES TO CHAPTER 7

1. UZHD Texts 74, 76 Mutare; N 1/1/11, ANC Umtali to NC Umtali 22 December 1896; MLG, DDA, Per/5/HM/MUT Mutsago, text of meeting in T.R. Thorpe's office, 12 October 1972.
2. UZHD Texts 80, 84, 85 Buhera.
3. D.N. Beach, '"Refuge" archaeology, trade and gold mining in nineteenth century Zimbabwe: Izidoro Correia Pereira's list of 1857', *Zimbabwean Prehistory*, 20, 1988, 3-8; *Tsamba ye Cina*, 48-49; UZHD Texts 53-54, 60-61 Chegutu.
4. Beach, *War and politics*, 21-27; Hist. Mss. MISC/RU 4/1/1, M.V.J. Rukara, 'History of Varozvi of Mambo'.
5. White, 'Esitshebeni', 252-285; G.J. Liesegang, 'Nguni migrations between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839', *African Historical Studies*, iii, 2, 1970, 317-337.
6. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, 20-22.
7. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Chivi, 1965. This is probably why modern Zimbabwean Chiefs' badges are of the same pattern as the colonial ones.
8. Chapter Five above; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Guruve, Bepura, 1965; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Mberengwa, Mataruse, 1963; Ntara, *Chewa*, 97.
9. I am indebted to Jan Vansina for many of the cross-cultural comparisons made in this chapter.
10. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC c. 1 January 1904; E.G. H [owman], 'Notes and anecdotes', *NADA*, 14, 1936-7, 20.
11. *Ibid.*; N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 29 January 1896; *Carl Mauch*, 221; Lloyd and Muhlanga, 'Mbava', 63; F. Marconnes, 'The Rozvis or destoyers', *NADA*, 11, 1933, 83; 'Native nomenclature: series No. 1', *NADA*, 12, 1934, 59; Fortune, 'Rozvi text', 82-83; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi reserve', 41-42.
12. Lloyd and Muhlanga, 'Mbava and others', 92; Fortune, 'Rozvi text', 82-83; Aquina, 'Chilimanzi reserve', 41-42; White, 'Urungwe', 37; Q.N. Parsons, 'On the origins of the BamaNgwato', *Botswana Notes and Records*, 5, 1973, 87; H.N. Hemans, 'History of the Abenanzwa tribe', *Proc. Trans. Rhod. Scient. Assoc.*, 12, 1912-3, 86; Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Res. 1, Pasta E, No. 19, Companhia de Moçambique, Subcircuncripção de Moribane, Questionario Ethnografico, Resposta E/20, José Luis Ferreira to Secretario Geral, Moribane, 20 October 1916; Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, 145, 187; White, 'Urungwe', 37, gives the only non-Rozvi example of 'tower' building known to me in the Shona region. Significantly, it is right on the Shona north-west frontier, and the cliché is found in Zambia: B.J.W. Lisulo, 'The history of the Barotse nation', *NADA*, 5, 1927, 84.
13. Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 64; UZHD Texts 78, 79, 83 Buhera; T.K. Tsodzo, 'Mbiru becomes Mutekedza', unpubl. manuscript; Sicard, 'Bechuanaland history', 86; van der Merwe, 'Shona idea of God', 52 (priest entering and leaving the conical tower at Great Zimbabwe!); V. Katsukunya, 'Makate and Nehoreka', *NADA*, x, 3, 1971, 78; M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'The cults of Dzivaguru and Karuva amongst the north eastern Shona peoples', *Guardians of the land*, 242; Pacheco, *Viagem*, 24. The parallels to Tohoyandou of the Venda, Arthur of Britain, Barbarossa of the Germans and Sebastião of the Portuguese are obvious.
14. H. Franklin, 'A selection from notes on Manyika customs,' *NADA*, 5, 1927, 59; D.M. Coley, 'The fate of the last Bashankwe chief', *NADA*, 5, 1927, 66; Tapson, 'Sebungwe', 30-31; Fortune, 'Rózvi text', 72; A.C. Campbell, 'Chimombe', *NADA*, 34, 1957, 31; White, 'Urungwe', 42; Katsukunya, 'Makate', 77; M. Gelfand, 'The *mhondoro* cult among the Manyika peoples of the eastern region of Mashonaland', *NADA*, xi, 1, 1974, 84.
15. UZHD Text 78 Buhera; White, 'Urungwe', 40.
16. Marwodzi, 'Barozwi', 89; J. Speares, 'How Chivero came to take the *chidao* of "Gwenzi",' *NADA* 6, 1928, 114; M.E. Hayes, 'The Nambiya people of Wange', *NADA* xi, 4, 1977, 386; Posselt, Fact and Fiction, 141-142.

17. 'T.E.', 'The story of the origin of the name "Makoni"', *NADA*, 14, 1936-7, 77; Abraham, 'Maungwe', 62; Gelfand, 'Manyika', 83; *Leo Frobenius —an anthology*, ed. E.Haberland, (Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1973), 193.
18. Seymour, 'VaMare', 75; M.M. Hove, 'Notes on the Vangowa tribe', *NADA*, 20, 1943, 42.
19. A 3/18/28 Acting NC Insiza to CNC 16 May 1906; Posselt, 'Chaminuka', 36; Coley, 'Bashankwe', 66; Fortune, 'Rozvi text', 72, 84; UZHD Text 107 Rusape; Sebastião Xavier Botelho, *Memoria estátistica sobre os dominios portuguezes na Africa Oriental*, (José Baptista Morando, Lisbon, 1835), 168.
20. N 3/33/8, NC Chibi to CNC, 9 February 1904; A 3/18/38, NC Selukwe to CNC, 19 May 1906; D.Shropshire, 'The story of an anthropological research trek', *NADA*, 7, 1929, 62; Bhila, *Trade and politics*, 24-25.
21. Hodza and Fortune, *Shona praise poetry*, 144, 235; Posselt, 'Banyemba', 11-12.
22. See below in this chapter.
23. Beach, *War and politics*, 86; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Maromo, 'Notes on the Maromo Chieftainship', c. 1968.
24. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC c. 1 January 1904; NC Umtali to CNC, 19 January 1904, NC Melsetter to CNC 23 December 1903; 'T.E.', 'Makoni', 77; Abraham, 'Maungwe', 59; J.H. Bannerman, 'Towards a history of the Hlengwe people of the south of Rhodesia', *NADA*, xi, 5, 1978, 486.
25. Robinson, 'Bikita', 78; H. von Sicard, 'Mambo Dyembeu', *Proc. Trans. Rhod. Scient. Assoc.*, 43, 1951, 177; Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 194.
26. Fynes-Clinton, 'Msana', 61; Maruta, 'Mbire'; Katoke, *Karagwe*, 47-52.
27. N 3/33/8, NC Melsetter to CNC, 23 December 1903; F.W.T. Posselt, 'The story of the princess Mepo', *NADA*, 7, 1929, 115; J.K. Rennie, 'From Zimbabwe to a colonial Chieftaincy: four transformations of the Musikavanhu territorial cult in Rhodesia, '*Guardians of the land*', 263; Broderick, 'Notes', 107; Tapson, 'Sebungwe', 30; UZHD 19 Chivi; Chiketa, 'History of Mashayamombe'; *Sunday Mail*, 13 and 27 August and 3 September 1989.
28. Parkinson, 'Murambgha', 66; Woollacott, 'Pasipamire', 156; Woollacott, 'Chaminuka', 363.
29. Howman, 'Notes and anecdotes', 21; V. Ferreira, 'Two legends', *NADA*, 19, 1942, 39; S. Samkange, *Oral history: the Zvimba people of Zimbabwe*, (Harare Publishing House, Harare, 1986), 21-22; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Makonde, Zvimba, 1965.
30. Coley, 'Bashankwe', 66; Tapson, 'Sebungwe', 31; D.K. Parkinson, 'The Vashangwe of Chief Chireya', *NADA*, ix, 5, 1968, 20; White, 'Urungwe', 37.
31. N 3/33/8, NC Umtali to CNC, 19 January 1904; Tapson, 'Sebungwe', 29.
32. On 'waifs', see the discussion of Kaguvi and Karivara below.
33. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, 27-29; Miller, *African past*, 2; Henige, *Oral historiography*, 2.
34. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, 27; Henige, *Oral historiography*, 106.
35. UZHD Texts 58-59 Chegutu; Chishawasha Mission, *Liber Baptizatorum*, i, 1-1000, Baptism 7, and *Liber Matrimoniorum*, i, 1-373, 10 September 1899.
36. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, 27.
37. Miller, *African past*, 2.
38. Beach, *War and politics*, 101; Chapter Two, above; Rennie, 'Musikavanhu', 263-271; Lan, *Guns and rain*, 75-76.
39. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 247-248; Chapter Two, above.
40. Rennie, 'Ideology', 176-182.
41. G. Wylie, *Zimbabwe crafts*, (National Gallery, Harare, 1983), 20.
42. André Fernandes to the Jesuits in Portugal, 5 December 1562, *Records*, ii, 129.
43. D.N. Beach, 'The Shona economy, branches of production', *Roots*, 38.

44. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, 91-93.
45. *Ibid.*, 3-7.
46. R. Dube 'Family history: a case study of women from Southern Zimbabwe', unpubl. BA Honours thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1988.
47. R. Mtetwa, 'Gutu', 89-95.
48. *Carl Mauch*, 184-186, 190-191.
49. Newitt, *Portuguese settlement*, 251-274.
50. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 53-56.
51. Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*, 47-48.
52. M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona peoples*, (Mambo, Gwelo, 1976), 306-307; G.K. Garbett, 'Religious aspects of political succession among the Valley Korekore (N. Shona); *Zambesian past*, 148-149; Lan, *Guns and rain*, 53-55.
53. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904; N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 29 January 1896; Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/2, 'Lesson 18'; R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', 92; G. Fortune, 'Who was Mwari?', *Rhod. Hist.*, 4, 1973, 1; in two cases, rocks are said to have softened long after the creation to 'record' certain events: Katsukunya, 'Makate', 78, Latham, 'Munhumutapa: oral traditions', 81.
54. J. Vansina, *The children of Woot, a history of the Kuba peoples*, (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1978), 30-36; A. Kaggwa, *The kings of Buganda*, ed. M.S.M. Kiwanuka, (EAPH, Nairobi, 1971), 1-7; Henige, *Oral historiography*, 82-84.
55. N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 29 January 1896.
56. *Leo Frobenius*, 217-220; P. Carbery, 'Maungwe traditions', unpubl. MA paper, Department of History, University of Zimbabwe 1986, makes a much fuller analysis.
57. Posselt, review of *Erythraa* in *NADA*, 9, 1931, 109; C. Bullock, 'Bushman painting, Zimbabwe and romanticists', *NADA*, 26, 1949, 51; Vansina, *Woot*, 35.
58. Gelfand, *Shona ritual*, 13; P. Fry, *Spirits of protest*, (CUP, Cambridge, 1976), 19.
59. H. Aschwanden, *Karanga mythology*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1989), 11-48.
60. N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904. This also makes Gwangwava a rare culture-hero. For his position in history, see Chapter Three above.
61. Shropshire, 'Research trek', 61-62; *Leo Frobenius*, 198-199; Fry, *Spirits*, 38, gives what seems in the literature to be a rare example of a named *njuzu*; on *mandiwonerepi*, see A. Burbridge, 'In spirit-bound Rhodesia', *NADA*, 2, 1924, 19.
62. K.N. Mufuka, *Dzimbabwe: life and politics in the golden age 1100-1500*, (Harare Publishing House, Harare, 1983), 45.
63. *Carl Mauch*, 211.
64. António Gomes, 'Viagem . . . 1648', *Studia*, iii, 1959, 197.
65. Goa Archives, Livros dos Monções, xxviiiA, 150-150V, Antõnio Alveres Pereira to the King, 15 September 1663.
66. *Robert Moffat*, i, 248-249.
67. See especially N 3/33/8 and A3/18/28.
68. N 1/1/9, NC Salisbury to CNC, 29 January 1896; N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
69. Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, 17; Marwodzi, 'Barozwi', 88; UZHD Text 104 Marondera; MLG, DDA, Per/5 Samuriwo, 'Tradition', 1972.
70. N 3/33/8, NC North Mazoe to CNC c. 1 January 1904; L.V. Jowett, 'Makoni', unpubl. paper, 1963; Bullock, 'Mashona', 13; Tapson 'Sebungwe', 29; Abraham, 'Monomotapa', 73-74.
71. Alpers, 'Mutapa and Malawi', 10-11; M. Sibanda, H. Moyana and S. Gumbo, *The African heritage*, i. (ZPH, Harare, 1982), 55.
72. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 62-64.

73. Lan, *Guns and rain*, 77-79, 100-107.
74. Jowett, 'Makoni'.
75. See rainfall reliability/variability maps.
76. Lan, *Guns and rain* , 77, Vansina, *Woot*, 34.
77. UZHD Texts 79, 82, 84, 86 Buhera.
78. Henige, *Oral historiography*, 13-15.
79. UZHD Text 79 Buhera; White, 'Esitshebeni', 23.
80. UZHD Texts 10, 10i Chirumanzu.
81. K. Wilson, 'Indigenous conservation in Zimbabwe: soil erosion, land-use planning and rural life', unpubl. paper, ASAUK Conference, Cambridge, 1988.
82. Phimister, 'Alluvial gold mining', 445-456; I.R. Phimister, 'Pre-colonial gold mining in Southern Zambezia — a reassessment', *African Social Research*, 21, 1976, 1 – 30; Bhila, *Trade and politics*, 40-47; Beach, 'Pereira', 3-8; many of the traditions collected in N 3/33/8 and A 3/18/28 had much more detailed memories of the gold and ivory trade with the Portuguese than can be collected now, so to some extent we can gauge the rate of loss of economic traditions.
83. Nearly all the researchers mentioned in Chapter One were collecting this kind of information.
84. P. Madya, 'Crops grown by Africans living in Eastern and Northeastern Southern Rhodesia in the period 1895-1922', unpubl. BA Honours thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989, 38-39 and personal communication from K. Wilson.
85. D. N. Beach, 'Second thoughts on the Shona economy', *Rhod Hist.*, 7, 1976, 8-9.
86. See reference 24 above.
87. Pacheco, *Viagem*, 25; N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1905; Ferreira, 'Two legends', 40; Gelfand, 'Chaminuka', 6.
88. S. Muhlanga, 'In the early days', *NADA*, 2, 1926, 109; Posselt, 'Marondera', 47; E.G. Howman and J.H. Stanley Adam, 'The hand of glory', *NADA*, 6, 1928, 32-34; Franklin, 'Nyaningwe', 80; Howman, 'Notes and anecdotes', 19, 21; Seymour, 'VaMare', 74, E.G. Howman 'Rufumbi', *NADA*, 27, 1950, 31; Tagwireyi, 'Vamari', 64; Aquina, 'Victoria reserve', 12.
89. Bourdillon, *Shona peoples*, 169-328; Schoffeleers and Mwanza, 'Mwari', *Guardians of the land*, 297-315; Fry, *Spirits*, 18-45; Lan, *Guns and rain*, 31-71.
90. E.S. Mujuru, 'William "Wiri" Edwards and the early administration of Mrewa 1895-1931', unpubl. BA Honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1988, 8-9.
91. J. Farrant, *Mashonaland martyr*, (OUP, Cape Town, 1966); B. Graaff, *Modumedi Moleli*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1988).
92. Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, (V. da Costa Deslandes, Lisbon, 1710), i, 865; Ignacio Caetano Xavier, 'Noticias . . . 1758', *Relações*, 171-173; Chigiga, 'Lemba', *passim*.
93. *Rugwaro rwe cipiri rwo kunemba Chishona*, (Jesuit Fathers, Chishawasha, 1936), 21-25.
94. Bourdillon, *Shona peoples*, 322.
95. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 247-253. This sums up the theories put forward by all writers prior to 1977 and ttempts to provide a model that will accommodate as many of them as possible, but subsequent research has shown that Mwari as a high god was followed more in the central plateau region than I had previously believed.
96. W.A. Elliott, 'The Ma-Shuna' in D. Carnegie, *Among the Matabele*, (Religious Tract Society, London 1894), 112; N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
97. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 252.
98. Gelfand, *Shona ritual*, 31.
99. *Ibid.*, 13; UZHD Text 35 Chikomba-Charter seems to imply that food was produced in a magical fashion without saying so directly.
100. MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chegutu, Rwizi, 1964; Abraham, 'Chaminuka', 32; Posselt,

'Chaminuka', 35-37; Gelfand, Chaminuka', 7-9.
101. UZHD Text 58 Chegutu.
102. See Chapter Two above.
103. Rennie, 'Musikavanhu', 263-271; 'Chiwaoura', 'The death of old Magondi', *NADA*, 3, 1925, 20-21; L.C. Meredith, 'The rain spirit of Mabota Murangadzwa, Melsetter District', *NADA*, 3, 1925, 79; Posselt, 'Chaminuka', 37; Hove, 'Ngowa', 42 Chidziwa, 'Vashawasha', 17; E.G. Howman, 'Native tribes of the south, a superstitious race, the fate of a rain-maker', *NADA*, ix, 3, 1966, 37.
104. Rennie, 'Musikavanhu', 263-271; R. Mtetwa, 'Duma', 51-54, disagreed with some of Rennie's correlations.
105. Bourdillon, 'Tavara', 114-115; Pacheco, *Viagem*, 24.
106. Pacheco, *Viagem*, 25.
107. 'Korekore' as in *nzou-samanyanga*, not as in 'Korekore-speakers'.
108. Aron Marwodzi, Aeneas Chigwedere and, to a lesser extent, Aaron Hodza.
109. See discussion above in this chapter; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 165-167; Rennie, 'Ndau', 65-72.
110. NUA 2/1/3, NC Umtali to CNC, Salisbury, 1 April 1898, 29 June 1900; MLG, DDA, Per 5 Marange, *passim;* UZHD Texts 71-76 Mutare; Bourdillon, 'Darwin', 103-107; Bourdillon, 'Tavara', 114-115; Aquina, 'Victoria reserve', 8, is probably influenced by the Manwa desire to recover their old lands.
111. See Zimuto in Chapter Four above, and Samuriwo in Chapter Three.
112. See Nemarundwe in Chapter Four above.
113. White, 'Esitshebeni', III; see Chapter Two above on Dzete.
114. N 3/33/8, NC Chibi to CNC, 9 February 1904; Franklin, 'conspiracy', 45-47; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Chivi, Shindi, 1965; Seed, 'Vashawasha', 9; UZHD Text 7L Chirumanzu.
115. See sub-section (a) above.
116. N 3/33/8, NC Marandellas to CNC c. 1 January 1904, ANC Mrewa to CNC 13 April 1898.
117. UZHD Text 17 Chivi; K.R. Robinson, 'A tale from the old people', *NADA*, x, 3, 1971, 79-80, represent the new version. For the older one, see Chapter Four above.
118. UZHD Texts 80, 82 Buhera; N 3/33/8, NC Makoni to CNC, 2 December 1903, NC Chibi to CNC, 9 February 1904; Seed, 'Vashawasha', 10.
119. *Ibid.*, UZHD Text 12g Gutu; N 3/33/8 NC Charter to CNC c. 1 January 1904.
120. Seed, 'Vashawasha', 10; Gwati and Turton, 'Native history', 17.
121. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, Chapter Six.
122. N 3/33/8, NC Umtali to CNC, 19 January 1904; 'T.E.', 'Makoni', 77; Abraham, 'Maungwe', 59.
122. White, 'Urungwe', 34, 37; MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Guruve, Bepura, 1965.
124. Coley, 'Bashankwe', 66; Tapson 'Sebungwe', 30-31; Fortune, 'Rozvi text', 72; Campbell, 'Chimombe', 31; White, 'Urungwe', 42.
125. See reference 27 above.
126. See Chapters Two and Four above.
127. See the cases of the Njanja, Mhari, Gutu, northern Hera especially.
128. See reference 26 above.
129. See Chapter Five above; Beach, *Shona and Zimbawe*, Chapter Seven.
130. Hodza and Fortune, *Shona praise poetry, passim.*
131. *Ibid.*, vii.
132. Beach, '*NADA* and Mafohla', 1-2.
133. Samkange, *Oral history;* MLG, DDA, Delin. Report, Makonde, Zimba, 1965; Robinson, 'Tale from the old people'; N 3/33/8 NC Chibi to CNC, 9 February 1904; UZHD Texts 106, 107 Rusape; Posselt, *Fact and Fiction*, 141-143.
134. Hist. Mss. MA 14/1/1; Hist. Mss/MISC RU 4/1/1, *passim.*

135. Abraham, 'Maungwe'; Abraham, 'Monomotapa'; Abraham, 'Early political history'; Carbery, 'Maungwe'; D.N. Beach, 'A.B.S. Chigwedere's pre-colonial histories of Zimbabwe and Africa', *Zambezia*, xv, 1, 1988, 91; N 3/33/8, NC Charter to CNC, c. 1 January 1904.
136. Aschwanden, *Karanga mythology; Leo Frobenius;* J. Vansina, 'Is elegance proof? Structuralism and African history', *Hist. Afr.*, 10, 1983, 307-348; Lan, *Guns and rain;* for Sicard, there is no single volume that represents his thinking, but more than fifty articles.
137. As Shona oral traditions, unlike those of Buganda or Madagascar, have very rarely been published in Shona, this impression is hard to check.
138. Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 318-319.
139. *Ibid.*, 239, 247.
140. Carbery, 'Maungwe'; Bhila, *Trade and politics*, 22-23; Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 315-316.
141. Beach, 'Documents', 129-145.

SELECT LIST OF SOURCES

PRIMARY

(1) Oral traditions and histories

Apart from those traditions collected earlier and put in published or unpublished papers, all oral traditions used in this book come from the University of Zimbabwe History Department collection. Apart from those collected by F. Mashasha, D. Musa and F.B. Makore, they come from my own field work. In each interview I taped the whole exchange, and Nolian Sithole transcribed the tapes into Shona and English. The original tapes and the edited transcripts are held in the Department of History and may be examined there. Each transcript gives the circumstances of the interview and its place and date, the name of the guide-interpreter, the name of the informant and the special features of each interview. Each transcript has a standard code that includes the title of the Department, a common number series (sometimes sub-divided alphabetically) and the name of the district in which the interview was conducted. The index to the collection may be consulted in the Department. A typical reference would be: UZHD Text 71 Mutare.

(2) Documents

(A) *Argiefvandie Nederduitse Gereformeerde-Kerk, Cape Town*: Helm, S.P., 'Report', (1891)
(B) *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon* (AHU):
Anonymous, 'Descripção Corográfica do reino de Manhica, seus custumes e leis', (c. 1794), Moçambique, Caixa 17.
Manamotapa to the King, (20 April 1663,) Moçambique, Caixa 1.
Manamotapa to the King, (28 June 1679,) Moçambique, Caixa 2.
Souza e Menezes, Diogo de, to the King, (1 April 1624,) Moçambique, Caixa 1.
(C) *Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon* (Bibl. Ajuda):
Assumpção, Felipe de, 'Breve informação dos Rios de Cuama,'(1698), 51-VIII-40.
Anonymous, 'Descripção dos Rios de Cuama,' (Post 16 March 1683), 51-VIII-44.
Coutinho, Joseph da Fonseca to Viceroy, (29 July 1698), 51-VIII-40.
(D) *Goa Archives, Panaji* (Goa Archives, Livros dos Monções): Guião, Manuel Gonçalves to Viceroy, (12 June 1710), LXXV.
Henriques, Domingos,'Certidão,' (21 July 1632), XLI.
Mascarenhas, Manuel to Viceroy, (4 August 1663), XXLX-XXX
Pereira, António Alveres to the King, (15 September 1663), XXVIIIA.
Santo Thomás, Fr. Manuel de, 'Report,' (19 June 1723), LXXXIXB.
Viceroy to the King, (14 November 1704), LXVIII.
(E) *Ministry of Local Government, Division of District Administration, Harare* (MLG, DDA): Delineation Reports: These were compiled by a number of Ministry officials between 1964 and 1968, using the existing Per/5 files in each district office and, in many cases, their own research. Though mainly concerned with the administration of the 1960s, they contain much valuable unpublished traditional material. Abbreviated as Delin. Rep., each reference gives the district, the community or topic dealt with and the date of compilation of that part of the Report.

Per/5 Files: These deal with the personal affairs of each Chief and Headman under the Rhodesian and Zimbabwean Governments. While most deal only with minor matters, they also contain genealogies recorded at different times and a few rare historical accounts. They are held by both the Ministry Head Office and in District Offices as current files, and are not held on an open access basis.

(F) *National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare* (unless otherwise indicated, all archival references refer to these Archives):
Full descriptions of the documents under the codes used here will be found in *Guide to the Public Archives of Rhodesia, i, 1890-1923, ed.* T.W. Baxter, (National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1969), except for documents desposited after 1923, which bear the code S. and which are described in the Inventories at the Archives. Non-governmental documents used here are from the Historical Manuscripts Collection, described in *Guide to the Historical Manuscripts in the National Archives of Rhodesia*, eds. T.W. Baxter and E.E. Burke, (National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1970), except for manuscripts deposited since 1970 which bear the code Hist. Mss. and a plain number.

(G) *Public Record Office, London* (PRO):
Freitas, B. de, 'Memorandum on the rights of Portugal in the territories to the south of the Zambezi, 12 July 1890, FO 179/279, No. 168, T.V. Lister to G. Petre, No. 57.
Mandy, F. to Jones, (8 February 1887), CO 417 (14), South Africa, 1887, ii.

(H) *Howman Rozvi File* (HRF):
This is a collection of documents on the Rozvi, compiled by Mr. Roger Howman and presented to the author in 1981. It is divided into a number of sub-files.

(I) *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisbon:
Res(ervados), 1, Pasta E., No. 19, Companhia de Moçambique, Subcircunscrição de Moribane, Questionário Ethnográfico, Resposta E/20, José Luis Ferreira to Secretário Geral, Moribane, (20 October 1916.)

(J) *Chishawasha Mission:*
Liber Baptizatorum, i.
Liber Matrimoniorum, i.

(3) Published documents

Alcáçova, Diogo de, to the King, 20 November 1506, *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840,* eds. A. da Silva Rego and T.W. Baxter, (Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos and National Archives of Rhodesia, Lisbon, 9 volumes 1962-1989), i, 388-399.
Baines, T., *The northern goldfields diaries of Thomas Baines,* e.d J.P.R. Wallis, (Chatto and Windus, London, 1946.)
Barbosa, Duarte, 'Description of the situation, customs and produce of some places of Africa,' c. 1518, *Documents,* v, 357-359.
Barreto, Manuel, 'Report on the state and conquest of the Rivers of Cuama,' 11 December 1667, *Records of South-Eastern Africa.* ed. G.M. Theal, (Government of the Cape Colony, Cape Town, 9 volumes, 1898-1903), iii, 436-508.
Bocarro, António, 'Decade . . . of the perfomances of the Portuguese in the east,' c. 1631-49, *Records,* iii, 254-435.
Conceição, António da, 'Tratado dos Rios de Cuama,' 1696, *O Chronista de Tissuary,* ii, 1867, 39-45, 63-69, 84-92, 105-111.
Costa, Manuel da, 'Termo de adjunto que se fez da recepção dos enviados do Regulo Changa-

mira, Vila de Zumbo, 13 março 1769,' *Moçambique*, 84, 1955, 92.
Council to the King, 8 February 1684, *Records*, iv, 419-426.
Fernandes, Fr. André to the Jesuits in Portugal, 5 December 1562, *Records*, ii, 129-152.
Geronimo, Fr., to the Provincial, 20 February 1630, *Records*, ii, 428-429.
Gold and the gospel in Mashonaland 1888, eds. C.E. Fripp and V.W. Hiller, (Chatto and Windus, London, 1949.)
Gomes, António, 'Viagem que fez o padre António Gomes da Companhia de Jesus ao Imperio de de (sic) Manomotapa, e assistência que fez nas ditas terras desde alguns annos,' 2 January 1648, ed. E. Axelson, *Studia*, 3, 1959, 155-242.
Gubuluwayo and beyond, ed. M. Gelfand, (Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1968.)
King to Viceroy 23 March 1712, *Records*, v, 33-36.
Leask, T., *The Southern African diaries of Thomas Leask, 1865-1870*, ed. J.R.P. Wallis, (Chatto and Windus, London, 1954.)
Luis, Fr., to the Provincial, 3 February 1630, *Records*, ii, 427-428.
Mauch, C., *The journals of Carl Mauch, his travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia 1869-1872*, ed. E.E. Burke, (National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1969.)
Mello e Castro, Dionízio de, 'Notícia do Império Marave e dos Rios de Sena,' 20 January 1763, *Anais da Junta de Investigações do Ultramar*, ix, 1, 1954, 121-149.
Miranda, António Pinto de, 'Monarchia Africana,' c. 1766, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, ed. A.A. Andrade, (Agéncia Geral do Ultramar. Lisbon, 1955), 303-312.
Moffat, R., *The Matabele journals of Robert Moffat 1829-1860*, ed. J.R.P. Wallis, (Chatto and Windus, London, 2 volumes, 1945.)
Moraes, Henrique Bravo de, 'Continuam as notícias do Arcebispado de Goa, '1726, ed. L. da Rocha, *Monumenta*, 9, 1973, 19-30.
Pacheco, Albino Manuel, *Uma viagem de Tete ao Zumbo*, (Nacional, Mocambique, 1883.)
Pereira, Izidoro Correia, 'Mappa das minas conhecidas no district de Senna,'30 July 1857, *Annaes do Concelho Ultramarino, (Parte não Official)*, i, 1858, 186-187.
Rezende, Pedro Barreto de, 'Of the state of India,' 1634, *Records*, ii, 378-426.
'Testimony of baptism of Monomotapa', 1652, *Records*, ii, 441-448.
Veloso, Gaspar, 'Notes,' 1512, *Documents*, iii, 180-189.
Viceroy to Monomotapa, 26 January 1719, *Records*, v, 66-68.
Xavier, Ignacio Caetano, 'Notícias dos dominios portuguezes na costa de Africa oriental,' 1758, *Relações*, 139-188.

SECONDARY

(1) Unpublished Works

Beach, D.N., 'Re-reading traditional history: the Mangwende dynasty of Zimbabwe; unpublished paper, 1987.
Bourdillon, M.F.C., 'Some aspects of the religion of the eastern Korekore,' unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1972.
Carbery, P., 'Maungwe traditions,' unpublished M.A. paper, Department of History, University of Zimbabwe, 1986.
Chanaiwa, D.C., 'A history of the Nhowe before 1900,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1971.
Chigiga, D.C., 'A preliminary study of the Lemba in Rhodesia,' unpublished paper, *Central African Historical Association Conference*, Salisbury, 1972.

Cobbing, J.R.D., 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820-1896,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1976.

Dhliwayo, K.D., 'External traders in the hinterland of Sofala, 1810-1889,' unpublished M. Phil. thesis, University of London, 1977.

Dube, R., 'Family history: a case study of women from Southern Zimbabwe,' unpublished B.A. Honours thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1988.

Jowett, L.V., 'Makoni,' unpublished paper, 1963.

Lan, D. 'Making history: spirit mediums and the guerrilla war in the Dande area of Zimbabwe,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics, 1983.

Livneh, A., 'Pre-colonial polities in Southern Zambezia and their political communications,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universityof London, 1976.

Madya, P., 'Crops grown by Africans living in Eastern and North -eastern Southern Rhodesia in the period 1895-1922,' unpublished B.A. Honours thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989.

Maruta, N.J., 'The coming of the Mbire clan to Southern Mashonaland' unpublished paper, 1973.

Mashasha, F., 'The early history of the Gutu Chiefdom,' University of Rhodesia History Department Research Seminar Paper, 1979.

Mashasha, F., 'The Gutu Chiefdom 1850-1900,' University of Rhodesia History Deparment Research Seminar Paper, 1979.

Mashasha, F., 'J.H. Williams: first NC of Gutu,' University of Rhodesia History Department Research Seminar Paper, 1979.

Matthews, T.I., 'The historical tradition of the peoples of the Gwembe valley, Middle Zambezi,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976.

Mtetwa, A.H., 'A history of Uteve under the Mwene Mutapa rulers 1480-1834,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1984.

Mtetwa, R.M.G., 'The "political" and economic history of the Duma people of south-eastern Rhodesia from the early eighteenth century to 1945,' unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Rhodesia, 1976.

Mudenge, S.I.G., 'The Rozvi empire and the feira of Zumbo,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1972.

Mujuru, E.S., 'William Edwards " Wiri" and the early administration of Mrewa 1895-1931,' unpublished B.A. Honours thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1988.

Munjeri, D., 'A brief outline of the political, economic, social and religious history of the Kalanga,' University of Rhodesia History Department Henderson Seminar Paper 30, 1974.

Mwanza, R.G., 'Mwari: the God of the Karanga,' unpublished paper, *Conference on the History of Central African Religious Systems,* Lusaka, 1972.

Rennie, J.K., 'Christianity, colonialism and the origins of nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1973.

Taylor, J.J., 'Personnel of the Native Department in Mashonaland and Eastern Matabeleland, 1894-1914,' unpublished notes, 1968.

Tsodzo, T.K., 'Mbiru becomes Mutekedza,' unpublished manuscript, 1968.

White, J.D., 'Esitshebeni: some notes on the history and customs of the Shabani District,' unpublished book, 1974.

White, J.D., 'Chiefs and Headmen,' unpublished book, 1988.

Wilson, K., 'Indigenous conservation in Zimbabwe: soil erosion, land-use planning and rural life,' unpublished paper, *ASAUK Conference,* Cambridge, 1988.

(2) **Published Works**

Abraham, D.P., 'The principality of Maungwe,' *NADA*, 28, 1951, 57-83.

Abraham, D.P., 'The Monomotapa dynasty,' *NADA*, 36, 1959, 58-84.

Abraham, D.P., 'The early political history of the kingdom of MweneMutapa, 850-1589,' *Historians in tropical Africa: proceedings of the Leverhulme Intercollegiate History Conference, September 1960*, (University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, 1962), 61-91, 421-422.

Abraham, D.P., 'Maramuca: an exercise in the combined use of Portuguese records and oral tradition,' *The Journal of African History*, ii, 2, 1961, 211-225.

Abraham, D.P., 'Ethno-history of the empire of Mutapa: problems and methods,' *The historian in tropical Africa: vstudies presented at the Fourth International African Seminar at the University of Dakar, Senegal, 1961*, eds. J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L.V. Thomas, (Oxford University Press, London, 1964,) 104-126.

Abraham, D.P., 'The roles of "Chaminuka" and the *mhondoro*-cults in Shona political history,' *The Zambesian Past*, eds. E.T. Stokes and R. Brown, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1966), 28-46.

Alberto, M.S. and Toscano, F.A., *O Oriente Africano Português*, (Minerva Central, Lourenço Marques, 1938..)

Alpers, E.A., 'The Mutapa and Malawi political systems,' *Aspects of Central African History*, ed. T.O. Ranger, (Heinemann, London, 1968,) 1-28.

Alpers, E.A., 'Dynasties of the Mutapa-Rozwi complex,' *J. Afr. Hist.*, xi, 2, 1970, 203-220.

Aquina, Sr. Mary (A.K.H. Weinrich), 'The tribes in Victoria Reserve,' *NADA*, ix, 2, 1965, 6-15.

Aquina, Sr. Mary, 'The tribes in Chilimanzi Reserve and their relation to the Rozvi,' *NADA*, ix, 2, 1965, 40-51.

Aschwanden, H., *Karanga mythology*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1989.)

Axelson, E., *Portuguese in south-east Africa 1600-1700*, (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1960.)

Baker, R.H.,'The *mutupo* among the Wamanyika,' *NADA*, 3, 1925, 48-54.

Bannerman, J.H., 'Towards a history of the Hlengwe people of the south of Rhodesia,' *NADA*, xi, 5, 1978, 483-496.

Bannerman, J.H., 'Hlengweni: the history of the Hlengwe of the Lower Save and Lundi rivers from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century,' *Zimbabwean History*, 12, 1981, 1-45.

Beach, D.N., 'The historiography of the people of Zimbabwe in the 1960s,' *Rhodesian History*, 4, 1973, 21-30.

Beach, D.N., 'The Mutapa dynasty: a comparison of documentary and traditional evidence,' *History in Africa*, 3, 1976, 1-17.

Beach, D.N., 'Second thoughts on the Shona economy,' *Rhod. Hist.*, 7, 1976, 1-11.

Beach, D.N., 'The Shona economy: Branches of production,' *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, eds. R.H. Palmer and Q.N. Parsons, (Heinemann, London, 1977), 37-65.

Beach, D.N., 'The Shona generation,' *Central African Journal of Medicine*, xxv, 3, 1979, 45-53.

Beach, D.N., *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1984.)

Beach, D.N., 'The Rozvi in search of their past,' *Hist. Afr.*, 10, 1983, 13-34.

Beach, D.N., 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' *History of Central Africa*, i, eds. D. Birmingham and P. Martin, (Longman, Harlow, 1983,) 245-277.

Beach, D.N., *War and Politics in Zimbabwe 1840-1900*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1986.)

Beach, D.N., '*NADA* and Mafohla: antiquarianism in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe with special reference to the work of F.W.T. Posselt,' *Hist. Afr.*, 13, 1986, 1-11.

Beach, D.N., 'Documents and African society on the Zimbabwean plateau before 1890,' *Paideuma*, 33, 1987, 129-145.

Beach, D.N., 'From heroism to history: Mapondera and the northern Zimbabwean plateau, 1840-1904,' *Hist. Afr.*, 15, 1988, 85-161.

Beach, D.N., 'A.B.S. Chigwedere's pre-colonial histories of Zimbabwe and Africa,' *Zambezia*, xv, 1, 1988, 87-93.

Beach, D.N., 'Zimbabwean demography: early colonial data,' *Zambezia*, xvii, 1, 1990, 31-83.

Beach, D.N., *Mapondera 1840-1904*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1989.)

Bent J.T., *The ruined cities of Mashonaland*, (Longmans Green, London, 1892.)

Bhebe, N.M.B., *Christianity and traditional religion in western Zimbabwe 1859-1923*, (Longman, London, 1979.)

Bhila, H.H.K., *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom. The Manyika and their Portuguese and African neighbours, 1575-1902*, (Longman, Harlow, 1982.)

Bourdillon, M.F.C., 'Peoples of Darwin,' *NADA*, x, 2, 1970, 103-114.

Bourdillon, M.F.C., 'The manipulation of myth in a Tavara chiefdom,' *Africa*, xlii, 2, 1972, 112-121.

Bourdillon, M.F.C., *The Shona peoples*, (Mambo, Gwelo, 1976.)

Bourdillon, MF.C., 'The cults of Dzivaguru and Karuva amongst the north-eastern Shona peoples,' *Guardians of the land*, ed. J.M. Schoffeleers, (Mambo, Gwelo, 1978.)

Botelho, S.X., *Memória estátistica sobre os dominios portuguezes na Africa Oriental*, (José Baptista Morando, Lisbon, 1835.)

Bratton, M., *Beyond Community Development*, (Mambo, Gwelo, 1978.)

Broderick, G.E.P., 'Some notes,' *NADA*, 16, 1939, 106-112.

Bullock, C., *The Mashona*, (Juta, Cape Town, 1927.)

Bullock, C., 'Bushman painting, Zimbabwe and romanticists,' *NADA*, 26, 1949, 50-53.

Burbridge, A., 'In spirit-bound Rhodesia,' *NADA*, 2, 1924, 17-29.

Campbell, A.A. (pseudonym 'Mziki),' *Mlimo*, (Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, 1926.)

Campbell, A.C., 'Chimombe,' *NADA*, 34, 1957, 31-57.

Capello, H. and Ivens, R., *Quelques notes sur l'établissement et les travaux des Portugais au Monomotapa*, (Nacional, Lisbon, 1889.)

Caton-Thompson, G., *The Zimbabwe culture*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1931.)

Chidziwa, J., 'History of the VaShawasha,' *NADA*, ix, 1, 1964, 16-33.

Chigwedere, A.S., *From Mutapa to Rhodes*, (Macmillan, Harare, 1980.)

'Chiwaoura', 'The death of old Magondi,' *NADA*, 3, 1925, 19-21.

Coillard, F., *On the threshold of Central Africa*, (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1897.)

Daneel, M.L., *The god of the Matopo hills*, (Mouton, The Hague, 1970.)

Daneel, M.L., *Old and new in southern Shona independent churches*, i, (Mouton, The Hague, 1971.)

Davies, C.S., 'Odds and ends,' *NADA*, 17, 1940, 27-28.

Edwards, W., 'The Wanoe,' *NADA*, 4, 1926, 13-28.

Elkiss, T., *The quest for an African Eldorado: Sofala, Southern Zambezia and the Portuguese 1500-1865*, (Crossroads, Waltham, 1981.)

Elliott, W.A., 'The MaShuna,' in D. Carnegie, *Among the Matabele*, (Religious Tract Society, London, 1894), Chapter 9.

Farrant, J., *Mashonaland martyr*, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1966.)

Ferreira, V., 'Two legends,' *NADA*, 19, 1942, 39-40.

Fortune, G., 'The contribution of Linguistics to ethnohistory,' *Historians in tropical Africa*, 17-30.

Fortune, G., 'A Rozvi text with translation and notes,' *NADA*, 33, 1956, 67-91.

Fortune, G., 'Who was Mwari? *Rhod. Hist.*, 4, 1973, 1-20.

Franklin, H., 'A selection of notes on Manyika customs,' *NADA*, 5, 1927, 56-60.

Franklin, H., 'The conspiracy of the five sons,' *NADA*,5, 1927, 45-47.

Franklin, H., 'Nyaningwe,' NADA, 6, 1928, 80-87.

Frobenius, Leo — an anthology, ed. E. Haberland, (Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1973.)

Fry, P., *Spirits of protest*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976.)

Fynes-Clinton, S.H., 'The history of the Msana Chieftainship,' *NADA*, x,4, 1972, 60-63.

Garbett, G.K., 'Religious aspects of political succession among the Valley Korekore (N. Shona),' *Zambesian Past*, 137-170.

Garbett, G.K., 'Disparate regional cults and a unitary field in Zimbabwe,' *Regional cults*, ed. R.P. Werbner, (Academic Press, London, 1977,) 55-92.

Garlake, P.S., 'Seventeenth-century Portuguese earthworks in Rhodesia,' *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, xxi, 1966-7, 157-170.

Gayre, R., *The origin of the Zimbabwean civilisation*, (Galaxie, Salisbury, 1972.)

Gelfand, M., *Shona ritual*, (Juta, Cape Town, 1959.)

Gelfand, M., 'The *mhondoro* — Chaminuka,' *NADA*, 36, 1959, 1-10.

Gelfand, M., 'The *mhondoro* cult among Manyika peoples of the eastern region of Mashonaland,' *NADA*, xi, 1, 1974, 64-95.

Glass, S., *The Matabele war*, (Longman, London, 1966.)

Graaff, B., *Modumedi Moleli*, (Mambo, Gweru, 1988.)

Gray, R. and Marks, S., 'Southern Africa and Madagascar,' *The Cambridge History of Africa*, iv., ed. R. Gray, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975.)

Guyot, P., *Voyage au Zambèze*, (Paris, 1895.)

Gwati, C. and Turton, J.E.S., 'Native history of Salisbury,' *NADA*, 16, 1939, 17-19.

Hall, R.N., *Prehistoric Rhodesia*, (T.F. Unwin, London, 1909.)

Hannan, M., *Standard Shona dictionary*, (Rhodesia Literature Bureau, Salisbury, 1974.)

Hayes, M.E., 'The Nambiya people of Wange,' *NADA*, xi, 4, 1977, 385-393.

Hemans, H.N., 'History of the Abenanzwa tribe,' *Proceedings and Transactions of the Rhodesian Scientific Association*, 12, 1912-3, 85-91.

Henige, D.P., *The chronology of oral tradition, quest for a chimera*, (Clarendon, Oxford, 1974.)

Henige, D.P., *Oral historiography*, (Longman, Harlow, 1982.)

Hensman, H., *A history of Rhodesia compiled from official sources*, (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1900.)

Hodza, A. and Fortune, G., *Shona praise poetry*, (Clarendon, Oxford, 1979.)

Holleman, J.F., 'Some "Shona" tribes of Southern Rhodesia,' *Seven tribes of British Central Africa*, eds. E. Colson and M. Gluckman, (Oxford University Press, London, 1951,) 354-395.

Holleman, J.F., *African interlude*, (Nasionale, Cape Town, 1958.)

Holleman, J.F., *Chief, council and commissioner*, (Royal Van Gorcum, Assen, 1969.)

Hove, M.M., 'Notes on the Vangowa tribe,' *NADA*, 20, 1943, 41-45.

Howman, E.G. and Adam, J.H. Stanley, 'The hand of glory,' *NADA*, 6, 1928, 32-34.

Howman, E.G., 'Rufimbi,' *NADA*, 27, 1950, 31-33.

Howman, E.G., 'Native tribes of the south, a superstitious race, the fate of a rain-maker,' *NADA*, ix, 3, 1966, 33-37.

Huffman, T.N., 'Corrected radiocarbon dates for the Iron Age of Rhodesia,' in Beach, *Shona and Zimbabwe*, 321-325.

Isaacman, A.F., *Mozambique: the Africanisation of a European institution, the Zambezi prazos, 1750-1902*, (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1972.)

Kaggwa, A., *The kings of Buganda*, ed. M.S.M. Kiwanuka, (East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1971.)

Katoke, I.K., *The Karagwe kingdom,* (East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1975.)

Katsukunya, V., 'Makate and Nehoreka,' *NADA,* x, 3, 1971, 77-78.

Kerr, W.M., *The far interior,* i, (Sampson Low, Marston, London, 1887.)

Kosmin, B.A., 'The Inyoka tobacco industry of the Shangwe people,' *Roots of rural poverty,* 268-288,

Laing, D.T., *The Matabele rebellion,* (Dean, London, 1897.)

Lan, D., *Guns and rain, guerrillas and spirit mediums in Zimbabwe,* (Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1985.)

Lancaster, C.S., *The Goba of the Zambezi,* (Oklahoma University Press, Norman, 1981.)

Latham, C.J.K., 'Dzimbadzemabgwe,' *NADA,* x, 2, 1970, 24-70.

Latham, C.J.K., 'Munhumutapa: oral traditions,' *NADA,* x, 4, 1972, 77-82.

Latham, C.J.K., 'Oral traditions: some speculations,' *Rhodesiana,* 39,1978, 9-16.

Law, A.H., *A memoir of the life and death of the Rev. Father Augustus Law SJ,* ed. W.T. Law, (Burns and Oates, London, 1883.)

Liesegang, G.J., 'Nguni migrations between Delagoa Bay and the Zambezi, 1821-1839,' *African Historical Studies,* iii, 2, 1970, 317-337.

Liesegang, G.J., 'New light on Venda traditions: Mahumane's account of 1730,' *Hist. Afr.,*4, 1977, 163-180.

Liesegang, G.J., 'Notes on the internal structure of the Gaza Kingdom of southern Mozambique, 1840-1895,' *Before and after Shaka,* ed. J.B. Peires, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Grahamstown, 1983,) 178-209.

Lisulo, B.J.W., 'The history of the Barotse nation,' *NADA,* 5, 1927, 884.

Lloyd, E. and Muhlanga, S., 'Mbava,' *NADA,* 3, 1925, 62-64.

Lloyd, E. and Muhlanga, S., 'Mbava and others,' *NADA,* 4, 1926, 91-93.

Mackenzie, J.M., 'A pre-colonial industry: the Njanja and the iron trade,' *NADA,* xi, 2, 1975, 200-220.

'Mafohla,' (pseudonym of F.W.T. Posselt), 'A raid and what led to it,' *NADA,* 4, 1926, 102-103.

Maggs, T., 'Some recent radiocarbon dates from eastern and southern Africa,' *J. Afr. Hist.,* xviii, 2, 1977, 161-191.

Mandivenga, E., 'The history and "re-conversion" of the Varemba of Zimbabwe,' *Journal of Religion in Africa,* xix, 2, 1989, 98-124.

Marconnes, F., 'The Rozvis or destroyers,' *NADA,* 12, 1934, 72-90.

Marks, S., 'Southern Africa 1867-1886,' *Cambridge History of Africa,* vi, eds. R.Oliver and G.N. Sanderson, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985.)

Marwodzi, A., 'The Barozwi,' *NADA,* 2, 1924, 88-91.

Meade, H.M.T., 'An arboreal place of worship,' *NADA,* 4, 1926, 106-107.

Meredith, L.C., 'The rain spirit of Mabota Marungadzwa, Melsetter District,' *NADA,* 3, 1925, 77-81.

Miller, J.P., 'The Imbangala and the chronology of early central African history,' *J. Afr. Hist.,* xiii, 4, 1972, 549-574.

Morris, S.E., 'The origin of some Mashona names of chiefs and places,' *NADA,* 10, 1932, 18-20.

Mtetwa, R.M.G., 'The relationship between the Gutu dynasty and the Mwari cult in the nineteenth century,' *Rhod. Hist.,* 6, 1975, 89-95.

Mudenge, S.I.G., review of *Origins of Rhodesia* in *Pfumo,* April, 1971, 10.

Mudenge, S.I.G., 'The role of foreign trade in the Rozvi empire,' *J. Afr. Hist.,* xv, 3, 1974, 373-391.

Mudenge, S.I.G., 'An identification of the Rozvi and its implication for the history of the Karanga,' *Rhod. Hist.,* 5, 1974, 19-31.

Mudenge, S.I.G., *A political history of Munhumutapa c. 1400-1902*, (Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1988.)

Muhlanga, S., 'In the early days,' *NADA*, 4, 1926, 107-110.

Munjeri, D., 'How Chief Rambira Mudzimuirema met his death,' *NADA* xii, 2, 1980, 110-116.

Mutoredzanwa, D., 'The life history of Zhakata,' *NADA*, x, 1, 1969, 54-56.

Mufuka, K.N., *Dzimbahwe: life and politics in the golden age 1100-1500*, (Harare Publishing House, Harare 1983.)

Newitt, M.D.D., *Portuguese settlement on the Zambezi*, (Longman, London, 1973.)

Nowell, C.E., *The rose-colored map*, (Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1982.)

Ntara, S.J., *The history of the Chewa*, (Mbiti ya Achewa), ed. B. Heintze, (Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1973.)

Parkinson, D.K.,'Chief Chibi: 1890,' *Rhodesiana*, 15, 1966, 63-67.

Parkinson, D.K., 'The Vashangwe of Chief Chireya,' *NADA*, ix, 5, 1968, 20-21.

Parkinson, D.K., 'The Varozvi of Chief Murambgha,' *NADA*, x, 4, 1972, 64-67.

Parsons, Q.N., 'On the origins of the BamaNgwato,' *Botswana Notes and Records*, 5, 1973, 82-103.

Passmore, G., 'Beyond independence: unfettered community development,' *Zambezia*, viii, 1, 1980, 85-99.

Peaden, W.R., 'Nenguwo Training Institution and the first Shona teachers' *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, i, ed. A, J. Dachs, (Mambo Gwelo, 1973), 71-82.

Phimister, I.R.,'Alluvial gold mining and trade in nineteenth century south central Africa,' *J. Afr. Hist.*, xv, 3, 1974, 445-456.

Phimister, I.R., 'Pre-colonial gold mining in Southern Zambezia — a re-assessment,' *African Social Research*, 21, 1976, 1-30.

Posselt, F.W.T., *Mambo and his court*, (Argus, Salisbury, 1923.)

Posselt, F.W.T., 'The Banyemba legend and ceremony,' *NADA*, 2, 1924, 11-13.

Posselt, F.W.T., 'Chaminuka the wizard,' *NADA*, 4, 1926, 35-37.

Posselt, F.W.T., 'Marondera,' *NADA*, 5, 1927, 47-48.

Posselt, F.W.T., *A survey of the native tribes of Southern Rhodesia*, (Government Printer, Salisbury, 1927.)

Posselt, F.W.T., 'The curse of Chigodoro,' *NADA*, 6, 1928, 20-23.

Posselt, F.W.T., 'The story of the princess Mepo,' *NADA*, 7, 1929, 115-117.

Posselt, F.W.T., *Fact and fiction*, (Rhodesian Publishing and Printing, Bulawayo, 1935.)

Prins, G., *The hidden hippopotamus, reappraisal in African history, the early colonial experience in western Zambia*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980.)

Prominent Rhodesian personalities, ed. L. Newitt, (Cover Services, Salisbury, 1977.)

Ralushai, N.M.N. and Gray, J.R., 'Ruins and traditions of the Ngona and Mbedzi,' *Rhod. Hist.*, 8, 1977, 1-11.

Ralushai, N.M.N., 'Traditions concerning Luvhimbi and the Mbedzi,' *Rhod. Hist.*, 9, 1978, 1-12.

Randles W.G.L., *L' empire du Monomotapa de XVe au XIXe siécle*, (Mouton, Paris, 1975.)

Ranger, T.O., *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7*, (Heinemann, London, 1967.)

Ranger, T.O., *The African voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898-1930*, (Heinemann, London, 1970.)

Ranger, T.O., 'Tradition and travesty: chiefs and the administration in Makoni District, Zimbabwe, 1960-1980,' *Africa*, lii, 3, 1982, 20-41.

Rasmussen, R,K., *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa*, (Rex Collings, London, 1978.)

Rea, W.F., *The economics of the Zambezi missions 1580- 1759,* (Institutum Historicum S.I., Rome, 1976.)

Rennie, J.K., 'From Zimbabwe to a colonial Chieftaincy: four transformations of the Musikavanhu territorial cult in Rhodesia,' *Guardians of the land,* 257-285.

Rennie, J.K., 'Ideology and state formation: political and communal ideologies among the south-eastern Shona, 1500-1890,' *State formation in Eastern Africa,* ed. A. I. Salim, (Heinemann, Nairobi, 1984) 162-194.

Robinson, K.R., 'A history of the Bikita District,' *NADA,* 34, 1957, 75-87.

Robinson, K.R., *Khami ruins,* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1959.)

Robinson, K.R., 'A tale from the old people,' *NADA,* x, 3, 1971, 79-80.

Rudd, S., 'Excavations at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi Hill, Theydon, Zimbabwe,' *S. Afr. Archae, Bull.,* 39, 1984, 83-105.

Rugwaro rwe cipiri rwokunemba Cishona, (Jesuit Fathers, Chishawasha, 1936.)

Samkange, S., *Oral history: the Zvimba people of Zimbabwe,* (Harare Publishing House, Harare, 1986.)

Sawanhu, J., 'The Waharawa history,' *NADA,* 3, 1925, 59-62.

Schebesta, P., 'Die Zimbabwe-Kultur in Africa,' *Anthropos,* 21, 1926.

Schebesta, P., *Portugals Konquistamission in Sudost-Africa,* (Steyler, St. Augustin, 1967.)

Schoffeleers, J.M. and Mwanza, R.G., 'An organizational model of the Mwari shrines,' *Guardians of the land,* 297-315.

Seed, J.H., 'A glimpse of native history,' *NADA,* 14, 1936-7, 5-16.

Selous, F.C., *A hunter's wanderings in Africa,* (Bentley, London, 1881.)

Selous, F.C., *Travel and adventure in south-east Africa,* (Rowland Ward, London, 1893,.)

Seymour, L.F., 'The tradition of the VaMare of Chibi,' *NADA,* 17, 1940, 73-76.

Shropshire, D., 'The story of an anthropological research trek,' *NADA,* 7, 1929, 52-63.

Sibanda, M., Moyana, H. and Gumbo, S., *The African heritage,* (Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1982.)

Sicard, H. von, 'Tentative chronological tables,' *NADA,* 23, 1946, 30-35.

Sicard, H. von, 'The origins of some of the tribes in the Belingwe Reserve, 1-6,' *NADA,* 25, 1948, 93-104; '7', *NADA,* 27 1950, 7-19; '8', *NADA,* 28, 1951, 5-25; '9', *NADA,* 29, 1952, 43-64; '10', *NADA,* 30, 1953, 64-71; '11', *NADA,* 32, 1955, 77-92.

Sicard, H. von, 'Die Rembetu,' *Anthropos,* 45, 1950, 195-208.

Sicard, H. von, 'Mambo Dyembewu,' *Proc. Trans. Rhod. Scient. Assoc.,* 43, 1951, 175-215.

Sicard, H. von, 'Rhodesian sidelights on Bechuanaland history,' *NADA,* 31, 1954, 67-94.

Sicard, H. von, 'Shaka and the north,' *African Studies,* xiv, 4, 1955, 145-153.

Sicard, H.von, 'Places of ancient occupation in Chief Negove's country,' NADA, 33, 1956, 32-50, *NADA,* 34, 1957, 8-30.

Sicard, H. von, 'The Jawunda,' *NADA,* 36, 1959, 103-128.

Sicard, H. von, 'Ruins and their traditions on the lower Mzingwane and in the Beitbridge area,' *NADA,* 38, 1961, 50-73.

Sicard, H. von, 'The Dumbuseya,' *NADA,* ix, 5, 1968, 32-35.

Sinclair, P. and Lundmark, H., 'A spatial analysis of archaeological sites from Zimbawe,' *Frontiers: southern African archaeology today,* eds. M. Hall, G. Avery, D.M. Avery, M.L. Wilson and A.J.B. Humphreys, (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology, 10, BAR International Series 207, 1984),

Smith, H. Stanford, 'Monomotapas,' *NADA,* 35, 1958, 84-86.

Sousa, F. de, *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa,* (V. da Costa Deslandes, Lisbon, 1710.)

Speares, J., 'How Chivero came to take the *chidao* of "Gwenzi" ', *NADA,* 6, 1928, 114.

Storry, H.G., *The shattered nation*, (H. Timmins, Cape Town, 1974.)

Summers, R., and Blake-Thompson, J., 'Mlimo and Mwari,' *NADA*, 33, 1956, 53-58.

Summers, R., *Ancient mining in Rhodesia*, (National Museums, Salisbury, 1969.)

Sumner, H.E., 'The Kwenda story,' *NADA*, ix, 4, 1967, 3-5.

Sumner, H.E., 'Ruins of African villages on Zabe hill,' *NADA*, ix, 3, 1966, 3-4.

Tagwireyi, J.H. 'Origin of the Vamari clan,' *NADA*, 27, 1950, 63-66.

Tapson, R.R., 'Notes on the Mrozwi occupation of Sebungwe' *NADA*, 21, 1944, 29-32.

Taylor, G.A., 'The genealogical method of anthropological research,' *NADA*, 2, 1924, 33-48.

'T.E.', 'The story of the origin of the name "Makoni",' *NADA*, 14, 1936-7, 76-78.

Tizirai, P., 'The story of the Chilimanzi people,' *NADA*, 26, 1949, 36-38.

Tracey, A., 'The family of the Mbira,' *Zambezia*, iii, 2, 1974, 1-10.

Tsamba ye Cina, Rusape Reader No. 2, Masoko e VaMambo ve kare ve nyika ino neNgano Shona, (Lovedale Press, Lovedale, 1934.)

Tsodzo, T.K., 'The man from there,' *NADA*, x, 3, 1971, 26-29.

Umtali Boys High School History Society, 'Gombe: the study of a wall,' *Zuro*, 1973, 26-34.

Van der Merwe, D.J., 'Some history of the Vakaranga in the Gutu Reserve,' *NADA*, 14, 1936-7, 71-74.

Van der Merwe, W.J., 'The Shona idea of God,' *NADA*, 34, 1957, 39-63.

Vansina, J., *Oral tradition, a study in historical methodology*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965.)

Vansina, J., 'Comment: Traditions of Genesis,' *J. Afr. Hist.*, xv, 2, 1974, 317-322.

Vansina, J., *The children of Woot, a history of the Kuba peoples*, (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1978.)

Vansina, J., 'Is elegance proof? Structuralism and African history,' *Hist. Afr.*, 10, 1983, 307-348.

Vansina, J., *Oral tradition as history*, (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985.)

Weinrich, A.K.H., *Chiefs and councils in Rhodesia*, (Heinemann, London, 1971.)

White, J.D., 'Some notes on the history and customs of the Urungwe District,' *NADA*, x, 3, 1971, 33-72.

White, J.D., 'The VaMari, *NADA*, xii, 2, 1980, 117-129.

Woollacott, R.C., 'Pasipamire — spirit medium of Chaminuka, the "wizard" of Chitungwiza,' *NADA*, xi, 2, 1975, 154-167.

Woollacott, R.C., 'Chaminuka,' *NADA*, xi, 1976, 363-365.

Wylie, G., *Zimbabwe crafts*, (National Gallery, Harare, 1983.)

Young, J., 'The legendary history of the Hodi and Ngorima chiefs,' *NADA*, x, 2, 1970, 49-60.

Zachrisson, P., *An African area in change, Belingwe 1894-1946*, (Bulletin of Department of History No. 17, University of Gothenburg, 1978.)

'Afonso Cupiça' (Mutapa), 212, 217, 233, 242, 324.
Altona farm, 44, 46, 48.
'Amutua' (Mutapa), 216.
Banga dynasty (Mhari), 160-2, 165-6, 172.
Bangira (Mashayamombe), 71, 272.
'Bangoma, Bangômué' (Mutapa), 215-6, 218-9, 225.
Bangomwe spirit, 225.
Bangure (Chirimuhanzu), 172-4.
Bankwe dynasty (Kalanga), viii, 139-40.
Banyemba, vaNyemba (Chihota), 119-20.
Bapata (Neuso), 65.
Bara hill, 145.
Barapata hill, 121.
Bare (Kalanga), 182.
Barwe territory, 85, 211, 216.
Basvi (Rozvi), 193, 201, 296.
Baturowa (Nyandoro), 91.
Bedza hill, 39-40.
Begede community, 42-3, 290.
Bembezana river, 176.
Benhura dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 62, 73, 86, 89-90, 96; (Chikwaka), 105-6.
Bepe hills, 126.
Bera hill, 186.
Bere dynasty (Mhari), 160, 162, 166, 315.
Betera (Nyashanu), 40, 287.
Beza range, 144.
Bika (Charumbira), 179.
Bindu (Chihota), 120.
Bisa (Samuriwo), 94-5.
Biza (Musana), 106.
Bocha people, territory vii, 7-8, 13, 18-9, 22, 28-37, 39-40, 43, 52, 63, 65-6, 85, 96-7, 200, 247, 251, 287.
Bodyo (Mangwende), 113.
Bogayi mountain, 158.
Bogoto mountain, 113-4.
Bonda people, ix, 156-9, 277.
Boroma (Rozvi), 161; (Mutapa), 214, 217-9, 221-2, 224, 231-2, 234, 243, 254, 266.
'Boroma Dangwarangwa' ('Mutapa'), 233-4, 243.
Bubye (Bubi) river, 181-2.
Budera (Ngezi), 53.
Budya people, territory, 82, 85, 92, 100, 115, 121, 135, 159, 179, 235, 286.
Buhera territory, vii, 7-8, 14, 17-8, 20, 22, 28-9, 33, 36-50, 52, 63-6, 69, 74, 76, 84-5, 87, 96, 121, 123, 143, 147-8, 151-2, 157, 167-8, 171-2, 175, 192, 197, 247, 249, 287.
Buhwa mountain, 142.
Bungowa territory, 153-8, 160-3.
Bungu (Chikwaka), 105.
Bushiri territory, 158.
Bushu dynasty (Manyika), 120.
Bvumbura territory, 44, 75-7, 79, 87, 157, 298.
Bvunzawabaya (Chikwaka), 105.
Bvute (Rwizi), 60, dynasty (Ngowa), 156.
Bwanye port, 199, 247, 252, 262.
'Camboi' (Mutapa), 215.
'Camota' (Mutapa), 215, 217-8.
'Candie I, II' (Mutapa), 216, 218-9.
'Cariza' (Mutapa), 214-5, 218.
'Cataruza, Caturuza' (Mutapa), 216, 219.
Chadokwenda dynasty, 160, 162.
Chaka (Chirimuhanzu), 173.
Chakadini (Nenguwo), 121.
Chakare river, territory, 67.
Chamakuwa hill, 156, 186.
Chamaya people, 176.
Chaminuka spirit, 59-61, 64, 100, 196, 225, 237, 251, 264-5, 296.

Chamutsa dynasty and group, 22, 33, 42-3, 50-1, 151, 292-3.
Chanakira (Ngezi), 54-5, 294.
Chandafira (Chingombe muRozvi), 200, 203.
Changamire dynasty, state (Rozvi), viii, xv, xvii, 28, 32-3, 40, 45, 50, 56-7, 64, 74, 82-3, 85-8, 90-2, 94, 96, 98, 110, 112, 114, 117, 120, 124-31, 138-44, 146-8, 152-5, 157, 160-3, 176-8, 180-1, 183-5, 188-208, 211-2, 216-7, 220-1, 230-1, 235-9, 242, 422, 250-1, 264, 269, 273, 287, 300.
'Changara' (Mutapa), 215-6, 218-9, 234, 237, 243.
Changu (Rozani), 129.
Chapo religious figure, 264-5.
Chapungu (Rozvi), 193.
Chapuradima (Marange), 34.
Charambira (Mbiru), 38, 41.
Charter-Chikomba district, 5, 37, 62, 88, 173, 223.
Charumbira dynasty (Nini), 179; (Shawasha), 101, 136.
Charwe (Njanja), 75-7, 79-80; medium, 123.
Chasura dynasty *shiri,* 49-50, 144, 147-8, 154, 156-8.
Chatikobo (Chirimuhanzu), 173.
Chatora (Ngezi), 55.
Chawuruka (Seke), 98.
Chawurura (Gutu) 149-50.
Chayitezvi (Shawasha), 100-1.
Chededzakukwa (Twamamba), 182.
Chekamaswa hill, 33.
Cherenga area, 32.
Cheza (Chikwaka), 105.
'Chibatamatosi' ('Mutapa'), 236.
Chibonore (Svosve), 117.
Chibvurenyi area, 32.
'Chicauza' (Mutapa), 219.
'Chicoca' (Mutapa), 215.
'Chicué, Chicuéa' (Mutapa), 218, 234.
Chideya (Ngezi), 55, 294.
Chidima territory, 106, 111-2, 216, 220, 224-5, 227, 241, 259.
Chiduku dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 18, 127-31, 196-7, 202-3; (Gunguwo), 79.
Chidya (Chikwaka), 105.
Chidyausayi (Nyamweda), 85-6.
Chidye-Mkota dynasty(Tonga), 115.
Chidziwa (Chinamhora), 100-1.
Chidudzu (Mhari), 160-1, 165.
Chifashu dynasty *shiri,* 157.
Chifurira (Seke), 97.
Chigara hill, 87.
Chigodora Kuvimadzama Mutoko (Chinamhora), 102.
Chogodoro Shamuyarira (Svosve), 117.
Chigonero (Mutekedza), 48, 291.
Chigutiro dynasty *soko,* 58.
Chigwe, 169.
Chihota dynasty (Manyika), viii, 5, 18, 20, 85, 91-2, 116-7, 119.
Chihunduro, Chiwundura dynasty (Rozvi), 127, 140, 194.
Chihunga (Chihota), 120.
Chihurinyanga (Kasekete), 224-7, 229, 233, 240.
Chikada dynasty (Pfumbi), 181.
Chikanga dynasty (Manyika), 167, 276; (Mhari), 159-60.
Chikangamano (Chivero), 57.
Chikara spirit, 266.
Chikare spirit (Nyamweda), 226, 229; (Musana), 103-4.
Chikede dynasty *gumbo,* 145.
Chikohore (Chingombe muRozvi), 127.
Chikoka (Mutapa), 243.
Chikomba territory, 44, 87, 249; dynasty (Rozvi), 176.
Chikomovi (Tsokoto), 112.

Chikomwe (Rusike), 108.
Chikono (Njanja), 75, 77-9.
Chikore dynasty (Guzho), 72, 298.
Chikosha (Svosve), 117.
Chikova group, 42; territory, 111, 216, 325.
Chikudza (Chihota), 120.
Chikuku (Marange), 35.
Chikunga Guzha Tiya (Svosve), 117.
Chikuni (Marange), 32, 288.
Chikurawadyembewu = Dyembewu.
Chikuva (Musana), 103-4.
Chikuwa Mudandi (Nyashanu), 41, 290.
Chikuyo (Kasekete), 224, 231, 236.
Chikuyu (Rusike), 110.
Chikwaka dynasty *mbano*, viii, xiii, 68, 84, 99, 104-5, 109, 119, 297.
Chikwanda dynasty (Duma), 148, 167.
Chikwava (Mbavha), 128-9.
Chikwiriro area, 35.
Chimanda (Chivero), 57, 294.
Chimembe (Mbire), 170.
Chimhiti (Marange), 32-4, 289.
'Chiminiambo' (Mutapa), 219.
Chiminya, Mujuru (Rozvi), ix, 199-208.
Chimoyo dynasty soko, 100, 115.
Chinaka dynasty (Pako), 136, 154, 163.
Chinamaringa (Chinamhora), 100-1.
Chinamhora dynasty (Shawasha), viii, 84, 93, 97-102, 104, 114, 118-9, 121-2, 137, 277, 286, 302.
Chinanga (Njanja), 76.
Chinemasabwa (Munyaradze), 50-1.
Chinengundu (Mashayamombe), 71, 272, 297.
Chingoma dynasty (Romwe), viii, 137-8, 150, 167, 180; (Chinamhora), 101-2.
Chingombe area, 38; muRozvi dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 127-8, 196-8, 200-8; (Nyashanu), 42; dynasty (Rufura), 149-50.
Chingondo hill, 71, 298.
Chingono (Mutekedza), 45.
Chingowo *nzou*, 224; dynasty, *soko*, 115.
Chingwere Chimhavi (Mutekedza), 44, 46-7, 292.
Chingwezi river, 142.
Chinyaika (Chivero), 57.
Chinyama (Chirimuhanzu), 173-4.
Chinyaruuyu area, 32.
Chinyika river, 99, 105.
Chioko *nzou*, 220.
Chipamba (Marange), 32.
Chipata territory, 56, 145.
Chipfatsura (Marange), 19, 35.
Chipfene (Mbire), 115.
Chipindirwe hill, 32.
'Chipute' (Mutapa), 216.
Chiputire (Chihota), 91 120.
Chirau dynasty, *nondo*, 82, 85.
Chiremba dynasty (Lemba), 184.
Chirenga (Musana), 104.
Chireya dynasty (Shangwe), 28-9, 63-4, 207, 296.
'Chirimbe' (Mutapa), 214.
Chirimuhanzu dynasty (Manyika-Govera), (Chirumanzu), 5, 11, 45, 55, 117, 137, 146, 153, 162, 171-4, 179, 290.
Chirimuhuta (Chinamhora), 101.
Chirimuka territory, viii, 118-9.
Chirimunhava (Rozvi), 199.
Chiripanyanga (Hwata), 123.
Chirisa (Gurujena), 144.
Chirisamhuru (Changamire), 125, 194-5, 272.
Chirogwe hill, xiii, 136, 154, 163, 165, 169.
Chirowodza (Masembura), 107; (Mangwende), 114.
Chirozva ward, 39, 41.
Chirukamaswe (Marange), 32-3.

Chirume (Chingoma), 138; (Rozvi), 130.
Chirumwe hill, 182.
Chirundazi river, 54, 56, 69-70.
Chirwa dynasty *shiri*, 44, 73-5, 87, 157.
'Chisamarengo' (Mutapa), 231, 239-40, 242.
'Chisamharu' (Mutapa), 222, 231, 236.
'Chisámpáro' (Mutapa), 217-8, 221-2.
Chishambwe (Chihota), 91, 120.
Chishanga hill, 142.
Chishawasha territory, 71, 101.
Chishawe hill, 165.
Chisiana hill, 127.
Chisvino (Rufura), 147, 149.
Chisvipi territory, vii, 52, 55-8, 69.
Chisvo (Mutekedza), 45-6, 48, 291.
Chitanga dynasty (Hlengwe), 180.
Chitaura-Maburutse dynasty (Nobvu), 28, 44, 73, 151.
Chitawudze (Sitauzi) dynasty (Twamamba), 182-3.
Chitemamuswe (Chivero), 57.
'Chitengo' (Mutapa), 218.
Chitengu (Kasekete), 223-4.
Chitonje hill, 162.
Chitsa (Gutu), 149.
Chitsunge dynasty (Njanja), 76.
Chitsungo dynasty *nhari*, 90; dynasty *nzou*, 220, 224, 226.
Chitungwiza territory, vii, 59-61, 295.
Chivake river, 93, 115, 119.
Chivandire (Rwizi), 61.
Chivazo (Chihota), 119.
'Chivere' (Mutapa), 231; 'Chivere Nyasoro' ('Mutapa'), 215, 243.
Chivero dynasty *shava*, vii, 8, 28-9, 52, 55-9, 61, 63, 65-6, 68-70, 82, 84-5, 89, 95, 122, 151, 250, 256, 274, 277, 294.
Chivese dynasty (Njanja), 75-6, 78-80, 87, 276.
Chiveso (Musana), 103, 107.
Chivi dynasty (Mhari), xiii, 5, 11, 14, 16, 74, 154-5, 159-66, 170-1, 174, 176, 185, 268, 270.
Chiviri (Samuriwo), 94-5.
Chiviya (Rusike), 108, 110.
Chivunguvungu (Mhari), 159.
Chiwadzwa dynasty *moyo*, 31, 33, 35-6, 50, 151.
Chiwara (Masembura), 107; dynasty (Duma), 148.
Chiwashira (Mutekedza), 46, 248, 272.
Ciwawa *nzou*, 223-7, 233, 240.
'Chiwayo' ('Mutapa'), 234.
Chiweshe dynasty (Hera), 28, 39, 84, 97, 100, 121-4, 151, 277, 287; dynasty *nzou*, 220, 223-4, 226; (Nyashanu), 41.
Chiwona site, 38.
Chiwundura dynasty (Chamaya), 29, 175-6, 287; dynasty (Rozvi, see also Chihunduro), 127, 140.
Chizema (Chirimuhanzu), 172-3, 290.
Chizungu dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 140-1, 309.
Chokurongerwa (Mudzimuirema), 119.
Chongokwe hill, 163.
'Choofombo' (Mutapa), 216, 218-9.
Chotizwa (Samuriwo), 91.
Choto Mututa Chidyausiku (Svosve), 117.
Chotongurwa Charamukwa (Svosve), 117.
Chuzu (Kasekete), 224.
Chwaya territory, vii, 29, 63-5, 151-3, 296.
'Conhambazo' (Mutapa), 218.
'Combué' (Mutapa), 218.
Constantino, Fr. (Mutapa), 214.
'Cupiça' *see* 'Afonso'.
Dambamuromo (Marange), 32-3, 35, 288-9.

Dambiko (Marange), 36.
Danangombe site, 139, 152, 161.
Dande territory, 59, 115, 220, 224-5, 227, 233, 241, 260, 267.
Danga people, 151.
'Dangarango, Dangurango', (Mutapa), 213-4, 217, 221.
'Deboe' (Mutapa), 214-5.
Debwe dynasty (Njanja), 162, 172, 261.
'Dehwe Mupunzagutu' ('Mutapa'), 234, 243.
Deka, Foto (Rozvi), 127, 197, 206.
Dema mountain, 31-4, 36, 247-8.
Dembetembe (Mangwende), 113-4.
Dendenyore (Svosve), 116.
Denedza (Hiya), 151.
Denhere (Gutu), 150.
Denya (Nyika), 89.
Derere (Chinamhora), 99, 101.
Dete (Mutekedza), 45, 291.
Devedzo range, 115.
Devera dynasty, *gwai*, vii, 65, 67-8, 297.
Devure river, 37, 42, 49, 51, 144, 146-7, 156.
Dewe *shumba*, 145.
Dima people, 218.
Dirikwi (Nyashanu), 39-41, 290.
Ditoti dynasty (Rozvi), 84-5, 99-100.
Diza (Njanja), 79.
Dombo (lakonachingwangu) (Changamire), 193, 199, 201, 203, 237, 264.
Domboramwari rocks, 97.
Domboshava hill, 99, 102-3, 286.
Dombwe hills, 126, 130.
'Domingos Cicate' (Mutapa), 212, 232, 242, 324.
Dondi (Njanja), 75-7, 79.
Dondo territory, 42, 69, 151, 153.
Dongorere (Marange), 32-5; (Seke), 98.
Dora (Nyika), 89.
Doro range, 140.
Doronanga river, 56, 69-70.
Dukuta (Mbiru), 38-40.
Duma confederacy, people, territory, 4, 7, 15, 49-51, 80, 99, 127, 133-7, 139, 141, 143, 147-8, 150, 155-6, 166, 174, 176, 179, 184-6, 191, 195-6, 206-7.
Dumbuseya people, ix, 141, 155-6, 163, 178, 184-7.
Dumbwi hill, 186.
Dunda (Chingoma), 137-8.
Dyembewu (Changamire), 129-30, 193, 201, 236-7, 264, 271.
Dzavora river, 76.
Dzeka (Mutapa), 243.
Dzete territory, 69-70, 268.
Dzidzi river, 76.
Dzivaguru spirit, 59.
Dzivaresekwa area, 62.
Dzuda (Mutapa), 234.
'Entombue' territory, 83.
'Filipe' Mavura (Mutapa), 212, 242, 324.
'Filipe' (Mutapa), 212, 217,233, 242, 324.
Furaunye (Mbavha), 128-30.
Gahadza (Svosve), 116-7.
Gahare (Musana), 103-4.
Gamanya area, 44.
Gambe dynasty (Rozvi), 178.
Gambiza dynasty (Njanja), 29, 74-80, 127, 276-7, 299; (Svosve), 117; dynasty (Hiya), 153.
Gandidzanwa Chahuruva (Marange), 34-5, 289.
'Ganeabaze' (Mutapa), 215-6, 218-9.
Ganyambadzi (Mutapa), 243.
Ganyire (Nyandoro), 91.
Garahwa territory, 34.
Garaibenyu (Chiwundura), 176.
Garanyanya *soko*, 160-1.

Garwe territory, 35.

'Gasse Lucere', Gatsi Rusere (Mutapa), 112, 212, 231, 236, 242.

Gatsi I (Mangwende), 113; Gatsi II (Mangwende), 113-4; Gatsi Matenyoka Chikupwa (Musana), 104.

Gavajena (Mutekedza), 48.

Gavanga (Samuriwo), 84-5.

Gavaza (Rwizi), 60-1.

Gaza Nguni people, state, 4, 33, 35, 42, 114, 116-7, 144, 149, 164, 167, 178, 181, 251-2, 265-269, 275, 287, 292.

'Gende' (Mutapa), 213, 233.

'Gire' (Mutapa), 219.

Giri territory, 198.

Gobo (Chirimuhanzu), 173; (Rozvi), 201.

Gobvu (Mashayamombe), 71.

Gombe mountain, 29, 37-41, 43, 76, 251, 261, 272, 289-90; (Marange), 36.

Gomwe (Mangwende), 114.

Gona hills, Chikomba, 43-4; area, Gutu, 49, 147-8, 156-7.

Gonesu (Rozani), 129.

Gongwa hill, 165.

Gonye (Wozhere), 145-6.

Gonzo ward, 58.

Gora dynasty *gwai,* vii, 58, 62-3, 67-8, 70, 84, 89, 104-5, 271, 297.

Gore (Mbire II) territory, 115-6.

Goronga spirit, 131, 196-7, 205; (Gutu), 149.

Gororo dynasty (Rubanga), 145, 178, 186.

Goroshanga (Mbiru), 38, 40-1.

Goto (Svosve), 116, 128.

Govera (Manyika) people, ix, 167-8, 171-4, 179; *(ngara)* people, ix, 167-71, 174, 178.

Govere dynasty *(ngara*-Govera), 137, 167, 171, 174.

Gov(h)a (Svosve), 116.

Great Zimbabwe state and site, 7, 29 36, 65, 82-3, 99, 125, 134-6, 144, 146, 163, 175, 179, 185, 188-9, 191, 193, 199,201-3, 205, 235-7, 239, 259, 273.

Gubangombe (Hwata), 123.

Gumboremvura (Changamire), 194, 201.

Gumbu Marumbi (Munyaradze), 49, 292.

Gumunyu (Rozvi), 127, 130, 195-208, 257.

Gundumuzira (Ngezi), 55.

Gunduza *nzou,* 223.

Gunguwo dynasty (Rozvi), 84-5, 115-6, 119-20; (Njanja), 71, 76, 78-80, 146.

'Gupo' (Mutapa), 213, 217-8, 234.

Gurajena dynasty (Zvidzvi), 144-5,151, 168, 310.

Guruguru mountain, 157-8, 166, 185.

'Guruuuswa' territory, 29, 56, 59, 63, 65, 82, 95, 115, 223, 241, 259-60.

Guruve territory, 115, 124.

Guruzwa (Hama), 137.

Gutsa (Hera), 97, 121-2.

Gutu dynasty (Rufura), ix, 8, 14-5, 18-9, 38-9, 45, 48-51, 74, 76, 103-4, 106, 125, 133, 146-50, 154, 156-7, 173, 176, 185, 188, 253, 277.

Guzho people, 68-72, 87-8, 298.

Gwabada (Masembura), 107.

Gwangwava dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 38, 44, 73, 75, 86-7, 90, 196, 258, 262, 271.

Gwatidzo (Chirimuhanzu), 173.

Gweherere dynasty (Njanja), 76, 80.

Gwenzi (Chivero), 29, 57, 133.

Gwerengwezhe Jirivengwa (Jiri), 127.

Gweru river, 58, 152-3, 186.

Gwindi (Hwata), 123.

Gwivi (Gwebi) river, 28, 84.

Hama dynasty (Shawasha), 137, 139, 171, 173, 177; Isia (Marange), 36, 287-8.
Hamandishe people (Lemba), 49.
Handizive (Nemavuzhe), 170.
Hanga Chipitiri (Samuriwo), 94.
Hangayiva hill, 88.
Harava people, territory, viii, 32, 96-8, 121.
Hartley (Hills) town, district, 5, 61, 62, 64, 68, 71-2.
Hera people, viii-ix, 29, 31, 37-49, 57, 71, 74, 76, 79-80, 84, 87, 96-7, 100-1, 115-6, 121-4, 130, 143-4, 147, 175-6, 178, 225, 260, 290.
Hiya people, ix, 58, 113, 123, 150-6, 247.
Hlengwe people (Tsonga), 6, 134, 141-2, 178, 180-2.
Hlomcheka hill, 166.
Hokonya (Maromo), 72, 88.
Homa hill, 76.
Huchu (Chirimuhanzu), 173.
Hundungu (Mangwende), 114.
Hurungwe mountain, 249; district, 4.
Hwanyanda area, 146.
Hwata dynasty (Hera), 28, 39, 84, 97, 100-1, 121-4, 165, 277, 287.
Hweru area, 49.
Imbahuru mountain, 138.
Ingwenya river, 152.
'Inhacuma' (Mutapa), 217, 226.
'Inhacusso' (Mutapa), 217.
'Inhambo Caprasine' (Mutapa), 212.
'Inhamichêngué' (Mutapa), 219.
'Inhamita Nehanda' (Mutapa), 216, 225.
'Inhampando, Inhapando' (Mutapa), 213-4, 217-22, 231-2.
Insiza river, 139, 176.
Jaravaza (Chirimuhanzu), 174.
Jechete/Jeketa hill, 154-5.
Jena people, 145, 178, 187.
Jeta hills, 84, 95, 106-7, 112.
Jindwe territory, 118.
Jiri dynasty (Rozvi), 89, 127, 195-208.
'João Cicate' (Mutapa), 212, 232.
'João Dangurango' (Mutapa), 212-3.
'João o quinto Inhapanso' (Mutapa), 213, 242.
Jumo (Chirimuhanzu), 173-4.
Kagumbudzi site, 37.
Kaguvi spirit, 50, 98, 250-1, 264-5.
Kalanga dialect cluster, people, 5, 138-9, 180-3, 194.
Kambwe (Mutapa), 243.
Kame site, river, 199.
Kamota *nzou*, 226, 240.
Kandeya (Mutapa), 243.
Kangendarama Biza (Musana), 103-4.
Kanowango (Rwizi), 61.
Kanyenze *moyo*, 107.
Kanyoka, 68.
Karanga dialect cluster, people, 53, 138-43, 146, 159, 161, 166, 171, 174-5, 177-8, 180, 182, 186, 199, 286.
Karembera (Mutapa), 236.
Karidza (Mutapa), 243.
Karimubute (Chikwaka), 105.
Karivara spirit, vii, 27, 48-51, 251, 265, 292.
Kariwo Mapfukudza (Samuriwo), 94.
Karuva spirit, 266.
Kasekete dynasty *nzou*, 220, 222-7, 229-30, 233, 240, 276.
Kataruza (Mutapa), 234, 243.
Katerere (Mangwende), 114.
Katevera dynasty *mhara*, 69.
Kaunga ward, 57.
Kavai, (Katerere), 224.
Kaverengwa (Rwizi), 60.
Kaviya Zaranyika Shutu (Hwata), 123.
Kawoko (Musana), 103-4.

Kawondera (Njanja), 77.
Khohomera (Chitawudze), 183.
Korekore dialect cluster, people, 115, 138, 152, 194, 267.
Koroka (Guzho), 69-70, 151.
Koswa spirit, 235.
Kutama (Maromo), 72.
Kunzvi (Nyandoro), 91-2, 111, 301.
Kuvirimara (Ngowa), 154, 157-8, 162.
Kwari (Rwizi), 60.
Kwekwe river, 134, 146, 152-3, 176.
Kwenda dynasty (Njanja), 75-80.
Lasa (Rasa) mountain, 181-2.
Lemba (Remba) people, ix, 49, 138, 156, 170, 177, 179, 183-6.
Lembethu (Rembethu) people, 183.
Lobengula (Ndebele), 60, 138, 150, 156, 164, 173, 182, 184, 251.
Lozani dynasty (Rozvi), 130, 176, 205, 296.
Mabotsa (Chirimuhanzu), 172.
Maburutse: *see* Chitaura.
Mabwazhe Rinamatande (Gutu), 49, 147-9, 154, 156.
Macheke river, 115, 127.
Machengo Panashe (Nyandoro), 92.
Machetu (Pfumbi), 182.
Machimbudzana river, 48.
Machingahuta (Maromo), 72.
'Macombe' (Mutapa), 213, 217, 232.
Madamombe dynasty (Mhari), 160, 162, 166.
Madhlangove (Chivi), 164-5.
Madhlazivi (Chivi), 159.
Madomasi (Makope), 235, 256.
Madyira (Musana), 103-4.
Madzivire (Zimuto), 167, 169; dynasty (Ndau), 145, 167, 170, 178.
Madzorira (Rwizi), 60.
Mafararikwa (Marange), 35, 288-9.
Mafukanoro (Pfumbi), 181.
Mafungabusi plateau, 6-7, 28, 52, 63-5, 296.
Magangara area, 76.
Magaya dynasty (Njanja), 78, 128.
Magunde (Hiya), 64, 247, 296.
Mahlebadza dynasty (Rufura), 150, 176, 178-9, 186.
Mahokorefu Sabiriviri (Mangwende), 111.
Mahopo hill, 114.
Mahumwi territory, 99.
Makambamate (Rozani), 128-9.
Makamure (Zimuto), 169.
Makarara (Marange), 36.
Makati dynasty (Budya), 221.
Makoholi river, 168.
Makombe dynasty (Barwe), 194.
Makombo (Chitawudze), 182.
Makomwe mountain, 30, 32-3, 35.
Makonese (Chivi), 163-4, 314.
Makoni dynasty *shonga*, 82, 85, 117, 126-8, 130, 145, 228, 271, 273, 276.
Makope dynasty *shumba*, 123, 235, 240, 256.
Makore dynasty (Duma), 148.
Makosa dynasty, 235.
Makoshori area, 44.
Makotose (Nemavuzhe). 170.
Makove hills, 107.
Makovere (Nemavuzhe), 170-1.
Makumana Svisva (Nenguwo), 121.
Makumbe dynasty (Njanja), 75-80; (Zimuto), 169.
Makuvaza (Gutu), 150, 253.
Makuwa Mawire (Nyashanu), 41-2.
Makwarimba (Gutu), 149; (Svosve), 117.
Malisa dynasty (Rozvi), 201-2.
Mamanje (Mawarire), 142.
Mambamba (Bonda), 157-8.
Mandeere (Rusike), 108, 110.

Mandisadza (Mutekedza), 45-6.
Mandu (Chingombe muRozvi), 128, 196-7; (Zimuto), 169.
Mangwende dynasty (Nhowe), viii, 85, 91-3, 95, 104-7, 109-14, 119, 305.
Mani territory, viii, 92-5.
Maninga hills, 126.
Manjenga (Chihota), 120.
'Manoel Chirimbe' (Mutapa), 212, 214.
Manwa people, territory, 135, 193.
Manyanga site, 171.
Manyeni area, 44, 48, 72.
Manyika people, territory, ix, 4, 6, 29, 35, 83, 117, 119-20, 171, 174, 191, 211, 259, 272-3, 276, 287.
Manyora hill, 145.
Manzamnyama river, 140.
Mapanzure dynasty (Hera), 28, 39, 143, 167, 175, 287; (Mhari), 166-7, 186.
Mapembe mountain, 32, 35, 251.
Mapembenja area, 34.
Mapiravana dynasty (Mbire-Zumba), 178; dynasty (Manyika), 174.
Mapondera (Negomo), 107.
Marabada range, 39-42, 76.
Maradzanye (Nemavuzhe), 170.
Marambanyika (Rusike), 110.
Maramuca *feira*, 67, 123.
Maranda dynasty (Pfumbi), 182.
Marange dynasty (Bocha), vii, 7, 22, 28, 30-6, 65, 85, 96, 248, 252, 287.
Marazha (Mbiru), 38, 40-1.
Maringari territory, viii, 121.
Maringire (Nemavuzhe), 170.
Marira (Mtubayedzi), 143.
Marirangwe river, 56.
Maromo dynasty (Guzho), vii, 28, 44-5, 47, 68-72, 268.
Marondera dynasty (Mbire), 116, 121.
Maronga *moyo*, 49.
Marudya (Njanja), 75-7.
Marume (Njanja), 78.
Marungudzi mountain, 181-2.
Masamha (Njanja), 74.
Masarirambi dynasty (Hera), vii, 39, 43-8, 76, 82, 87, 277, 289, 291.
Masebi river, 155.
Masembura dynasty *moyo*, viii, 99, 102, 106-7, 109-11.
Masendu (Njanja), 79.
Mashaba hills, 61, 63, 88.
Mashandure *shiri*, 157.
Mashani *ngara*, 42.
Mashava hills, 154, 159.
Mashara *shiri*, 157.
Mashayamombe dynasty (Guzho), vii, 28, 58, 61, 63, 68-72, 87, 89, 151, 192, 268, 272, 277, 294, 297.
Mashutu (Chivero), 57.
Masikana hills, 115-6.
Masindi (Rozani), 129.
Masoka (Mutekedza), 48.
Masungandoro river, 48.
Masukume (Nemavuzhe), 171.
Masunda (Chivi), 136, 163-4, 167, 171; dynasty (Bonda), 158-9, 167, 174, 186.
Masviba (Neuso), 65.
Masvina (Ngowa), 155, 163.
Matandura/Matanduva territory, 111.
Matangira (Nyamweda), 95.
Matanha territory, 58, 62-3, 65, 68, 70, 84, 89, 105, 296.
Mataruse dynasty (Ngowa), 156, 249.
Matema (Mbiru-Nyashanu, 38-42, 175, 290; (Hiya), 69, 123, 151-3, 247, 297
Matemayi (Mutekedza), 46, 48.
Matenda dynasty *shava*, 16, 29, 162, 175-6, 287.
Matendere site, 37.
Matevere (Negove), 142.
Matibi dynasty)Pfumbi), 182.

Matizha (Mutekedza), 48.
Matobo range, 88, 138, 177, 199.
Matonjeni area, 50-1, 204, 293.
Matondi Bapata (Neuso), 65.
'Matope', ('Mutapa'), 216-7, 221, 225, 231-2, 240-1, 243, 262, 265-6.
Matope dynasty nguruve, 223.
Matsiwu dynasty (Tandi), 115, 287.
Matsvitsvi area, 93-4.
Matsweru (Chivi), 163-4, 171, 314.
Matukutu territory, viii, 106-7, 112.
Maungudzi (Chingoma), 138.
Maungwe people, territory, 4, 72, 82, 85, 130, 145-6, 183, 228, 273.
Mavangwe hills, 126-8, 195-6.
Mavudzi dynasty (Rozvi), 56-7, 125, 127, 130-1, 196-7, 202-3.
Mavuna (Bonda), 158.
Mavunga (Nyandoro), 91.
Mavura 'Filipe' (Mutapa), 212, 242; figures in tradition, 226, 232, 240-1.
Mawadzi (Nemavuzhe), 170-1.
Mawarire dynasty (Rozvi), 142.
Mawisiri, 163.
Mazambara hill, 144.
Mazarire (Chivi), 164.
Mazeteze dynastry (Dumbuseya), 184-7.
Mazhe people *moyo*, 154-5.
Mazivisa (Chingombe muRozvi), 200-1; dynasty (Mbire), 161, 178.
Maziwofa dynasty (Ngowa), 156.
Mazorodze (Mapanzure shava), 175; (Chivi), 164-5, 314.
Mazowe river, 6, 54, 58, 69, 84, 90, 93, 97, 103, 105, 107, 120, 122, 151-2, 178, 185, 225, 227.
Mazungunye dynasty (Duma), 265.
Mazvihwa dynasty (Ngowa), 154-6, 162-3.
Mazwimbangwaya (Seke), 96.
Mazwizwo (Dumbuseya), 187.
Mbare dynasty shumba, 84-5, 97, 100, 121-2.
Mbavha-Rozani dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 127-30, 196-7.
Mbavare (Hama), 137.
Mbavu Rozvi, 140.
Mbedzi people, 180-1.
Mberekwa *mhara*, 69.
Mbire I (Dande) territory, 115, 259, 267; II (Gore) territory, 115-6, 259; III territory, viii, 31, 83, 114-8, 121, 159, 177, 259, 267; people, 43, 99, 114-9, 128, 144, 161, 168, 175, 177-9, 194, 237, 317.
Mbire-Zumba people, ix, 175-9.
Mbiru dynasty (Hera), vii, 28-9, 36-44, 49, 57, 65, 74, 82, 85, 87, 121, 133, 147, 251, 261, 272, 277, 289.
Mbongolani Rozvi, 143.
Mbowa river, 43, 46, 119.
Mbungani (Bonda), 159.
Mcheri (Rozvi), 197, 204-5.
Mchingwe river, 166, 186.
'Mhande' (Mutapa), 233.
Mhari people, ix, xiii, 121, 136, 154-5, 156-66, 171-2, 174-8, 185-6, 261, 267, 269, 272, 274, 277.
Mhembere (Chinamhora), 100-1, 122-3.
Mhepo (Chirimuhanzu), 171-2, 174.
Mheresi Hera, 49.
Mhondoro area, 55, 61-2, 65, 96.
Mishi, Michael (Chivero), 57, 294-5.
Misi (Gumunyu), 198.
Mizha *soko*, 95.
Mketi (Pfumbi), 182.
'Mkonokando' (Rusike), 109-110.
'Mocomba' (Mutapa), 212, 217, 221, 232, 238-9, 242.
Mombeyarara (Njanja), 78-9.
Monyera (Mangwende), 113.
Motani (Mangwende), 114.

'Motaniqua' (Mutapa), 215, 218.
'Motata' (Mutapa), 221.
Motsi (Seke), 97-8.
Mpakame dynasty *shiri*, 158, 176.
Mpapa dynasty (Hlengwe), 180.
Mparuri (Dumbuseya), 186.
Mpatwe territory, viii, 107-11.
Mposi dynasty (Lemba), 138, 184.
M(a)shangashe river, 168.
M(u)tsike river, 59-60.
Mtubayedzi (Mtevaidze) dynasty (Rozvi), ix, 143.
Mtumumwe (Hwata), 123.
Mubvinzi river, 68, 84, 103, 105, 107, 297.
Mubayira (Mashayamombe), 70.
Muchechese (Mudzimuirema), 119.
Muchecheterwa Chiwashira (Mutekedza), 46-7, 292; (Rusike), 110.
Muchemwa (Rusike), 108; (Mangwende), 114.
Muchembere (Ngowa), 156.
Muchira (Pfumbi), 181.
Muchuchu site, 37.
'Mucombe' (Mutapa), 214, 217, 226, 239.
'Mucômbué' (Mutapa), 217, 219, 221, 226.
'Mucuitico' (Mutapa), 217.
Mudarikwa (Chivero), 57.
Mudavanhu (Chingombe muRozvi), 128, 196, 198; dynasty (Mbire-Zumba), 178.
Mudawose (Nyashanu), 39, 41, 290.
Mudinzva (Nyashanu), 41.
Mudodowafa (Ngezi), 55.
Mudzengerere *nzou*, 223-4.
Mudzimu dynasty *gumbo*, 84, 103, 297.
Mudzimuirema dynasty *soko*, viii, 43, 89, 118-9, 256.
Mudziviri (Nyamweda), 95.
Mudzudzu (Chihota), 120.
Mudzungairi (Mhari), 160.
Mugabe dynasty (Duma), 136.
Mugunde (Hiya), 151-3.
Mujinga dynasty (Manyika), 120.
Mujuru = Chiminya.
Mukanganise (Svosve), 116.
Mukaranga territory, 82.
Mukaro dynasty *moyo*, 147.
Mukavise (Rozvi), 198.
Mukoka dynasty (Tonga), 54.
'Mukombero' ('Mutapa'), 231.
Mukomborwe (Marange), 32.
Mukombwe (Mutapa), 115, 223, 230, 232-3, 240-2.
Mukomohasha (Mutapa subordinate), 90, 236.
Mukonowenzou nzou, 223.
Mukoroverwa (Marara, Njanja), 77, 80.
Mukunguma (Marange), 36.
Mukuvisi river, 96-7, 122-3, 151.
Mukwada (Marange), 13, 31, 33-6, 287-8.
Mukwasi (Ngezi), 55.
Mukwata (Nenguwo), 121.
Mukwenga (Samuriwo), 94.
Mumurwi mountain, 249.
Munaka range, 136, 154, 162-3.
Mundi river, 138.
'Munembire Neshangwe' ('Mutapa'), 235-6, 243.
Mungate I (Mangwende), 113-4; Mungate II (Mangwende), 114.
Mungudza hill, 160-1.
Munhondo (Ndebele), 46.
Munikwa dynasty (Mhari), 166.
Munyambi river, 148, 169.
Munyaradze dynasty *shava*, vii, 8, 28, 48-51, 66, 148, 265, 292.
Munyati river, 28, 37, 44, 52, 60-4, 67, 69, 88, 91, 151.

Munyikwa dynasty (Rufura), 147-9.
Munyimi dynasty (Njanja), 76-7, 79-80.
Munyoro-Ngandu Nyabanga (Rusike), 108-10.
Mupakaviri (Chikwaka), 105.
Mupawose dynasty (Ngezi), 54-5.
Mupeti (Chiduku), 130-1.
Mupfumbwa (Samuriwo), 94.
Mupfure river, 28-9, 47, 52-3, 58-9, 61, 63-4, 67-71, 85, 87, 89, 91, 151-2, 230.
Muposi Chikore (Gumunyu), 195.
Muradzikwa (Nyashanu), 39, 41-2, 290.
Murambinda (Nyashanu), 41.
Murambwa dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 44, 73, 86-90, 96.
Murarapavi (Mhari), 159-60.
Murehwa (Nhowe), 113.
'Murexe' (Mutapa), 216.
Murindikwa (Chingoma), 138.
Murinye dynasty (Duma), 205.
Murishomana (Mutekedza), 45.
Murombedzi (Rozvi), 70, 192.
Muroro (Njanja), 73-4, 80, 87.
Murove dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 140-1, 178.
Murowodzi river, 122-3.
Murwira Mfumo (Nyashanu), 41, 287, 290.
Murwiti Chitsa (Gutu), 149.
Musana dynasty *gumbo,* viii, 84, 99, 102-7, 146, 194.
Musarurwa (Gwangwava), 87-8, 90; (Gutu), 149.
Musavezi river, 174.
Musenda (Rusike), 108.
Musengezi river, 115; (Mashayamombe), 70-1.
Museyamwa (Marange), 33.
Mushandike river, 162.
Mushava dynasty *shava,* vii, 28, 61-2, 66, 70, 88-9, 296; (Hera), 49.
Mushavatu (Mangwende), 112-4.
Mushawanjara (Rozani), 129.
'Mushayavanhu' (Rozvi), 148.
Mushonga (Samuriwo), 94.
Mushumba (Nyashanu), 39-40, 42, 290.
Mushunje *shumba,* 31, 35-6, 248.
Musifari (Ngowa), 156.
Musikavanhu dynasty *dziva*, 50, 69, 144, 151, 153, 251, 265.
Musinaimba *shiri*, 157.
Musinganete (Rozani), 128-30.
Musipambi dynasty (Ngowa), 155, 163.
Musonza (Mutekedza), 45-8, 291-2; (Seke), 97.
Musora (Svosve), 116.
Muswawu hills, 126.
Mutambara dynasty *shumba,* 35, 144, 151.
Mutambirwa (Makoni), 130.
Mutanda range, 29-32, 36.
'Mutanécua Nhagúro' (Mutapa), 217-8.
Mutanyikwa (Mutapa), 243.
Mutapa dynasty, state *nzou,* ix, xv, xvii, 4, 6-7, 31, 53, 82-5, 90, 103, 105-6, 109-12, 115-6, 188-9, 199, 201-8, 211-44, 247, 252, 264, 266, 269, 271, 273, 276.
Mutasa dynasty (Manyika), 35, 167, 174, 276.
'Mutedue' (Mutapa), 218.
Mutekedza dynasty (Hera), vii, 8, 28, 37-8, 43-8, 62, 66, 69, 74, 76, 80, 82, 87-8, 119, 248, 272.
Mutekwatekwa (Nyashanu), 39-40, 287; (Marange), 32, 287.
Mutema dynasty *moyo*, 86, 151, 202, 204; (Seke), 96.
Mutenda (Chihota), 120.
Mutengwa (Njanja), 76.
Muteo forest, 146, 173.

Muteveri (Rozvi), 127.
Mutibvu (Chivero), 57.
Mutindi Mbavare (Hama), 137.
Mutinhima (Rozvi), 125, 127, 142, 146, 157, 161, 172, 193, 195-208.
Mutirikwi river, 137, 179.
Mutiti (Mutekedza), 48.
Mutizira (Hera), 175.
Mutonga Nyemba (Rusike), 108-10.
'Mutota' (various) (Mutapa), 189, 216-7, 221-3, 225-6, 229-30, 232, 235-7, 239-41, 243, 251, 254; 'Mutota Churuchamutapa', 236; Mutota Chiviya (Rusike), 108-110.
Mutowa site, 39.
Mutsago (Marange), 22, 31-6, 97, 248, 252, 287.
Mutsahuni (Svosve), 116: (Mudzimuirema), 118.
Mutsvanga (Masembura), 107.
Mutswiri (Mutekedza), 46-8.
'Mutua' (Mutapa), 218.
Mutukwa range, 115; (Musana), 103-4.
Mutuna Hera, 175.
Muvongwe (Chiduku), 130-1.
Muwawarira Njanja, 79.
Muwoko (Marange) 32.
Muwushu dynasty *moyo*, 33, 42, 49, 151, 202.
Muyenda (Samuriwo), 94.
Muzaraban(h)i dynasty *nzou*, 109-10, 220, 223-4, 226.
Muzhuzha (Mashayamombe), 71.
Muzvarira (Serima), 145-6.
Muzvoma area, 146.
Mwandiyambira area, 33.
Mwanza (Chikwaka), 105.
Mwari High God, 50-1, 138, 177, 204, 235, 251, 258, 263-5, 272, 317.
Mweza range, 143,
Mwenezi river, (southern), 138, 140-1, 143, 176, 178, 182, 184.
Mwenezi Poort, river and range (Manhizhe), 47, 61-2, 70, 88-9, 91.
Mwerihari river, 17, 75-6, 157, 289.
Mzilikazi (Ndebele), 91, 125, 153, 163, 184, 200.
Mzingwani river, 134, 140, 180, 182.
Namenesu (Jiri), 197.
Ndanga dynasty (Rufura), ix, 146, 150, 167, 176; dynasty (Bonda), 154, 157-8, 167, 176.
Ndarikure rock, 147, 171-2, 249.
Ndau dialect cluster, people, 4, 7, 85, 144, 147, 149, 151, 178, 186, 275, 292.
Ndawi (Gutu), 149.
Ndebele language, people, state, 5, 31-3, 35, 39, 41, 45-7, 54-5, 58-62, 64, 68, 70-2, 76, 86, 88-9, 91-2, 96, 98, 101, 113, 116, 120, 123-5, 127, 130-1, 134, 137-8, 140-3, 146, 148-9, 152-3, 155-6, 158-9, 161, 163-7, 169, 171-6, 178-9, 181-8, 191-2, 202, 264, 269, 273, 286-7.
'Nebeza' Nebedza, (Mutapa, spirit), 214, 216, 225-6, 239, 243.
Nebungowa (Ngowa), 153, 157.
Nebwine dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 139, 141.
Nechasike (Changamire), 112, 201, 203.
Nechipani (Nemarundwe), 145.
NeChipindirwe dynasty *nzou*, 31-3.
Nechirima (Hera), 49.
NeChishanga *soko*, 175.
Nechivava (Nyashanu), 41.
Nechivavarira (Ngowa), 163.
Nechiwi community, 42.
Nechuru (Nebwine), 141.
Negari dynasty (Rozvi), ix, 141-2, 178.
Negombwe dynasty (Hera), 130.
Negomo dynasty *moyo*, 107, 123, 151; ('Mutapa', spirit), 231-2, 240, 243.
Negove dynasty (Rozvi), ix, 141-2.

Negupo (NeMbire), 236.
Nehambakamba (Shawasha), 99, 101.
Nehanda (Mutapa, spirit), 123, 216-7, 225-6, 231, 236-7, 241, 243, 264-6, 271.
NeHarava dynasty *shava,* 28, 84-5, 96-7.
Nejingamire group, 42-3.
Nemaboyi (Chivero), 57.
Nemachena (Njanja), 79.
Nemadziva group *moyo,* 42.
Nemakase (Nyamhondo), 141.
Nemakonde dynasty *moyo,* 64-5, 68, 120, 131, 152, 165, 196.
'Nemangoro' (Mutapa), 214, 216, 225, 239.
Nemangwe dynasty *shava,* 28.
NeManwa dynasty *shumba,* viii, 135-6, 170, 179, 253.
'Nemapangere' (Mutapa), 214, 216, 239.
Nemarundwe dynasty (Rundwe), 145, 168, 267, 310.
Nemasanga (Seke), 97.
Nemato *shiri,* 157.
Nemavuzhe dynasty (*ngara*-Govera), 155, 163, 167-71.
NeMbire dynasty *soko,* 115, 168, 236-7.
Nengomasha (Marange), 32.
Nenguwo dynasty (Budya), viii, 91, 121, 263.
Nenyunga dynasty *shava,* 28.
N(h)erera (Rusike), 108-9.
Nerubanga (Gororo), 145.
Nerutanga dynasty (Danga), 28, 41, 43, 75, 76, 151, 173.
Neruwindi dynasty (Dumbuseya), 141.
Nerwande dynasty (Rozvi), 88, 125, 130.
Neshangwe dynasty (Njanja), 74-7, 80, 266; ('Mutapa') = Munembire.
Neshava dynasty (*ngara*-Govera, 43, 168-9, 171.
Neshuro dynasty (Mbire), 178, 186.
Nesongano dynasty *shumba,* 144-5, 147-8, 151, 310.
Neuso dynasty *shava,* vii, 8, 28-9, 63-6, 68, 151-2, 296.
Nevanje (Nyamweda), 95.
Nezimba dynasty, 65, 296.
Ngezi dynasty (Tonga), vii, 28, 52-5, 61, 63-7, 80, 85, 89, 151, 211, 273; river, Munyati tributary, 57, 89, 297; river, Turwi tributary, 137, 162, 172; river, Runde tributary, 155-6; area, 88.
Ngomakurira mountain, 107.
Ngona people, 180.
Ngoni people, 71, 88, 113, 116-7, 125, 153-5, 168, 184-7, 219.
Ngorobwe hill, 157, 312.
Ngowa people, ix, 136, 138, 142, 150-8, 160-3, 166, 169, 174, 185-7, 268, 277.
Ngundu (Njanja), 78.
Ngwana Maseko (Ngoni), 154, 178, 185, 194.
Ngwena (Njanja), 78-80.
'Nhacuni(m)biri/e' (Mutapa), 212, 214, 232.
'Nhampando' (Mutapa), 214.
'Nhantégûé' (Mutapa), 217.
N(h)arira area (Charter-Chikomba), 11, 38, 44, 72, 87; territory (Nyamweda), viii, 58, 95-6, 106.
Nhema dynasty (Duma), 167; dynasty (Mhari), xiii, 158, 160-1, 165, 167, 176, 178.
'Nhenheze' (Mutapa), 214.
Nherera dynasty *shava,* vii, 28, 16-3, 66, 68, 70, 89, 296.
Nhengwe area, 32.
Nhowe people, territory, viii, 4, 85, 92, 94-5, 106, 111-4, 152, 188, 194, 300.
Nini people, 136, 179.

Njanja confederacy, people, vii, 28-9, 37, 41, 43-5, 47, 67, 71-80, 87-8, 126-8, 146, 151, 162, 172-3, 176, 261, 266, 269, 290.
Njatara ward, 58, 69.
Njerere dynasty *shava,* 28, 205.
Njiri (Seke), 98.
Nkomoiyapi (Ndebele), 158, 186.
Nobvu people, 71, 151.
Nora river, 101, 110.
Nxaba Ngoni, 185.
Nyabanga (Rusike), 108, 110.
Nyabangwe river, 67.
Nyachitu Nyakupeni (Marange), 35-6, 287, 289.
Nyachuru dynasty *shumba,* 123.
'Nyadenga' ('Mutapa'), 237.
Nyadiri river, 93, 178.
Nyagambu river, 157-8.
Nyaguwe river, 68, 84, 92, 105-6, 110, 113, 297.
Nyagwizu dynasty (Dzete), 69.
Nyahoni river, 76.
Nyahope (Rufura), 147.
Nyahuma spirit, 225, 231.
Nyahunzvi (Chivero), 57-8, 294.
Nyahuye (Svosve), 116-7.
Nyajena dynasty (Jena), 141, 145, 185-6.
Nyajina dynasty *soko,* 178.
Nyakudya (Hera), 121-2.
Nyakunembire (Mutapa), 242.
Nyakunuhwa dynasty *shumba,* 179.
Nyakurema (Musana), 104.
'Nyamaende Mhande' (Mutapa), 233.
Nyamamvimvi (Mangwende), 112.
Nyamangambiri (Chiweshe *shava),* 122.
Nyamapfeka spirit, 232.
Nyamare (Chinamhora), 100-1.
Nyamasanga river, 37, 289.
Nyamashakwe (Rufura), 147, 149.
Nyamazana Ngoni, 185.
Nyambu Kapararidze (Mutapa), 231, 236, 242.
Nyamhandu João o quinto (Mutapa), 234, 242-3, 266.
'Nyamhandu II Chirongamabwe', ('Mutapa'), 234, 243.
Nyamhondo dynasty (Rozvi), ix, 141-2, 184.
Nyam(h)unga or Nyamunda dynasty (Nhowe), 85, 112; dynasty, *zambu,* 68, 297.
Nyamungasa (Musana), 103-4.
Nyamupara hills, 126, 128, 130.
Nyamushamba *nzou,* 224.
Nyamweda dynasty *moyo,* viii, 58, 84-5, 95-6, 106-7, 141, 226.
Nyandebvu Mavunga (Chivero), 57.
Nyandoro dynasty *nhari,* viii, 22, 44-5, 61, 67, 70, 73, 90-7, 104, 111, 117, 119-20, 194; (Hiya), 153, 312.
Nyanga range, 82, 183.
Nyangurwe Chikomwe (Rusike), 108.
'Nyanhehwe' spirit, 243.
Nyani (Musana), 103.
Nyaningwe hill, 154-5, 161, 163-5, 314.
Nyarambi (Musana), 103.
Nyaromo (Ngezi), 55.
Nyaruhwe mountain, 30, 32-3, 35-6.
Nyashanu dynasty (Hera), vii, 13, 17, 22, 28, 31, 36-43, 45, 49-50, 67, 74, 76, 126-7, 147, 168, 171, 175, 200, 202, 287.
'Nyasoro' (Mutapa), 231, 234, 243.
Nyatsambo (Mashayamombe), 69-70.
Nyatsanga (Mashayamombe), 70.
'Nyatsimba' ('Mutapa'), 243.
Nyatsime river, 97, 115.
'Nyatsutsu' ('Mutapa'), 234, 243.
Nyaure river, 103.
Nyavira dynasty *shava,* 28, 84-5, 96, 122.

Nyawanza *nzou,* 223.
Nyazvidzi river, 37, 40-1, 49, 69, 74, 76, 147-8, 151, 289.
Nyemba (Rusike), 108.
'Nyenyedzi Zenda' ('Mutapa'), 233.
Nyengera (Chivi), 171.
Nyika dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 62, 73, 86, 88-90.
Nyoka (Mutekedza), 45, 48.
Nyongonhete (Musana), 104.
Nyundo river, 68, 70.
Nzuwa dynasty (Njanja), 76-7, 79-80.
Nzvenga (Marange), 32, 34, 288-9.
Nzvere (Chinamhora), 100-2.
Odzi river, 6-7, 28, 30, 52.
Pako people, viii, xiii, 135-6, 154-5.
'Pand(d)e' (Mutapa), 214, 232-3, 239.
Pasipamire (Rwizi), 59-60.
'Pedro Pande' (Mutapa) , 212, 214.
Pfumbi people, ix, 179-83.
Pfumo (Rozani), 129.
Pfungwe territory, 90-1.
Pfupajena (Duma), 265.
Pokoteke river, 144-5, 169.
Pote river, 95, 106.
'Pouzaguto' (Mutapa), 217-8.
Pungwe river, 74.
'Punzaguto' (Mutapa, 1700s), 213, 215; (Mutapa, 1760), 213-4, 218.
Pxere (Rozvi), 166.
'Queçarymgo' (Mutapa), 212, 221, 238-40, 242.
Raluvhimba High God, 181.
Ramabulana (Venda), 180.
Ranga dynasty (Njanja), 75-80, 88.
Rasa mountain (Gutu), 49-51, 147, 149.
Rembet(h)u people, 138.
Rera dynasty (Mhari), 160, 162, 166.
Rimuka terriroty, vii, 52-7, 67, 80, 151, 153, 211.
Rodia Musasa place and 'ruler' (Rozvi), 201, 203-5.
Rombe area, 33, 36.
Romwe hill, 137; people, 137-8.
Ronzi spirit, 264.
Rota (Mangwende), 114.
Rozani dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 128-30, 188, 194, 196, 202, 204, : Mbavha; dynasty (Ndebele-Rozvi) 46 = Lozani.
Rozvi people, ix, xiii, xvii, 4, 7, 16, 32-4, 38-9, 41, 44, 50, 54, 56-8, 64, 67-8, 70-1, 73-5, 82-100, 102, 105, 108-9, 113-7, 119-20, 124-31, 135, 137-43, 145-9, 152, 154-5, 157-8, 160-3, 166, 168, 171-8, 184-5, 188-208, 211, 217, 220, 230, 235, 247, 249-51, 264, 267, 269.
Rubanga people, 144.
Rufura people, ix, 48-9, 51, 144, 146-50, 156, 174-6, 178, 269.
Ruenya river, 217.
Rukandanwa area, 32.
Rukoto (Mbiru), 38, 40, 42.
Runamo (Ngezi), 55.
Runde river, 136, 141-2, 144-5, 154-66, 168, 174, 176, 178, 184-6.
Rundwe people, 145.
Runeka (Nherera), 63, 296.
Ruote Nyenye (Rozani), 129.
Rupandamananga Rupengo (Changamire), 162, 195, 201, 272.
Ruputiro area, 76.
Ruredzo (Musana), 104.
Rusambo dynasty *soko,* 100.
Rusere (Chinamhora), 101.
Rusike dynasty *moyo,* viii, 92-3, 101, 104, 107-11, 119.
Rusinga hill, 165.
Rutala hills, 69, 72.
Rutanga hill, 151-3, 268.

Rutombo rocks, 101.
Rutsate Chingombe (Gutu), 149.
Ruwa river, 37, 99.
Ruwenje river, 76.
Ruwira hills, 38-40.
Ruwita (Lemba), 170-1.
Ruya river, 69, 90, 115.
Ruzawi river, 111, 115-6, 127-8, 130.
Rwizi dynasty *shava,* vii, 28, 59-61, 65-6, 70, 82, 85, 133, 264, 274, 277.
Rwodzi (Gutu), 150.
'Sacapio' (Mutapa), 213.
Sadza area, 34; (Nenguwo), 121.
'Sahwenje' (Nyashanu), 39.
Sakubvunza (Mangwende), 106, 111-3.
Sakunara *shiri,* 157-8, 312.
'Salilo' (Rozani), 129.
Samanyayi site, 38, 198-9.
'Samarêngo' (Mutapa), 216, 225-6, 239-40.
'Samatambira Nyamhandu' ('Mutapa'), 233-4, 243.
Samuriwo dynasty *moyo*, viii, 22, 85, 91-5, 97, 119, 141, 301; Isaac, 203-5.
'Samutumbu' (Mutapa), 212-3, 221.
Samwene (Mhari), 160.
Sango dynasty (Rozvi), viii, 73, 86-8, 90, 96, 192.
Sanyati area, river, 6, 8, 13, 19, 68, 120, 260.
Sarampudzi (Gororo), 144.
Saridyo (Rozani), 129-30.
Saruwe river, 56.
Satwa territory, viii, 84, 102-4, 113, 146, 185.
Savanhu (Seke), 97.
Sebakwe river, 69, 87, 151, 173.
'Sebastião' (Mutapa), 212, 222, 231, 236.
Seke dynasty (Harava), viii, 8, 18, 28, 32, 54-5, 62, 84, 91, 94, 96-8, 104, 111, 116, 119, 121-2, 277, 287, 302.
Seme spirit, 264.
Sena language, port, 29, 53, 73, 184, 256, 262.
Senda hill, 32, 35, 288.
Senga mountain, 158.
Sengwe dynasty (Hlengwe), 180.
Senwa spirit, 236-7.
Serima dynasty *tsiwo,* 146, 149, 172, 312.
Sesembe river, 64.
Shabi river, 155, 158.
Shamba hill, 161.
Shambare (Rozani), 129-30.
Shangure hill, 92.
Shangwe people, territory, 85.
Shashe river, 137, 144, 146, 162, 169, 171.
Shashi river, 180.
Shava range, 168.
Shavanohwe river, 92.
Shawasha (N & S) people, territories, viii, 60, 84, 98-102, 107, 118, 122-3, 136-7, 177, 185.
Shayachimwe (Hwata), 121-3.
Shiku dynasty (Manyika), 162, 174, 176.
Shindi (Nebwine), 141, 145, 178, 287.
Shirichena (Marange), 32.
Shone hill, 151-3.
Shumba Chekai dynasty (Duma), 137.
Shurushuru river, territory, 29, 67.
Simba (Chirimuhanzu), 172, 174.
Sinamanhu (Charumbira), 179.
Sitauzi = Chitawudze.
'Siti Kazurukamusapa' ('Mutapa'), 232, 243.
Sonono (Seke), 97-8.
Sororezhou High God, ancestor (Rozvi, Venda), 140, 199, 264-5.
Sotho language, people, 63, 167-8, 180-

1, 194.
Soti river, 51.
Sunga people, lowveld, 142.
Sungendava (Mutekedza), 46, 48.
Suwure (Duma), 175.
Svika hill, 161.
Svinurayi Chisora (Njanja), 77-8.
Svosve dynasty (Mbire), viii, 43, 73, 93, 99, 103, 112, 114-21, 126, 168, 178, 202, 237, 302.
Swazi people, 167; (Nyakunuhwa), 179.
Tabvemiri (Chingombe muRozvi), 201, 203.
Tambawoga (Njanja), 76.
Tambi dynasty (Rozvi), 84-5, 102-3.
Tandi dynasty (Rozvi), 85, 127; people, 115.
Tarwireyi (Chivi), 164.
Tateguru river, 84, 122.
Tavara people, 90, 115.
Tavengerweyi (Chivi), xiii, 154, 159-64, 166, 267-8.
Tavezira (Chivero), 57.
Tazviwana (Rozvi), 87.
Tendepi (Banga), 166.
Tete port, 53, 90, 117, 123, 217, 220, 226-7.
Teve territory, 4, 29, 211, 273.
Tikwiri mountain, 249.
Timbidziri (Rozani), 129-30.
Tohwechipi Chibamubamu (Changamire), 125-7, 195.
Tonga language, people (Middle Zambezi/Valley), 28, 52-5, 63-4, 66, 151, 157, 286; (Lower Zambezi), 53, 115; (Rozvi subjects), 194-5, 294.
Torwa, 'Toloa', Togwa dynasty, state, 40, 83, 129, 130, 139-42, 180, 183, 193, 201, 212, 230-1, 236, 239.
Tsanga territory, 151.
Tshabezi river, 182.
Tshembere (Guzho), 69.
Tsindi site, 83, 300.
Tsokoto territory, 112-3.
Tsombe territory, 69.
Tsonga language, people, 141-2, 180-1.
Tsunga territory, viii, 44, 52, 61, 67, 70, 90-3.
Tsuro (Rwizi), 60.
Tsvingu Chinyama (Chirimuhanzu), 173.
Tumbare dynasty (Rozvi), 125, 127-8, 141, 143, 196, 206.
Tumbudu (Shawasha), 99.
Tuna (Chihota), 120.
Turwi (Tokwe) river, 136, 139, 141, 144-5, 147, 153-4, 157, 159-66, 168-9, 171, 178, 185-6.
Twamamba people, ix, 179-80, 182-3.
Ushanga (Mutsago), 32-3.
Usirevi (Seke), 97.
'Utióra' (Mutapa), 216, 218-9.
Uzumba territory, 85, 91, 93, 178.
VaChikomba (Svosve), 116.
Vambe (Shawasha), 101, 137; (Nemavuzhe), 157; *shiri*, 157.
Vazizi river, 49, 51.
Venda language, people, 4, 125, 134, 163-4, 171, 177, 179-84, 198-9, 259, 286.
Viriri (Bocha), 43.
Vurumela dynasty (Hlengwe), 180, 182.
Wakaraya Kundiwona (Nyika), 88-9.
Wani (Rozvi), 143.
Washaya (Rozvi), ix, 148, 193, 199-208.
Wasungu (Rozani), 129-30.
Watekamwa river, 17.
Watungwa dynasty (Bonda), 158-9, 162.
Wedza (Hwedza) mountain, xiii, 19-20, 43, 74-6, 83, 88-9, 99, 115-7, 119, 128, 176; dynasty (Dumbuseya) and mountain, 141, 155-6, 184-7.

Wendumba (Marange), 34.
Wozhere dynasty *shonga*, 65, 146, 153, 205.
Zabe hills, territory, 43-4.
Zarambuko (Samuriwo), 94.
'Zéca' (Mutapa), 216, 219.
Zengeya (Ngowa), 154-5, 161-3.
Zengeza (Seke), 97.
Zezhou (Chingoma), 137.
'Zeze, Zezi' (Mutapa), 215, 217-8, 226.
Zezuru dialect cluster, people, 138, 195.
Zhakata dynasty (Njanja), 76-7, 79, 299; (Seke), 98.
Zhekete (Chivero), 57-8, 294-5.
Zhombwe mountain, 249.
Zhou mountain, 175.
Zimunya dynasty (Mbire), 36, 118.
Zimusi (Chingoma), 138.
Zimuto dynasty (*ngara*-Govera), 144-5, 166-9, 194, 310.
'Zindava' (Mutapa), 215.
Zineni (Chihota), 120.
'Zinhemba' (Mutapa), 214.
Zinyati (Seke), 98.
Zinyemba (Neuso), 65; (Njanja), 75, 299; (Mangwende), 114.
Zinyongo (Ngezi), 55, 294.
'Zipingu' area, 62.
Zumba people, 178; dynasty *shava*, 84-5, 122.
Zumbo port, 4, 152, 216, 226.
Zvidzi people 144, 151.
Zvihota territory, 69-72.
Zvimba dynasty *tsiwo*, 56, 64, 71, 82, 85, 145, 159, 194, 271, 312-3.
Zwangendaba Ngoni, 76, 94, 100, 104, 113, 117, 120, 178, 185, 247, 276.
Zwezwe river, 55, 58, 69-71, 298.

MAPS

1. The Central and Southern Shona regions.

The area covered in the central chapters of this book lies within the chain of small ovals that marks the approximate boundary with the areas of other researchers in the 1970s. A broken line shows the approximate limits of the Shona language in recent times. A heavy line marks the main watershed. The 'Great Crescent' shown included the majority of the population up to the 1920s.

2. Land and kinship in Buhera and Bocha.

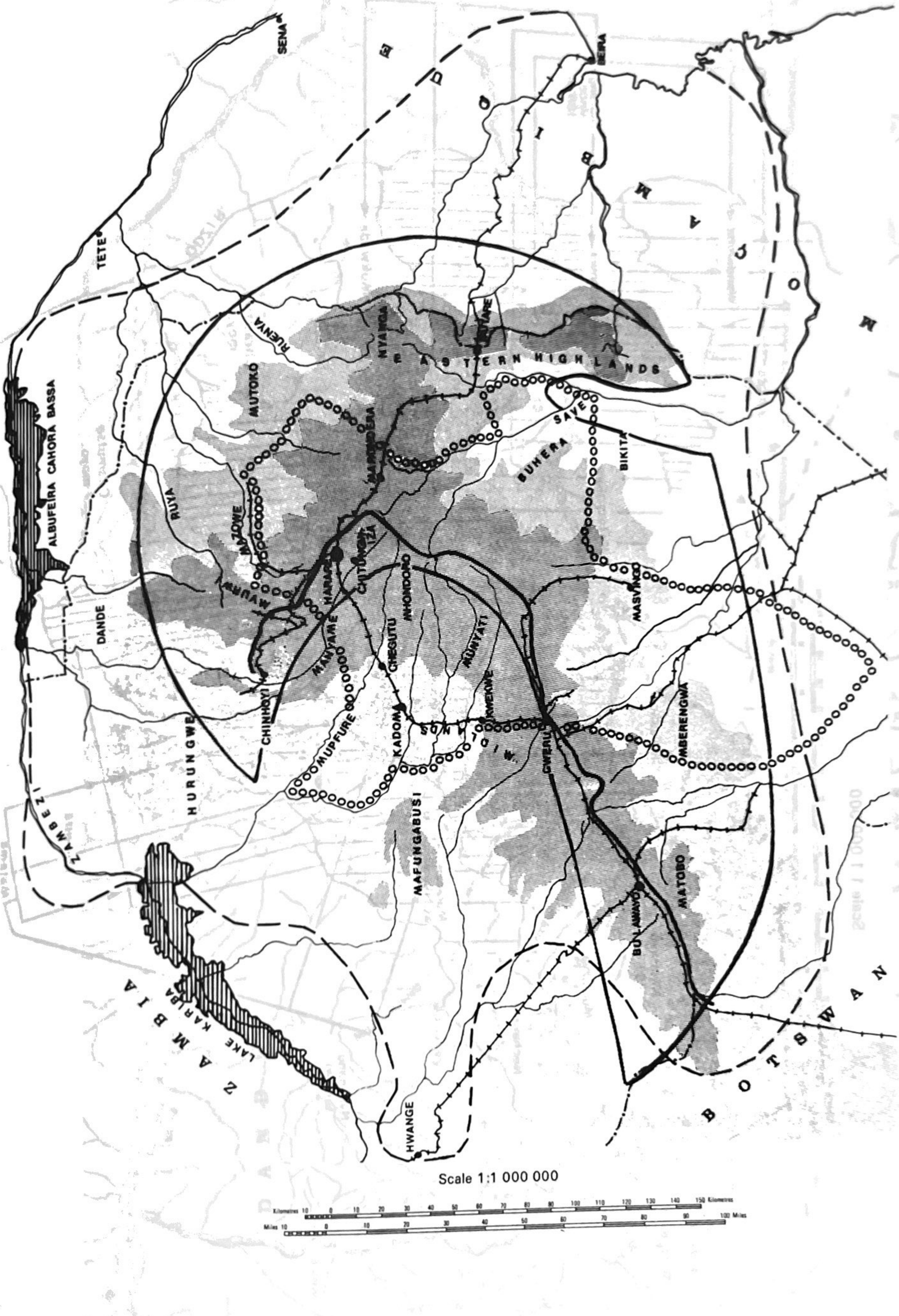
This shows the relationship between the wards of the Nyashanu and Marange dynasties covered in Chapter Two, and should be compared with their genealogies. Wards of houses more remotely related to the central dynasty appear lightly dotted, and increasing degrees of shading show increasingly close relationships with the rulers of each dynasty in recent times. Non-Hera or Bocha wards and areas of other dynasties are left white.

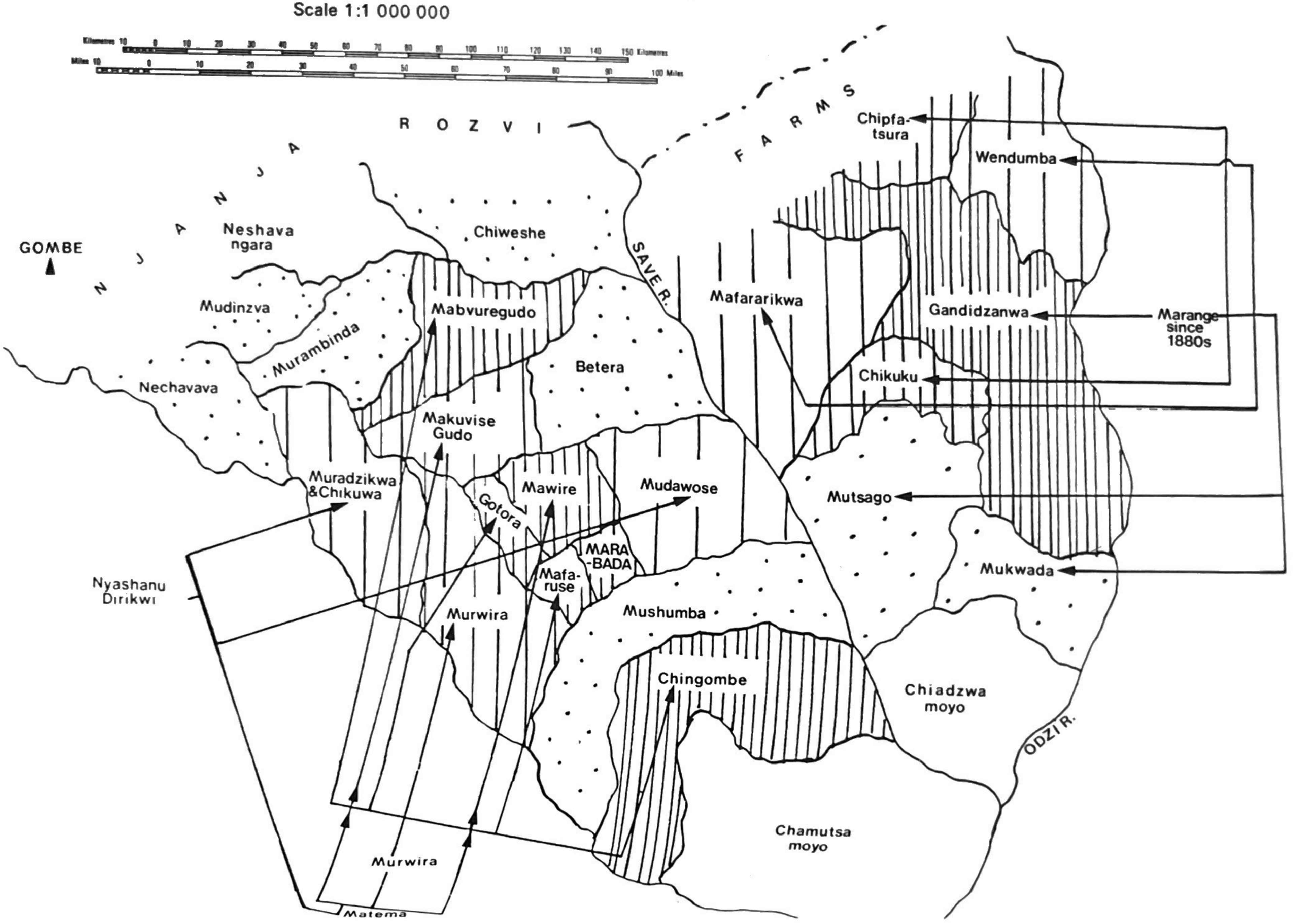
3. The Mutapa state after 1700.

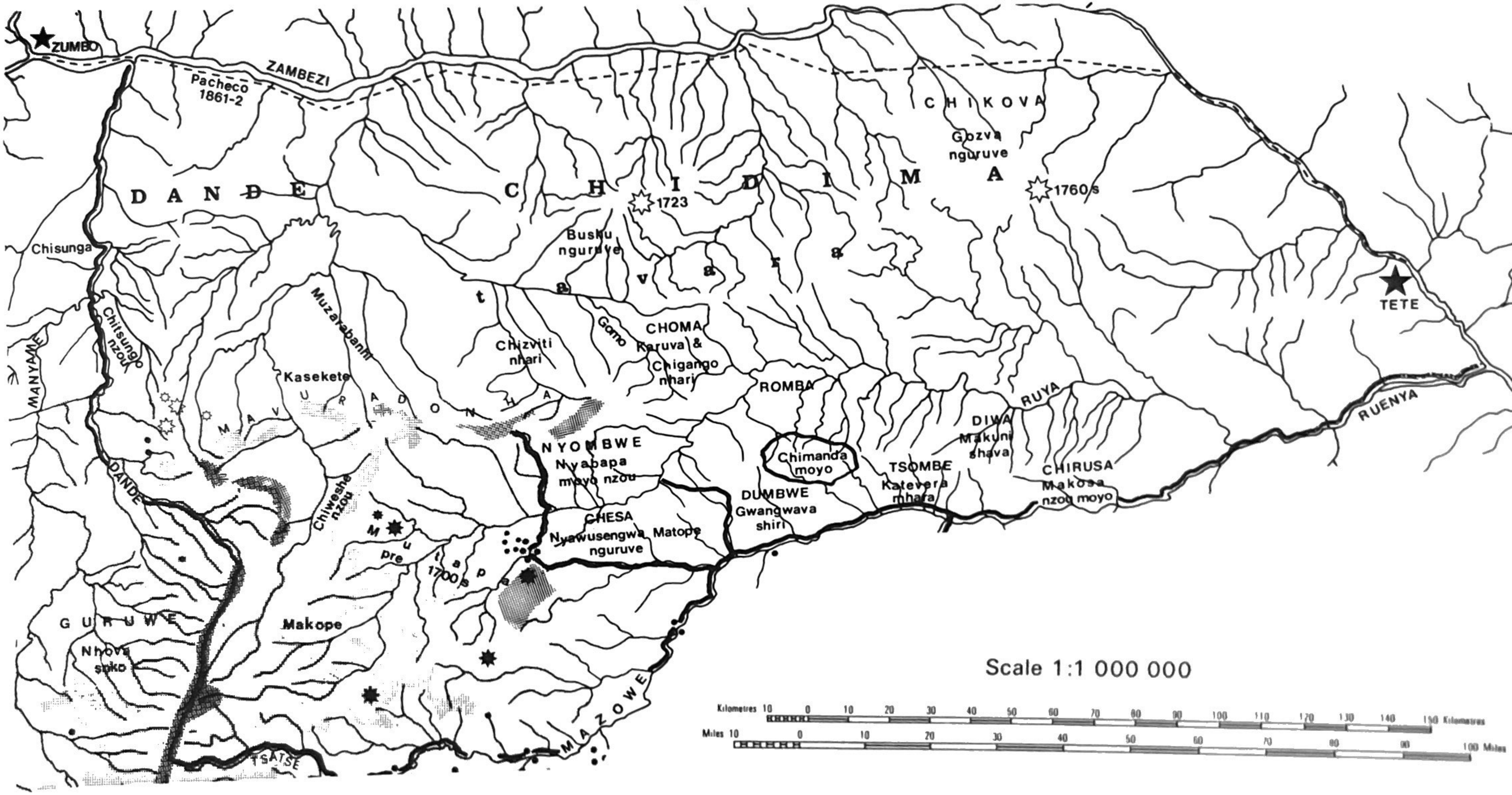
This shows (i) the locations of Mutapa capitals in 1723 and the 1760s where Mello e Castro probably obtained his traditions, (ii) the route of Pacheco in 1861-2 and (iii) the Kasekete-Chiweshe *nzou*–Muzarabanhi–Chitsungo *nzou* dynasties from which traditions were collected in this century.

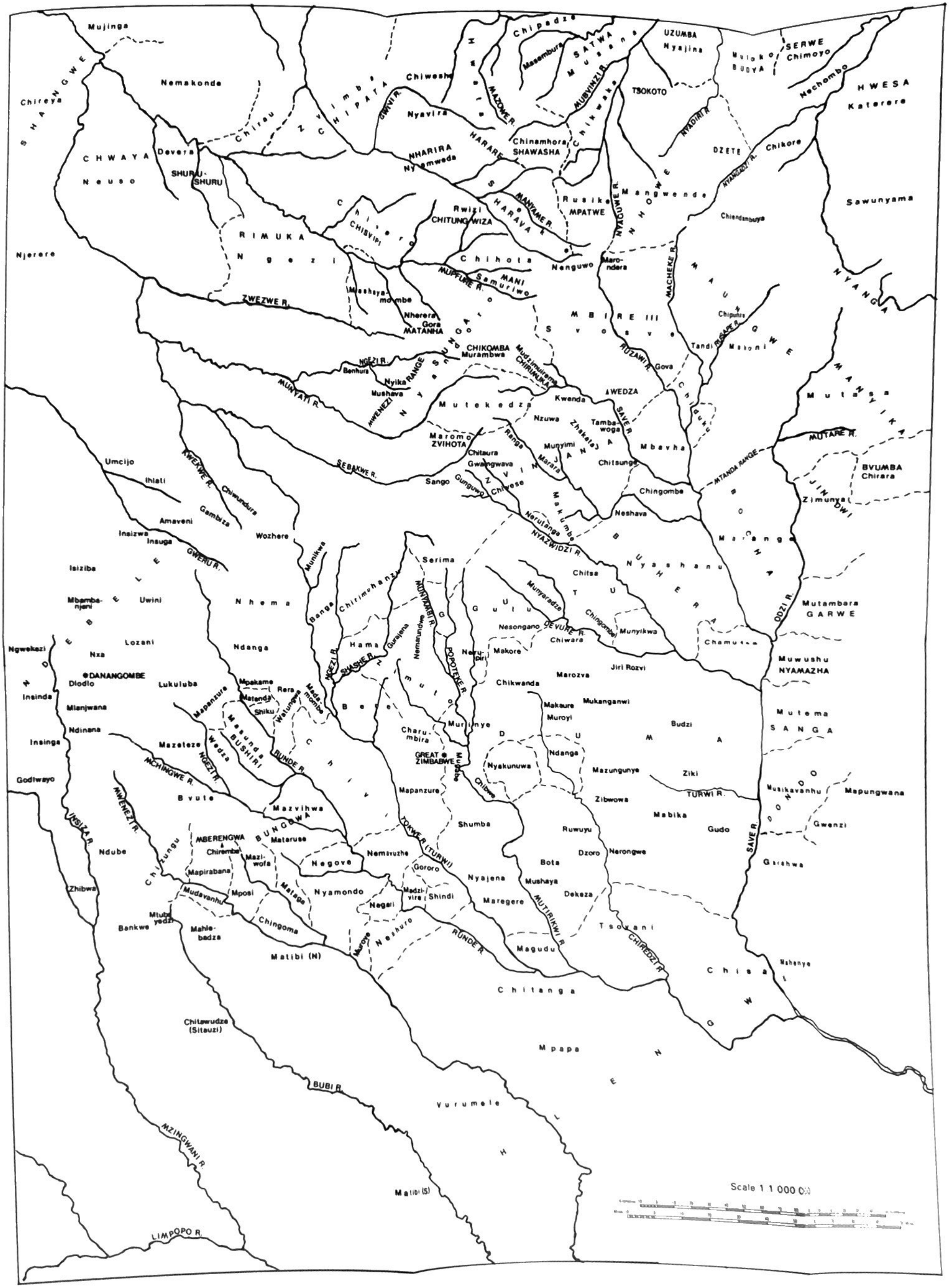
Endpaper.

This shows the Central and Southern Shona regions in more detail. Rivers and mountains are prominent in Shona traditions, but they are often made insignificant by the sheer scale of the landscape. The only really satisfactory maps on which the detail of the oral traditions can be followed are the standard 1:250 000 sheets produced by the Government of Zimbabwe, and these cannot be included in this book. This map is a compromise. Precedence is given to Shona territorial names (in capitals) and dynastic titles, with some river and mountain names fitted in between them. Modern towns can usually be found very close to the territorial and river names, from which they were borrowed, on this map. Broken lines show the old territorial boundaries where these are reasonably certain. The date of the map is c. 1890, with a few exceptions: Nyandoro is shown in the pre-1850 position, while in the south migrations and conquests were still in progress. Most of the north-eastern Ndebele settlements near the Gweru river postdated 1890.


SENA
BEIRA
TETE
MOCAMBIQUE
ALBUFEIRA CAHORA BASSA
RUENYA
MUTOKO
NYANGA
MUTARE
EASTERN HIGHLANDS
MAZOWE
RUYA
MARONDERA
SAVE
BUHERA
BIKITA
MASVINGO
MVURWI
HARARE
CHITUNGWIZA
DANDE
MANYAME
CHEGUTU
MHONDORO
MUNYATI
KWEKWE
CHINHOYI
HURUNGWE
MUPFURE
KADOMA
MIDLANDS
GWERU
MBERENGWA
ZAMBEZI
MAFUNGABUSI
MATOBO
BULAWAYO
LAKE KARIBA
ZAMBIA
HWANGE
BOTSWAN
Scale 1:1 000 000
Kilometres 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 Kilometres
Miles 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Miles


Scale 1:1 000 000
Kilometres 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 Kilometres
Miles 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Miles
R O Z V I
N J A N J A
F A R M S
GOMBE
Neshava ngara
Mudinzva
Murambinda
Nechavava
Chiweshe
Mabvuregudo
Makuvise Gudo
Muradzikwa &Chikuwa
Nyashanu Dirikwi
SAVE R.
Betera
Mafararikwa
Gotora
Mawire
Mudawose
MARA -BADA
Mafa- ruse
Murwira
Mushumba
Chingombe
Murwira
Matema
Chamutsa moyo
Chipfa- tsura
Wendumba
Gandidzanwa
Marange since 1880s
Chikuku
Mutsago
Mukwada
Chiadzwa moyo
ODZI R.


ZUMBO
ZAMBEZI
Pacheco 1861-2
DANDE
CHIDIMA
CHIKOVA
Gozva nguruve
1723
1760s
Busku nguruve
Tavara
TETE
Chisunga
Chitsungo nzou
MANYAME
Muzarabanhi
Kasekete
MAVURADONHA
Chizviti nhari
Gomo
CHOMA
Karuva &
Chigango nhari
ROMBA
RUYA
RUENYA
DIWA
Makuni shava
Chimanda moyo
TSOMBE
Katevera mhara
CHIRUSA
Makosa nzou moyo
NYOMBWE
Nyabapa moyo nzou
DUMBWE
Gwangwava shiri
CHESA
Nyawusengwa nguruve
Matope
Chiweshe nzou
Mutapa
pre 1700s
DANDE
GURUWE
Nhova soko
Makope
MAZOWE
TSATSE
Scale 1:1 000 000
Kilometres 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 Kilometres
Miles 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Miles


Mujinga
SHANGWE
Chireya
Nemakonde
Chirau
ZVIMBA
CHIPATA
Chiweshe
UMWUKWE
Chipadze
SATWA
Musana
Masembura
MAZOWE R.
MUBVINZI R.
UZUMBA
Nyajina
Mutoko
BUDYA
SERWE
Chimoyo
Nechombo
HWESA
Katerere
TSOKOTO
Nyavira
UMVUI R.
HARARE
NHARIRA
Nyamweda
Chinamhora
SHAWASHA
Chikwaka
NYADIRI R.
DZETE
NYANGADZI R.
Chikore
CHWAYA
Neuso
Devera
SHURUSHURU
Chiweshe
SHAVA
HARAVA
MANYAME R.
Rusike
MPATWE
NYAGUWE R.
NHOWE
Mangwende
Sawunyama
Chiendambuya
RIMUKA
Ngezi
Chivero
CHISVIPI
Rwizi
CHITUNGWIZA
Njerere
Chihota
MUPFURE R.
MANI
Samuriwo
Nenguwo
Marondera
MACHEKE R.
MAUNGWE
NYANGA
Mashayamombe
ZWEZWE R.
Nherera
Gora
MATANHA
NJANJA
MBIRE III
Svosve
Chipunza
Tandi
RUSAPE R.
Makoni
CHIKOMBA
Murambwa
NGEZI R.
Benhura
Nyika
RANGE
NYASUNGA
Mudzimuirema
CHIRIMUKA
RUZAWI R.
Gova
Chiduku
MANYIKA
Mutasa
MUNYATI R.
Mushava
MWENEZI
Mutekedza
Kwenda
WEDZA
SAVE R.
Nzuwa
Tambawoga
Maromo
ZVIHOTA
Ranga
Zhakata
Munyimi
Marara
Mbavha
MUTARE R.
Umcijo
KWEKWE R.
SEBAKWE R.
Chitaura
Gwangwava
Chitsunge
MTANDA RANGE
BVUMBA
Chirara
Ihlati
Chiwundura
Sango
Gunguwo
Chivese
ZVIMBA
Makumbe
Chingombe
JINDWI
Zimunya
Gambiza
Amaveni
Nerutanga
Neshava
BOCHA
Insizwa
Insuga
GWERU R.
Wozhere
Munikwa
NYAZWIDZI R.
Marange
Isiziba
NDEBELE
Serima
Chirimuhanzu
MUNYAMBI R.
Nyashanu
BUHERA
Munyaradze
TUTU
Mbambanjeni
Uwini
Nhema
Gutu
Chingombe
ODZI R.
Mutambara
GARWE
DEVURE R.
Munyikwa
Nesongano
Chiwara
Chamutsa
Lozani
Banga
Hama
Gurajena
Nemarundwe
Ngwekazi
Nxa
Ndanga
NGEZI R.
SHASHE R.
Nerupiri
Makore
Jiri Rozvi
Muwushu
NYAMAZHA
DANANGOMBE
Diodlo
Lukuluba
Mpakame
Rera
Matenda
Madamombe
Zimuto
POPOTEKE R.
Chikwanda
Marozva
Insinda
Mlanjwana
Shiku
Watunga
Mapanzure
Masunda
Bere
Makaure
Muroyi
Mukanganwi
Mutema
SANGA
Ndinana
Insinga
Mazeteze
Wedza
BUSHIRI
Chivi
Charumbira
Murinye
DUMA
Budzi
GREAT ZIMBABWE
Mugabe
Nyakunuwa
Ndanga
Mazungunye
Ziki
Godlwayo
MCHINGWE R.
NGEZI R.
RUNDE R.
Chibwe
TURWI R.
NDONDO
Musikavanhu
Mapungwana
Bvute
Mapanzure
Zibwowa
Mazvihwa
Shumba
Mabika
Gwenzi
INSIZA R.
MWENEZI R.
BUNGOWA
MBERENGWA
Chirembe
Mataruse
Ruwuyu
Gudo
SAVE R.
Ndube
Chizungu
Maziwofa
Negove
Nemavuzhe
TOKWE R. (TURWI)
Dzoro
Nerongwe
Mapirabana
Gororo
Bota
Garahwa
Zhibwa
Mudavanhu
Mposi
Mataga
Nyamondo
Madzivire
Shindi
Nyajena
Mushaya
Maregere
Dekeza
MUTIRIKWI R.
Mtubyedzi
Negari
Bankwe
Mahlebadza
Chingoma
Murove
Neshuro
RUNDE R.
Tsovani
Magudu
CHIREDZI R.
Matibi (N)
Chisa
Mahenye
Chitanga
Chitawudza
(Sitauzi)
Mpapa
HLENGWE
BUBI R.
Vurumele
MZINGWANI R.
Matibi (S)
LIMPOPO R.
Scale 1:1 000 000
Kilometres
Miles]

ZAMBEZIANA

A Mambo Press series on culture and society in Central Africa

Vol. 9: **The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850** by D.N. Beach

Vol 17: **The Traditional Practitioner** by M. Gelfand et alia
(including pharmacopoeia)

Vol. 18: **The The Politics of Factory Organisation** by A. Cheater

Vol. 19: **The Rhodesian Front War** by H. Ellert

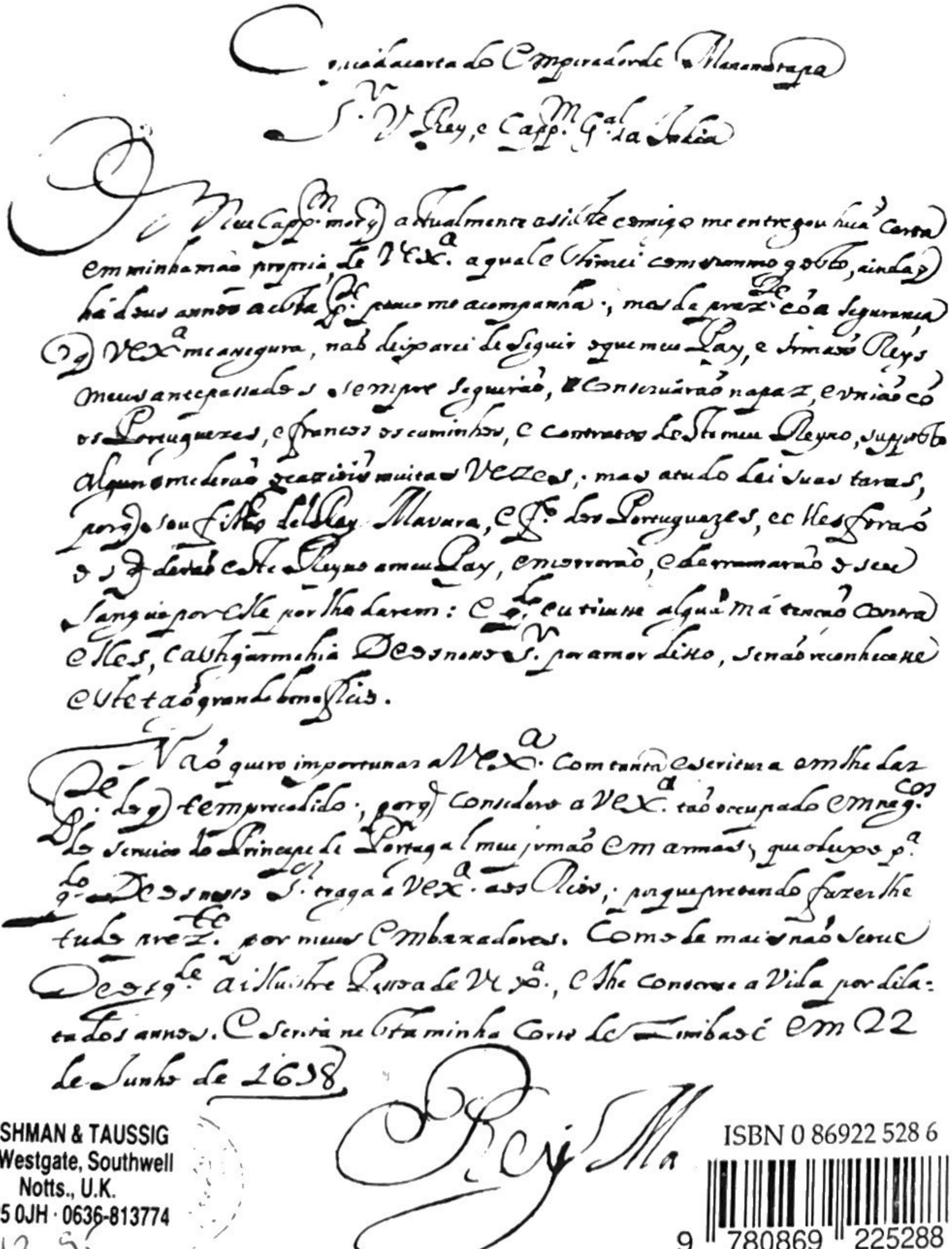
Vol. 20: **Famine in Zimbabwe 1890-1960** by J. Iliffe

Vol. 22: **Rivers of Gold** by H. Ellert

Other volumes out of print

The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850 showed how the Shona peoples came to be where they are now. This companion volume tells the exciting saga of how they took the land and struggled for the rulers' titles across much of Zimbabwe from 1700 to the present. It also shows how oral traditions can be used to uncover the past.

David Beach is a Professor at the University of Zimbabwe.



Copia da carta do Emperador de Manamotapa
a S. V. Rey, e Capp.m G.al da India

O Meu Capp.m mor q actualmente assiste comigo me entregou hũa Carta em minha mão propria, de V. Ex.a a qual estimei com summo gosto, ainda q há dous annos a esta p.te pouco me acompanha; mas de prez.te cõ a segurança q V. Ex.a me assegura, não deixarei de seguir o q meu Pay, e Irmãos Reys meus antepassados sempre seguirão, e conservarão na paz, e união cõ os Portuguezes, e francos os caminhos, e contratos deste meu Reyno, suposto alguns me derão gratidões muitas vezes, mas a tudo dei suas taras, porq sou filho del Rey Mavura, e I.o dos Portuguezes, e elles forão os q derão este Reyno a meu Pay, e morrerão, e derramarão o seu Sangue por elle por lho darem: e q.do eu tivesse alguã má tenção contra elles, castigarmehia Deos nosso S.r por amor delles, se não reconhecesse este tão grande beneficio.

Não quero importunar a V. Ex.a com tanta escritura em lhe dar p.te do q tem procedido, porq considero a V. Ex.a tão occupado em neg.cos do serviço do Principe de Portugal meu irmão em armas, que o Deus p.a q Deos nosso S.r traga a V. Ex.a aos Rios, porque pretendo fazerlhe tudo prez.te por meus Embaxadores. Como de mais não se offerece Deos g.de a illustre Pessoa de V. Ex.a, e lhe conserve a Vida por dilatados annos. Escrita nesta minha Corte de Zimbabé em 22 de Junho de 1698.

Rey Ma

LEISHMAN & TAUSSIG
2 B Westgate, Southwell
Notts., U.K.
NG25 0JH · 0636-813774

12-95

ISBN 0 86922 528 6
9 780869 225288